“We here in Ireland are not outside this struggle”: The Irish Catholic Church, anti-communism and the Cold War, 1945-1965

by

Gerard Patrick Madden, B.A., M.A.,

Completed under the supervision of Dr. John Cunningham, Discipline of History, School of Humanities

National University of Ireland Galway

April 2018

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Abstract

This project explores an understudied aspect of modern Irish Catholicism by examining the anti-communism of the Irish Catholic Church in the period from 1945 to 1965, which marked the early years of the Cold War. It looks in particular at Irish responses to Cold War events in Europe. Irish Catholic responses to the Cold War in Asia and to Catholic anti-communism in the United States, Canada and Australia are also examined. In a domestic context, the thesis explores Catholic responses to Ireland's communists, who were involved in the Irish Workers' League and the Communist Party of Northern Ireland for most of these years. Irish communists were monitored by lay Catholic organisations and individual lay Catholics, as well as groups directly formed by the hierarchy such as the Catholic Information Bureau and the Vigilance Committee. The hierarchy also received intelligence on communism from state sources. The potential appeal of the Connolly Association, a British-based Irish republican socialist organisation close to the Communist Party of Great Britain, was also a major concern to anti-communist Catholics in both Ireland and Britain, and this shall be discussed. The thesis will also examine Catholic suspicion of communist infiltration of the Irish trade union movement, as well as Catholic responses to particular Irish organisations who were affected by allegations of communist infiltration, such as peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns, the Irish Housewives' Association, the Irish Association for Civil Liberty and campaigns by the unemployed. In focusing upon these issues, this thesis contributes to a growing global scholarship highlighting the importance of religion in the Cold War, and it provides an original contribution to the increasing volume of scholarship looking at Irish history from a transnational perspective.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank the Irish Research Council for funding this study for the last three years of its duration. Without their support, it would have been much more difficult to complete, particularly in terms of visiting archives.

I would also like to thank Dr. John Cunningham, my supervisor, who was always helpful, approachable and patient, and the broader staff of the Discipline of History at NUI Galway, particularly Dr. Sarah-Anne Buckley, Dr. Caitriona Clear and Dr. Mary Harris. I would also like to thank Dr. Micheline Sheehy-Skeffington of the School of Natural Sciences for her help regarding her father and mother, and for her broader activism for which so many NUIG PhD graduates will have reason to be grateful.

Librarians and archivists are an underappreciated part of our society, and I am also grateful to the staff of the many libraries and archives I visited during the course of the thesis. In this regard, I would especially like to thank Noelle Dowling of the Dublin Diocesan Archives, Tom Kilgariff of the Galway Diocesan Archives, the staff of the Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Memorial Library and Archive in Armagh and of the diocesan office of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Teresa Whittington of the Catholic Central Library, Margaret Bluett of the Irish Spiritan Archives and Damien Burke of the Irish Jesuit Archives. I would also like to thank the staff of the other libraries and archives I visited, especially the staff of the James Hardiman Library and the Special Collections Reading Room in NUI Galway.

Over the course of the project, I have made new friends across many disciplines in NUI Galway, especially Raina Howe, Dr. Martin O'Donoghue, Jamie Canavan, Dr. David Convery, Stephen Gaffney, Emer McHugh and Cian McMahon, and several other PhD students and graduates both in the History Department and outside it.

I also wish to thank others outside of the PhD bubble, in particular Kiran Emrich, Leigh Ashmore, Rachel Smiddy, Mariel Whelan and Eamonn Barrett, and the many more I met though student societies or through living with them during my time in NUI Galway as both an undergraduate and a postgraduate.

Any inevitable typos or malapropisms which have crept into the final text are my responsibility alone.

Finally, this project is dedicated to my parents, who always supported my decision to follow the PhD path even when they didn't fully understand what it was that I was studying.

Abbreviations

ACTU: Association of Catholic Trade Unionists

AOH: Ancient Order of Hibernians

ATGWU: Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union

CCTPA: Catholic Cinema and Theatre Patrons' Association

CIB: Catholic Information Bureau

CIC: Churches' Industrial Council

CIÉ: Córas Iompair Éireann

CIPF: Church of Ireland Peace Fellowship

CIU: Congress of Irish Unions

CPGB: Communist Party of Great Britain

CPI: Communist Party of Ireland

CPNI: Communist Party of Northern Ireland

CTSI: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland

CYMS: Catholic Young Men's Society

DCDA: Down and Connor Diocesan Archives

DDA: Dublin Diocesan Archives

DFA: Department of Foreign Affairs

DICS: Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology

DIFP: Documents in Irish Foreign Policy

DUA: Dublin Unemployed Association

FAI: Football Association of Ireland

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

FF: Fianna Fáil

FG: Fine Gael

FRW: Federation of Rural Workers

GDA: Galway Diocesan Archives.

HUAC: House Un-American Activities Committee

IACL: Irish Association for Civil Liberty

IAW: International Alliance of Women

ICLGA: Irish Citizens' and Local Government Association

ICTU: Irish Congress of Trade Unions

IHA: Irish Housewives' Association

IJA: Irish Jesuit Archive

IRA: Irish Republican Army

IRIS: Industrial Relations Information Service

ISA: Irish Students' Association

ISPWU: Irish Seamen and Port Workers' Union

ITGWU: Irish Transport and General Workers' Union

ITUC: Irish Trade Union Congress

IUS: International Union of Students

IWL: Irish Workers' League

IWP: Irish Workers' Party

IWWU: Irish Women Workers' Union

KMA: Kimmage Manor Archives

MPGWU: Marine, Port and General Workers' Union

NCLL: National Civil Liberties League

NCWC: National Catholic Welfare Committee

NDH: Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia).

NILP: Northern Ireland Labour Party

NUJ: National Union of Journalists

PHM: People's History Museum

PRONI: Public Records Office of Northern Ireland

RUC: Royal Ulster Constabulary.

RWG: Revolutionary Workers' Groups.

SLL: Socialist Labour League

TCD: Trinity College Dublin

UCC: University College Cork

UCD: University College Dublin

UCDA: University College Dublin Archives

UCG: University College Galway

UPC: Unemployed Protest Committee

WFTU: World Federation of Trade Unions

WUI: Workers' Union of Ireland

WPC: World Peace Council

YCW: Young Christian Workers

Introduction

This thesis seeks to increase understanding of the politics and society of mid-twentieth century Ireland by exploring the political and cultural impact of the Cold War in the period between 1945 and 1965. Specifically, because of the particular importance of religion in underpinning Irish anti-communism both in attitudes towards Cold War events internationally and towards communism domestically, it examines the Irish Catholic Church's role in this regard. The Catholic Church was an important actor in the Cold War globally, and, against the international backdrop, this thesis discusses how Catholic anti-communism affected Irish society, north and south, in these years. It does this through the use, primarily, of previously neglected or underused sources in Irish church archives and Catholic publications.

Irish Catholics had a strong awareness of the impact of the Cold War on their co-religionists in areas as diverse as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and China. Terence Brown has argued that the fervent Catholicism of twentieth century Ireland was inspired, in part, by a desire to embrace a 'sense of belonging to a worldwide religious community' as a 'counterweight to the international vision of British imperialism'. While Brown does not reference the Cold War in making this assertion, the conflict is a perfect example of his point that, for many Irish Catholics, the Church 'allowed their small country a significant role on the world stage'.[1] As Enda Delaney also notes, the Irish-born populations of the United States, Britain and Australia had a greater exposure to progressive and leftist ideologies than the Irish at home in the period,[2] and the Irish Catholic diaspora must also be taken into consideration when exploring Ireland's place in the global Cold War. Echoing broader scholarly moves to examine non-state anti-communist actors within a transnational methodology,[3] this thesis shall examine Ireland's place in the transnational Catholic anti-communist world, exploring both Irish reactions to events behind the Iron Curtain and the fear in Ireland itself that the Irish diaspora was vulnerable to communist recruitment.

[1] Terence Brown, *Ireland: a social and cultural history, 1922-2002* (2nd ed., London, 2004), p. 25.
[2] Enda Delaney, 'Our island story? Towards a transnational history of late modern Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvii, no. 148 (Nov., 2011), pp. 613-614.
[3] See, for example, Stéphanie Roulin, Giles Scott-Smith and Luke van Dongen (eds.), *Transnational anti-communism and the Cold War: agents, activities and networks* (Basingstroke, 2014).

In Ireland during the early Cold War, as Hanley and Millar have noted, 'the lack of a vibrant left did not preclude the existence of an intensely anti-communist right'.[4] This thesis also aims to uncover the factors which caused the Irish Catholic hierarchy and clergy to warn about the threat of communism in a domestic context, given Irish communism's historic weakness. A recent discussion on scholarship on anti-communism by Jean-Francois Fayet notes that most often anti-communism 'is based on myths ... the influence it attributes to communists often bears no relation to their real means of action or to their role in history'.[5] A key purpose of this thesis shall be to ask to what extent clerical condemnations of Irish communism were sincere, or to what extent they served, as Fayet continues, as 'an instrument for the legitimisation of social conformity ... a process of manipulation, and the pursuit of other aims than those of simply standing up against the real or supposed threat of communism'.[6] In doing so, it shall explore bodies such as the Catholic Information Bureau (CIB), a group formed in 1948 which regularly reported to the hierarchy on Irish communist activity, and the Vigilance Committee, a committee of priests set up in 1954 by Archbishop John Charles McQuaid of Dublin which was entrusted with the same task. This introduction shall begin by summarising anti-communism's role in Irish Catholicism until the 1940s. It will then proceed to situate the thesis within the existing secondary literature on the subject, explore the relevant primary sources, and outline its structure.

Irish Catholic anti-communism from the Famine to the Emergency: an overview

'In dealing with Ireland', James Connolly stated in 1910, 'no one can afford to ignore the question of the attitude of the clergy'.[7] While Connolly was referring to events in the 1830s, this observation remained true in his own era and for decades afterwards. In what historian Emmet Larkin termed 'the devotional revolution', the Catholic Church witnessed significant growth in clergy and churches after the famine, under Cardinal Paul Cullen. By 1875, weekly church attendance was over 90 per cent, remaining at this level till the late twentieth century.[8] The clergy largely came from urban middle-class or from large tenant farmer backgrounds, and John Newsinger has argued that Emmet Larkin's thesis 'can be better characterised as a "devotional conquest", whereby the larger tenant farmers set about imposing their social values on the rest of society'.[9] The British state also ceded control of the

[4] Brian Hanley and Scott Millar, *The lost revolution: the story of the Official IRA and the Workers' Party* (Dublin, 2009), p. 4.
[5] Jean-Francois Fayet, 'Reflections on writing the history of anti-communism' in *Twentieth Century Communism*, no. 6 (2014), p. 9.
[6] Ibid, p. 11.
[7] James Connolly, *Labour in Irish history* (8th ed., Dublin, 1934), p. 137.
[8] Emmet Larkin, *The historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1997), p. 68
[9] John Newsinger, '"As Catholic as the Pope": James Connolly and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 11 (1986), p. 11. See also John Newsinger, 'Historical materialism and

education and health systems to the Church during the century, viewing it as a counterweight to the radical Irish Republican Brotherhood, or Fenians, whom the Church firmly opposed.[10]

The Church internationally was strongly hostile to socialist and communist ideology, a position reinforced by Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum novarum*. This encyclical defended private property rights and argued that socialism would erode the authority of both the individual and the family. Nonetheless, it was seminal in its legitimisation of trade unions as a counterweight to capitalism's excesses – provided, of course, such unions were not anti-religious.[11] The encyclical laid the foundations for the principle of subsidiarity, which argued, as Archbishop John D'Alton put it in 1952, that the state's role was 'to supplement, not to supplant' the role of the individual and smaller societal units.[12] Despite such statements, in the nineteenth century many Catholic regions of Europe saw the rapid growth of anti-clerical radicalism, as the Church was seen by the working and middle classes as part of the reactionary establishment.[13] By contrast, in Ireland the Protestant Ascendency, rather than the Catholic Church, was perceived by these classes as their main barrier to social progress, and socialism never gained a mass following. No less an authority than Friedrich Engels was cogniscent of the country's anomalous path. 'Ireland still remains the *sacra insula*, whose aspirations may not be lumped together with the profane class struggle of the rest of the sinful world', he told his collaborator Karl Marx in 1869.[14]

The ideas of European Catholic social reformers in response to *Rerum novarum* initially made little headway in Ireland.[15] For this reason, there was significant clerical suspicion of trade unionism, and an upsurge of strike activity between 1907 and 1914 caused Catholic condemnations of socialism to become increasingly frequent and vehement.[16] Simultaneously, there were those amongst the clergy with a greater awareness of social problems, and the Maynooth academic Cornelius Lucey, who became Bishop of Cork in 1952, asserted in 1949 that Dublin's 1913 Lockout,

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the Catholic Church: the Irish example' in *Monthly Review: an independent socialist magazine,* xxxvii, no. 8 (Jan., 1986), p. 14.

[10] Tom Inglis, *Moral monopoly: the rise and fall of the Catholic Church in modern Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1998), p. 128. Comparing the Fenians to continental anti-clerical republicanism, Bishop McEvilly of Galway stated in 1872 that it was the clergy's duty to speak out against 'Fenianism, Carbonarism, Communism and every other wicked *ism*'. Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the shaping of modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1983), p. 231.

[11] Joe Holland, *Modern Catholic social teaching: the Popes confront the industrial age, 1740-1958* (Mahwah, NJ, 2003), pp. 176-190.

[12] Daithí Ó Corráin, *Rendering to God and Caesar*: *the Irish churches and the two states in Ireland, 1949-73* (Manchester, 2006), p. 118.

[13] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Religion and the rise of socialism' in *Marxist Perspectives*, no. 1 (1978), p. 33.

[14] Emmet O'Connor, 'Anti-communism in twentieth century Ireland' in *Twentieth Century Communism*, no. 6 (Spring., 2014), p. 61.

[15] Joseph A. McMahon, 'The Catholic clergy and the social question in Ireland, 1891-1916' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, lxx, no. 280 (Winter, 1981), p. 264.

[16] Emmet Larkin, 'Socialism and Catholicism in Ireland' in *Church History*, xxxiii, no. 4 (Dec., 1964), p. 467.

a major industrial dispute, 'shocked the Irish people to the conciousness that they had a social as well as a national question to solve'.[17] Catholic Action organisations played an important role in the contemporary anti-socialist campaign. In the years before 1914, new Catholic Action bodies as the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland (CTSI) and the Catholic Defence Society – which would become part of the Knights of St. Columbanus, a Catholic men's fraternal organisation founded in 1915 – joined older groups such as the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS) and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH).[18] 'Vigilance' campaigns against perceived immoral literature were a key focus of these organisations, and 'socialism' was one aspect of this creeping immorality.[19] This rhetoric of 'vigilance' endured into the Cold War, as highlighted by McQuaid's anti-communist Vigilance Committee.

During this period, James Connolly challenged clerical anti-socialist rhetoric. The Lenten Discourses on Socialism, a lengthy series of anti-socialist polemics the Jesuit Robert Kane delivered in 1910 in Dublin,[20] are best remembered for prompting Connolly's rebuttal *Labour, nationality and religion*, which portrayed socialism as a purely economic system that the Church had no business in commenting upon.[21] The book became a classic, and was still drawn upon by socialists forty years later in their attempts to rebut clerical criticism of communists. The years after 1914 saw a dissipation in the clergy's anti-socialist rhetoric, which had less to do with Connolly's arguments – Joe Lee notes that he 'failed to get his message across to most Catholics'[22] – than the retreat of the labour movement following its defeat in the 1913 Lockout. Connolly himself was executed in 1916 for his role in the Easter Rising.[23] He received the last rites before his execution. Speaking in Moscow in 1928, the labour leader James Larkin cited the fact that 'even Connolly had died in [the Church's] arms' to emphasise the barrier Catholicism presented to Irish communism.[24]

Despite an ensuing relative lull in Catholic concerns about socialism domestically – a period of 'curious quietism' Emmet O'Connor argues extended through till the late 1920s[25] – events across the world would soon impact on Catholic anti-communist conciousness. One year after the Easter Rising, Lenin's Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, an event with consequences, in Hobsbawm's

[17] Finín O'Driscoll, 'Social Catholicism and the social question in independent Ireland: the challenge to the fiscal system' in Mike Cronin and John M. Regan (eds.), *Ireland: the politics of independence, 1922-49* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 122-123.
[18] Maurice Curtis, *A challenge to democracy: militant Catholicism in modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 31-33.
[19] Donal Ó Drisceoil, 'Sex and socialism: the class politics of immorality in pre-First World War Ireland' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 40 (2015), p. 21.
[20] Robert Kane, *Socialism* (Dublin, 1910).
[21] James Connolly, *Labour, nationality and religion* (Dublin, 1954).
[22] J.J. Lee, *The modernisation of Irish society, 1848–1918* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1989), p. 151
[23] Emmet O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland, 1824-2000* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2011), pp. 97-101.
[24] Emmet O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin: hero or wrecker?* (Dublin, 2015), p. 269.
[25] O'Connor, 'Anti-communism in twentieth century Ireland', p. 62.

view, 'far greater and long lasting than those of 1789'.[26] Internationally, the Bolshevik victory in Russia 'generated both hopes and palpable anxieties about threats to the social and political order, both at the national level and in localised settings'.[27] Ireland was no different, and ten thousand people gathered at Dublin's Mansion House to celebrate the revolution in February 1918.[28] Meanwhile, Sinn Féin became the main vehicle for Ireland's advanced nationalists following the 1916 Rising and gained increasing support, some hostile clergy comparing it to the Bolsheviks.[29] After 1917, there was a recovery in Irish trade unionism's strength due to economic factors, and a number of general strikes and workers' occupations, styling themselves 'soviets', took place across Ireland, prompting some Catholic concern.[30] The short-lived first incarnation of the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), founded in 1921, remained small at around twenty members, showing that the practical influence of events in Russia was limited.[31] The Irish Civil War between supporters and opponents of the Anglo-Irish Treaty greatly damaged the Irish labour movement, and by the end of 1923 'the spirit of post-war trade unionism had been crushed', according to O'Connor.[32] Speaking to seminarians in Maynooth in 1924, Cardinal Logue warned that Ireland's Catholics were 'a divided people … who had lost much of their reverence for religion and the Church', and the Civil War left the Irish Catholic Church with a sense of insecurity over its hold over its flock.[33]

One sign of the Irish Catholic Church's insecurity was its increasing concern about communism in the late 1920s, a factor heightened by international events. The Holy See initially viewed the Soviet disestablishment of the Orthodox Church as an opportunity to strengthen

[26] Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of extremes, 1914-1991* (2nd ed., London, 1995), p. 55.
[27] Niall Whelehan, 'Playing with scales: transnational history and modern Ireland' in Niall Whelehan (ed.), *Transnational perspectives on modern Irish history* (New York, 2015), p. 10.
[28] Emmet O'Connor, *Reds and the green: Ireland, Russia and the Communist Internationals, 1919-1943* (Dublin, 2004), p. 15.
[29] The party was frowned upon by Cardinal Logue, who suggested Sinn Féin would glorify the Bolsheviks. However, many grassroots clergy supported Sinn Féin in this period. Patrick Murray, *Oracles of God: the Roman Catholic Church and Irish politics, 1922-1937* (Dublin, 2000), p. 22. Logue's rhetoric, of course, was wide of the mark. Michael Laffan notes that Sinn Féin's statements 'contained little to disturb Irish capitalists', and those figures in the party advocating radical social policies, such as Liam Mellows and Peadar O'Donnell, were marginal throughout this period. Michael Laffan, '"Labour must wait": Ireland's conservative revolution', in Patrick Corish (ed.), *Radicals, rebels and establishments, Historical Studies xv* (Belfast, 1985), pp. 212-213.
[30] The most famous one took place in Limerick, where the Trades' Council took hold of the city for a fortnight in April 1919 to protest the imposition of a British military curfew in response to the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) growing campaign. While the local bishop initially welcomed the strike, increasing anti-communist rhetoric from local clergy and the *Irish Catholic* helped bring it to an end. Frances Kearney, 'The potency of "soft power": the Catholic Church's influence on the Limerick Soviet of 1919' in *Scoláire Staire*, iii, no. 3 (2013), pp. 14-18.
[31] It had some visibility in leading unemployed workers in occupying Dublin's Rotunda Concert Hall in January 1922, but the threat Catholic religiosity posed towards communism was emphasised when a religious mob forced it out of the building. Conor Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland: popular militancy, 1917 to 1923* (2nd ed., Cork, 2009), p. 189.
[32] O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*, p. 127.
[33] J. H. Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland, 1923-1979* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1980), p. 24.

Catholicism in Russia, and pursued diplomatic links.[34] Increasing repression of the Church caused Soviet-Vatican relations to deteriorate in the later part of the decade.[35] Following the Vatican's line, Irish Catholic journals linked the Calles government's persecution of the Church in 1920s Mexico to communist persecution of Catholics in the Soviet Union and China.[36] Despite assurances from the Rector of the Irish College in Rome that Irish communism was too weak 'to take into serious account,' the Pope also insisted in 1928 that the Irish hierarchy be 'more vigilant in detecting even the faintest signs of trouble'.[37] Pius XI's encyclical marking *Rerum novarum*'s fortieth anniversary, *Quadragesimo anno*, reflected this renewed anti-communist focus with its reminder that the Church unequivocally condemned communism.[38] The encyclical strongly influenced social Catholicism in Ireland, and a passionate vocationalist lobby began for campaign for the introduction of corporatist organisations based on Catholic social principles to shape the political, economic and social structure of Irish society.[39]

Alongside pressures from Rome, a revival of Irish communism helped reignite the Irish hierarchy's concerns about the ideology. Soviet-sponsored efforts to re-establish the CPI had centred around Larkin, who returned to Ireland from the US in 1923. Following a dispute with William O'Brien, the head of Larkin's old Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU), Larkin in 1924 formed the rival Workers' Union of Ireland (WUI), 'a small Dublin-based union, centred on himself'.[40] While Larkin was successful in the 1927 general election in the Dublin County constituency, he complained that 'every pulpit' opposed him in his unsuccessful by-election run in 1928, called after he was ruled a bankrupt.[41] Larkin, who in O'Connor's estimation was 'shaken by Catholic power', soon cut his links with the Communist International,[42] and in 1929 a Communist International commission was sent to Ireland to develop a new CPI.[43] The Revolutionary Workers' Groups (RWG), an embryonic communist party, were formed in March 1930 and attracted swift

[34] Dianne Kirby, 'The religious Cold War' in Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde, *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (Oxford, 2013), p. 542.
[35] John Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism, 1914-1958* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 218-220.
[36] Mary N. Harris, 'Irish images of religious conflict in Mexico in the 1920s' in Mary N. Harris (ed.), *Sights and insights: interactive images of Europe and the wider world* (Pisa, 2007), p. 215.
[37] Martin Brogan, 'Pope Pius XI, the Irish Catholic Church and anti-communism in the Irish Free State' (M: Res, University of Ulster, 2011), pp. 37-38.
[38] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism,* pp. 244-246.
[39] Don O'Leary, *Vocationalism and social Catholicism in twentieth century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), p. 1. Lay Catholic lobbying prompted De Valera to initiate the Commission on Vocational Organisation in 1939, whose subsequent reports were not implemented due to disinterest from both the government and the hierarchy, and the international decline of vocationalism, or corporatism, due to its association with fascism in the minds of many. Ibid, pp. 164-165.
[40] O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, p. 230.
[41] Brogan, 'Pope Pius XI, the Irish Catholic Church and anti-communism in the Irish Free State', pp. 51-52.
[42] O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, pp. 274-275.
[43] Adrian Grant, *Irish socialist republicanism, 1909-1936* (Dublin, 2012), p. 164.

clerical condemnation.[44] The IRA's sponsoring of Saor Éire, a rival socialist body to the RWG, also alarmed the hierarchy. At the urging of Cumann na nGaedheal, the ruling Treatyite party, on 18 October 1931 a joint pastoral letter by the hierarchy condemning the organisation was read in churches across Ireland.[45] The IRA promptly cut Saor Éire off.[46]

In a sign of the increased focus on anti-communism in Irish politics, in early 1932 Cumann na nGaedheal launched a vigorous campaign accusing Fianna Fáil (FF), the anti-Treaty party founded by Éamon de Valera in 1926, of being communist.[47] Their allegations were supported by a minority of the clergy, though such rhetoric was not indicative of the attitudes of the hierarchy or many others in the clergy or laity. De Valera won the election, and used the 1932 Eucharistic Congress, a triumphalist display of the Church's influence in the new state, to further ingratiate himself with the hierarchy.[48] Ciara Meehan, a scholar of Cumann na nGaedheal, notes that the attempts to link FF to communism 'failed to boost support for the party because the electorate either did not believe the threat to be credible or felt that there were more immediate pressing concerns'.[49] Treatyite anti-communism outlasted De Valera's victory, and the former Garda commissioner, Eoin O'Duffy, formed the Army Comrades Association, or 'Blueshirts', a Treatyite fascist organisation. Blueshirt ideology, according to Mike Cronin, was 'an Irish adaptation of fascist and clerical ideas',[50] and fused anti-Semitism with anti-communism.[51] While communism was certainly a concern for Blueshirt intellectuals like Professor James Hogan of University College Cork (UCC), some former Blueshirts later recalled that is was less of a priority for rank-and-file members.[52] Hogan's *Could Ireland become communist?* was a key articulation of Treatyite anti-communism, and was embraced by some clergymen.[53] Despite this, the Blueshirts never gained significant clerical

[44] Mary Banta, 'The red scare in the Irish Free State, 1929-37' (MA, UCD, 1982), pp. 30-32.
[45] Murray, *Oracles of God*, pp. 322-325.
[46] Grant, *Irish socialist republicanism*, p. 192.
[47] This public fear of communism was repeated by some Treatyite elites in private, former minister Desmond FitzGerald telling the French Catholic intellectual Jacques Maritain in 1933 that he feared 'that the country may go Bolshevist'. John M. Regan, *The Irish counter revolution, 1921-1936: Treatyite politics and settlement in independent Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 279-280.
[48] Murray, *Oracles of God*, pp. 258-262.
[49] Ciara Meehan, *The Cosgrave party: a history of Cumann na nGaedheal, 1923-33* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 177-178.
[50] Mike Cronin, 'Catholicising fascism, fascistising Catholicism: the Blueshirts and the Jesuits in 1930s Ireland' in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, viii, no. 2 (2007), p. 405.
[51] Regan, *The Irish counter revolution*, pp. 333-334.
[52] Mike Cronin, *The Blueshirts and Irish politics* (Dublin, 1997), p. 134.
[53]A Discalced Carmelite friar in Loughrea, County Galway said he was heartened so many of his abbey's confraternity were reading the book, for example. *Connacht Tribune*, 25 May 1935. A heavily underlined copy of the work also exists amongst the papers of Father Denis Fahey, the Dublin-based Holy Ghost priest and anti-Semitic and anti-communist polemicist. James Hogan, *Could Ireland become communist?: the facts of the case* (Dublin, 1936) (Kimmage Manor Archives (hereafter, KMA), Denis Fahey Papers, Box 2).

support,[54] and Fine Gael (FG), a conservative party founded in 1934 with Cumann na nGaedheal and the Blueshirts amongst its progenitors, soon sidelined O'Duffy's fascist orientation.[55]

During the 1930s, religious anti-communism on occasion prompted impassioned mob violence. The most notorious incidents occurred in Dublin during Lent 1933 in 'the most serious disturbances to take place in the capital since the Civil War'.[56] On the week of 27 March 1933, repeated crowd attacks took place on several Dublin buildings associated with the left, most notably Connolly House, the RWG's headquarters, which was finally burned on 29 March. These attacks occurred after priests across the city delivered incendiary anti-communist sermons.[57] Catholic anti-communism also hindered what communist activity there was in rural Ireland, such as in Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny, where miners set up a trade union linked to the RWG in 1930.[58] The local bishop, Patrick Collier of Ossory, strongly condemned the union, and thirty-three miners were excommunicated,[59] following which many local communists disassociated themselves from their former politics.[60] Elsewhere, in Leitrim, the RWG's main local member, James Gralton, was deported to the United States.[61] Gralton was strongly condemned by the local clergy, particularly Bishop James MacNamee of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.[62] In Northern Ireland, too, Catholic anti-communism was a force. Nationalist Party politicians attempted to exploit anti-communism to ward

[54] Cronin, 'Catholicising fascism, fascistising Catholicism', p. 408.
[55] Cronin, *The Blueshirts and Irish politics*, pp. 104-105.
[56] R. M. Douglas, *Architects of the resurrection: Ailtirí na hAiséirghe and the fascist 'new order' in Ireland* (Manchester, 2009), p. 22.
[57] Bob Doyle, who ironically later fought in the International Brigades, was a participant in the first Connolly House attack. He recalled being told by a Redemptorist Lenten missioner in Dublin's Pro-Cathedral on 27 March that communists inside Connolly House with 'big beards' were 'spitting on a statue of the Blessed Virgin'. Bob Doyle, *Brigadista: an Irishman's fight against fascism* (Dublin, 2006), p. 33. Allegations of clerical incitement of the attacks are supported by state sources. Garda Commissioner Eamon Broy observed that the attackers 'collect at 149 Great Strand Street usually after the services terminate each evening, and are easily led or incited by remarks by irresponsible members of [the clergy]' while a Department of Justice document recalled how 'following the Lenten lectures in the city churches in which the activities of the Communists were strongly denounced from the pulpit, crowds (...) attacked the headquarters of the revolutionary groups'. Brian Hanley, 'The storming of Connolly House' in *History Ireland*, vii, no. 2 (Summer., 1999), p. 5.
[58] Pat Feeley, 'The Castlecomer mine and quarry union: part one' in *Old Limerick Journal*, vi (Spring., 1981), pp. 34-36.
[59] Jerry Joyce, *The laity: help or hindrance* (Dublin, 1999), p. 176.
[60] Redemptorist missioners noted in 1935 that 'a little band of communists' in Kilkenny 'having publicly abjured their errors, were admitted to the sacraments'. Brendan McConvery, 'Some aspects of Redemptorist missions in the new Irish state, 1920-1937' in *Spicilegium Historicum*, xlvii, no. 1 (1999), pp. 111-112. The excommunications left a legacy of bitterness still remembered in the 1990s, when Castlecomer's priest, Jerry Joyce, acknowledged 'in the past a large section of this community's experience of the Church brought fear and doubt … these excommunicated men never felt at home in their local Church again'. Joyce, *The laity*, p. 7.
[61] Pat Feeley, *The Gralton affair* (Dublin, 1986), p. 11.
[62] Many locals believed MacNamee pressured James Geoghegan, the Minister of Justice and a nearby TD, to deport Gralton. Des Guckian, *Deported: the story of Jimmy Gralton, Effernagh, Gowel, Co. Leitrim* (NB, 1986), p. 23. Gralton's story has since been popularised by Ken Loach's *Jimmy's Hall*, a film about the controversy. *Jimmy's Hall*, dir. by Ken Loach, 2009.

off the threat of the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP).[63] Though the RWG's Belfast members were a minority of those involved in Belfast's Outdoor Relief strike of October 1932, their presence caused disquiet. 'There wasn't a pulpit all over Belfast — Catholic, Protestant — that wasn't denouncing communism', one striker later remembered.[64]

After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the Irish hierarchy declared in a pastoral letter that 'Spain at the moment is fighting the battle of Christendom against the subversive powers of Communism'.[65] In Republican-held areas of Spain, an estimated 6,682 clergy and religious were killed in reprisal for the Spanish hierarchy's support for the Nationalists.[66] In this emotive atmosphere, the Irish Christian Front, a group founded in August 1936 by Patrick Belton, a maverick Dáil deputy, enjoyed an initial spurt of success. The group's rallies in late 1936 reportedly attracted attendances of tens of thousands across Ireland.[67] The organisation of an Irish Brigade under Eoin O'Duffy to militarily support Franco in the conflict received the 'limited but significant' support of Cardinal MacRory of Armagh, though some grassroots clergy were cynical about the move and discouraged enlistment.[68] The Irishmen in the International Brigades received a much more hostile response, one Redemptorist preacher asserting that 'every man who fights for Lenin, Trotsky, or Marx fights for the devil and against Christ'.[69] There was a diminution of Irish Catholic attention on Spain after mid 1937, prompted in large part by the greater threat of a European War, the return of O'Duffy's Brigade in ignomious circumstances, and the fracturing of Belton's organisation.[70] As this thesis will detail, the coming of the Second World War would bring turbulent times for Irish communism, and lay the seeds for Irish Catholic responses to the Cold War both domestically and abroad.

Historiography

Since the end of the Cold War, scholarly examinations of anti-communism during the conflict have greatly increased. Fayet views this as a consequence of modern scholars possessing a greater

[63] Despite this, significant numbers of Belfast Catholics continued to vote for the NILP and its breakaway parties. Mary N. Harris, 'Catholicism, nationalism and the labour question in Belfast, 1928-38' in *Bullán*, iii, no. 1 (1997), p. 28.
[64] Ronnie Munch and Bill Rolston, *Belfast in the thirties: an oral history* (Belfast, 1987), pp. 38-40. When Pius XI met the local bishop, Daniel Mageean of Down and Connor, later in 1932, he was already fully briefed on the Outdoor Relief strike. 'I had to give him a full explanation of what I meant when I referred to "the dole"', Mageean later recalled of their conversation. *Irish Catholic*, 26 Nov. 1932.
[65] Dermot Keogh, *Ireland and Europe, 1919-1948* (Cork, 1990), p. 72.
[66] These killings were unsanctioned by the Republican Government, and were largely committed by the anarchists in the immediate aftermath of Franco's initial coup. Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth century Spain* (London, 2012), p. 334.
[67] Douglas, *Architects of the resurrection*, pp. 31-32.
[68] Fearghal McGarry, *Irish politics and the Spanish Civil War* (Cork, 1999), pp. 160-161.
[69] *Connacht Tribune*, 2 Mar. 1937.
[70] David Convery, 'Ireland and the fall of the Second Republic in Spain' in *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, lxxxix, nos 7-8, (2012), p. 215.

detachment from the polemical atmosphere of the era, observing that the fall of the Berlin Wall 'has removed most of the ideological suspicion that used to hang over the subject'.[71] There has also been a concerted move away from US-centric 'statist' interpretations that downplay the role of non-state actors,[72] and a recognition that 'the history of anti-communism, similar to communism, has an international dimension that is only starting to be investigated by historians'.[73] Much of the recent scholarship on Cold War anti-communism has focused on the role of Catholicism.[74] In addition, the field of Cold War studies has seen a greater focus on the cultural aspects of the conflict more broadly, including the role of religion. The publication in 2002 of *Religion and the Cold War*, a collection edited by Dianne Kirby, a key scholar on the Cold War and religion, was an important contribution to this growing sub-genre. In the volume's introduction, Kirby criticised 'the frigid attitude toward church history and religious studies' which many older Cold War scholars possessed, noting that while 'it was inconceivable to teach the history of the Middle Ages without reference to religion, the opposite was true of more recent centuries'.[75] Unsurprisingly, much of this research focused on the role of the Catholic Church in the Cold War, and two of the scholars who contributed to Kirby's volume, Peter Kent and John Pollard, have since published comprehensive studies examining Pius XII's response to the Cold War.[76] Two important recent volumes in the field of Cold War studies have included chapters on the role of religion and Catholicism, illustrating the new recognition of religion's importance to the Cold War.[77] A recent article by Rosario Forlenza on Italian Catholic anti-communism warns against the temptation 'to reduce Catholic anti-communism to a simple oppositional ideology, and its cultural production to a strategic device aimed at achieving clear-cut political aims'. Instead, he notes that Catholic anti-communism was embraced by both political elites and the broader population in Italy as it gave them a sense of purpose amidst the broader anxieties of the Cold War: 'In a time of socio-political and existential uncertainty, millions

[71] Fayet, 'Reflections on writing the history of anti-communism', p. 17.
[72] Stéphanie Roulin, Giles Scott-Smith and Luke van Dongen, 'Introduction' in *Transnational anti-communism and the Cold War*, p. 7.
[73] Evan Smith, 'Policing communism across the "white man's world": anti-communist co-operation between Australia, South Africa and Britain in the early Cold War' in *Britain and the World*, x, no. 2 (2017), p. 170.
[74] Paula Maurutto, 'Private policing and surveillance of Catholics: anti-communism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1920-1960' in *Labour/Le Travail*, xl (Fall/Automne., 1997), pp. 113-136; Bruce Duncan, *Crusade or conspiracy: Catholics and the anti-communist struggle in Australia* (Sydney, 2001); Ross Fitzgerald, *The Pope's battalions: Santamaria, Catholicism and the labor split* (Brisbane, 2003); Nicholas Reid, 'Struggle for souls: Catholicism and communism in twentieth-century New Zealand' in *Australian Historical Studies*, xxxvii, no. 128 (2006), pp. 72-88; Coleen Doody, 'Grappling with secularism: anti-communism and Catholicism in Cold War Detroit' in *American Communist History*, x, no. 1 (2011), pp. 53-71.
[75] Dianne Kirby, 'Religion and the Cold War – an introduction' in Dianne Kirby (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War* (2nd ed, London, 2013), p. 7.
[76] Peter C. Kent, *The lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: the Roman Catholic Church and the division of Europe, 1943-1950* (Montreal, 2002); Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*.
[77] Kirby, 'The religious Cold War', pp. 540-564; Piotr H. Kosicki, 'The Catholic Church and the Cold War' in Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Craig Daigle (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War* (London, 2014), pp. 259-272.

of Italians found reassurance in a message as simple in its basic elements as it was profound in its implication'.[78]

This thesis is an Irish contribution to this growing acknowledgement of the importance of religion to the Cold War. The key overviews of twentieth century Ireland generally and the post-war period specifically have acknowledged the importance of the Catholic Church to the Cold War atmosphere in Ireland,[79] as have the increasing number of studies looking at Ireland and the Cold War.[80] Despite this, the Irish Catholic Church has not been the subject of a monograph discussing its role in the Cold War in its own right. In beginning to address this oversight, this thesis also adds to the growing acknowledgment in Irish historiography of the usefulness of transnational perspectives in exploring Irish history. Easily dismissed as an intellectual fad, Whelehan notes that transnational approaches are not 'superior to national or local ones, but are designed to provide different perspectives, well suited to some problems and ill-suited to others'.[81] He instances 'religious networks and organisations' as an important aspect of transnational history, with the Catholic Church, ruled, as it was, 'by a foreign power, the Vatican', a prime example.[82] Delaney has also noted the 'obvious global dimension to Irish Catholicism in terms of numbers and the formation of new congregations in many different places', albeit this global dimension was very much shaped by individual local contexts.[83] This thesis shall explore the Holy See's role in Irish anti-communism, and how the views of the Irish Catholic clergy, laity and press towards the Cold War were shaped by

[78] Rosario Forlenza, 'The enemy within: Catholic anti-communism in Cold War Italy' in *Past and Present*, ccxxxv, no. 1 (May, 2017), pp. 241-242.
[79] J.J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985: politics and society* (Cambridge, 1989); Brian Fallon, *An age of innocence: Irish culture, 1930 -1960* (Dublin, 1998); Henry Patterson, *Ireland since 1939* (Oxford, 2002); Diarmaid Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland, 1900-2000* (London, 2004); Dermot Keogh and Andrew McCarthy, *Twentieth century Ireland: revolution and state building* (Dublin, 2005); Tom Garvin, *News from a new Republic: Ireland in the 1950s* (Dublin, 2011).
[80] Key works in this sphere include Evgeny M. Chossudovsky, 'The origins of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (1958-1961)' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, iii, no. 2 (1990), pp. 111-135; Ian McCabe, *A diplomatic history of Ireland, 1948-9: the Republic, the Commonwealth and NATO* (Dublin, 1991); Cathal Dowling, 'Irish policy on the representation of China at the United Nations, 1957-9' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, vii (1996), pp. 81-95; Catherine Manathunga, 'The evolution of Irish disarmament initiatives at the United Nations, 1957-61' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, vii (1996), pp. 97-113; Eilís Ward, '"A big show-off to show what we could do": Ireland and the Hungarian refugee crisis of 1956' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, vii (1996), pp. 131-141; Bernadette Whelan, *Ireland and the Marshall Plan, 1947-57* (Dublin, 2000); Robert McNamara, 'Irish perspectives on the Vietnam War' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, xiv (2003), pp. 75-94; Till Geiger and Michael Kennedy (eds), *Ireland, Europe and the Marshall Plan* (Dublin, 2004); Paula L. Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War: diplomacy and recognition, 1949-63* (Dublin, 2006); John Mulqueen, 'Irish republicanism and the Cold War: western geo-political state perspectives on crises in Ireland, 1962-1976' (PhD, TCD, 2011); Kevin O'Sullivan, *Ireland, Africa and the end of empire: small state identity in the Cold War, 1955-75* (Manchester, 2012); Jérôme Aan de Wiel, *East German intelligence and Ireland, 1949-90: espionage, terrorism and diplomacy* (Manchester, 2014). While not specifically covering the Cold War, the latter stages of Eunan O'Halpin's *Defending Ireland* also contain a considerable amount about the Irish state's security response to the conflict. Eunan O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland: the Irish state and its enemies since 1922* (Oxford, 1999).
[81] Whelehan, 'Playing with scales', p. 15.
[82] Ibid, p. 20.
[83] Delaney, 'Our island story?', p. 421.

contacts they had with Irish priests abroad and broader co-religionists on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Whelehan also notes that transnational approaches are highly applicable to studies of the Irish labour movement.[84] The same is true of the Irish communist movement that the Catholic hierarchy so feared during the Cold War. Prominent Irish communists in the 1950s, such as Seán Murray and Betty Sinclair, lived highly transnational lives. They had a strong affinity with the Soviet Union, which they had visited since the 1930s;[85] some, like Michael O'Riordan and Frank Edwards, had fought in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War.[86]

As a history of the Catholic Church in the Cold War, this thesis engages strongly with works dealing with post-1945 Irish Catholicism. Key authors here include Whyte, Keogh, Kenny, Cooney, Fuller, Ó Corráin and Curtis. J. H. Whyte's 1980 *Church and state in modern Ireland, 1923-1979* was primarily a history of church-state relations since independence, with a heavy focus on Noël Browne's controversial Mother and Child Scheme. While Whyte foresaw that later studies based on then unavailable diocesan archives would supersede his work,[87] it remains a valuable study of the period, making several references to the Church's anti-communism. Dermot Keogh has published a number of well-researched works encompassing Irish Catholicism in the Cold War, with a heavy archival focus. However, they appeared before the opening of the McQuaid papers in 1998, and have been superseded by recent scholarship as a result.[88] Drawing on a comprehensive range of pamphlets and periodicals, Mary Kenny's 1997 *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland* had the avowed purpose of disproving the idea that modern Irish Catholicism was insular and anti-intellectual. In this context, she touches on the Cold War, noting an important article in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* on the morality of nuclear warfare, for example.[89] Conversely, she understates the seriousness of Catholic anti-communism in a domestic context. Her claim that Irish Catholic anti-communism 'never amounted to much', for instance, rests in part on the contention that unrest resulting in property

[84] Whelehan, 'Playing with scales', p. 20.
[85] Barry McLoughlin, 'Proletarian academics or party functionaries? Irish communists at the International Lenin School, Moscow, 1927-37' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 22 (1997), pp. 63-79.
[86] To date, the most comprehensive work on the Irishmen who fought on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War is David Convery, '"Brigadistas": the history and memory of Irish anti-fascists in the Spanish Civil War' (PhD, UCC, 2012).
[87] Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland*, p. ix.
[88] Keogh, *Ireland and Europe:* Dermot Keogh, 'Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War: the case of Italy, 1948' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, iii, no 3 (1991), pp. 67-114; Dermot Keogh, 'Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War: the case of Italy, 1948' in *The Historical Journal*, xxxiv, no. 4 (Dec., 1991), pp. 931-952; Dermot Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican: the politics and diplomacy of church-state relations, 1922-1960* (Cork, 1995).
[89] Mary Kenny, *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland: a social, personal and cultural history from the fall of Parnell to the realm of Mary Robinson* (London, 1997), pp. 216-217.

damage did not take place, an assertion which ignores the anti-communist violence in Dublin in 1933, and, to a lesser extent, 1956.[90]

As the first major work on McQuaid since John Feeney's slender and sympathetic, though not hagiographical, effort in 1974,[91] and the first with access to his papers, John Cooney's 1999 *John Charles McQuaid: ruler of Catholic Ireland* was an important contribution to the literature on modern Irish Catholicism. Cooney notes McQuaid's involvement in the broader anti-communist campaigns of the era, highlighting, for instance, his role in the Irish Catholic Church's intervention in the 1948 Italian general election and the visit of Yugoslavia's soccer team to Ireland in 1955. Bodies such as the CIB and the Vigilance Committee are only cursorily mentioned, albeit for the first time in a published work. Cooney's biography makes claims which he does not sustain and are open to question, as this thesis shall argue in relation to its subject matter. In contrast with Feeney, who was careful to emphasise that McQuaid was just one member of a broader hierarchy, Cooney describes McQuaid as the 'ruler of Catholic Ireland',[92] which significantly downplays the role of the other Bishops, notably Cardinal D'Alton of Armagh, who, as Daithí Ó Corráin emphasises, was McQuaid's ecclesiastical senior.[93] In doing so, the book is indicative of what James S. Donnelly Jr, in an article on McQuaid's contemporary, Bishop Michael Browne of Galway, has described as the Dublin-centric 'metropolitan slant' which had marked much of the scholarship on modern Irish Catholicism.[94] Indeed, Browne's anti-communist rhetoric was significantly more publicly combatative than McQuaid's. Feeney, in criticising the outspokenness of Browne's anti-communist statements, accused him of indulging 'time and again in cheap heroics which the Archbishop of Dublin shunned',[95] while Whyte, more broadly, wryly observed that Browne's 'readiness to put forward his views bluntly is welcome at least to the historian'.[96] Indeed Cooney, when asked by Diarmaid Ferriter about the contemporary tendency to ignore other bishops beyond McQuaid in the period, stated that if Browne had been Archbishop of Dublin, he would have been 'even worse!' than McQuaid.[97]

Louise Fuller's *Irish Catholicism since 1950: the undoing of a culture* makes judicious use of pastoral letters and contemporary publications to present a comprehensive discussion of modern Irish

[90] Ibid, p. 181.
[91] John Feeney, *John Charles McQuaid: the man and the mask* (Dublin, 1974).
[92] John Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid: ruler of Catholic Ireland* (Dublin, 1999).
[93] Daithí Ó Corráin, 'The quiet leader: the episcopacy of John Cardinal D'Alton 1946-63' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha: journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, xxi, no. 1 (2006), p. 292.
[94] James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Bishop Michael Browne of Galway (1937-76) and the regulation of public morality' in *NewHibernia Review*, xvii, no. 1 (Earrach/Spring, 2013), p. 16.
[95] Feeney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 34.
[96] Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland*, p. 75.
[97] Diarmaid Ferriter, *What if? Alternate views of twentieth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 48.

Catholicism. Fuller's book is especially good at placing the Irish hierarchy's anti-communism within its international context, though bodies like the CIB and the Vigilance Committee are ignored.[98] While not significantly focusing on anti-communism, Ó Corráin's *Rendering to God and Caesar: the Irish churches and the two states in Ireland* is valuable in its analysis of the Catholic hierarchy as a whole, rather than overemphasising the importance of McQuaid. Despite this strength, Ó Corráin does not substantively discuss lay Catholic groups, and his argument that commentators have disproportionately discussed Denis Fahey's Maria Duce organisation is unfair.[99] The lack of focus on lay Catholic organisations has been redressed in large part by the comprehensive, if dated, analysis of the Knights of Saint Columbanus by Evelyn Bolster,[100] works by Mary Christine Athans and Enda Delaney on Fahey and Maria Duce,[101] as well as the work of Maurice Curtis, which looks at groups like the CYMS, CTSI and the Knights. While Curtis explores their focus on anti-communism, both of his adaptations of his PhD thesis deal overwhelmingly with the inter-war period and only deal cursorily with post-1945 Catholic Action. The relationship between Catholic Action and anti-communism in post-war Ireland is still understudied, therefore.[102]

The Irish communist movement itself has traditionally been overlooked by mainstream histories. Emmet O'Connor has noted that 'the most acclaimed survey of the political history of twentieth century Ireland, Lee's *Ireland: 1912-1985*, made just eight passing references to "communism" in 687 pages, and all of them actually dealt with anti-communism'.[103] The movement's weakness, of course, is the most obvious reason why historians not looking specifically at it have only made cursory references to it. This weakness, paradoxically, should make the movement of interest to scholars. Given that Ireland was such stony ideological soil for communism, the reasons why some Irish people defied the prevailing consensus and joined the movement is of considerable interest.

The party's own official history was published in 1975, and while its partisan nature obviously means it should be used with caution, the fact it was written by Seán Nolan, someone directly involved in the party throughout the events of this thesis, mean it is worthy of

[98] Louise Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950: the undoing of a culture* (Dublin, 2002).
[99] Ó Corráin, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, pp. 96-97.
[100] Evelyn Bolster, *The Knights of Saint Columbanus* (Dublin, 1979).
[101] Mary Christine Athans, *The Coughlin-Fahey connection: Father Charles E. Coughlin, Father Denis Fahey, CSSp, and religious anti-Semitism in the United States, 1938-1954* (New York, 1991); Enda Delaney, 'Political Catholicism in post-war Ireland: the Revd. Denis Fahey and Maria Duce' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, lii, no. 3 (July, 2001), pp. 487-511; Enda Delaney, 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth-century Ireland' in *English Historical Review*, cxxvi, no. 521 (Aug., 2011), pp. 878-903.
[102] Maurice Curtis, *The splendid cause: the Catholic Action movement in Ireland in the twentieth century* (Dublin, 2008); Curtis, *A challenge to democracy*.
[103] O'Connor, 'Anti-communism in twentieth century Ireland', p. 59.

examination.[104] The first comprehensive scholarly work on the party was Mike Milotte's 1984 study *Communism in modern Ireland*. The importance of Cold War Catholic anti-communism is acknowledged by Milotte but only cursorily discussed. Milotte's book was also published before many of the key state and Catholic archives opened, and he did not have access to the CPI's own archives. He wrote with a Trotskyist slant, and subsequent studies by Smylie and Byers have illustrated problems with aspects of his analysis, such as his exaggeration of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland's (CPNI) pro-British orientation in the early Cold War.[105]

Patrick Smylie's 2010 thesis looking specifically at Irish communism during the Cold War gives an excellent overview of the subject, particularly in its attempts to analyse the social and cultural aspects of Irish communism. For reasons beyond the author's control, the thesis is hampered by the then unavailability of the party's own papers, which were opened to the public a year later. Smylie acknowledges the importance of the Catholic Church to Irish anti-communism during the Cold War, noting that 'anti-communism embodied an axiomatic reflex in a country where Catholic anti-communism permeated the national psyche'. He quotes from McQuaid's papers to demonstrate the Church's interest in communism, particularly emphasising correspondence with the Holy See.[106] Given that the thesis looks at Irish communism rather than anti-communism, Smylie's discussion of Catholic anti-communism is very much a sub-theme and, despite the aforementioned strengths, it sometimes risks being simplistic. His description of *Fiat* as a journal of a study group affiliated to the Holy Ghost Fathers risks downplaying how much of an outlier Denis Fahey was within the Spiritan Order, and, while not incorrect that the hierarchy for a period tolerated Maria Duce,[107] he omits to mention that their toleration of the group grew increasingly thin in the 1950s and they were forced to change their name to Fírinne by McQuaid after Fahey's 1954 death.[108] A wider engagement by Smylie with the relevant literature on modern Irish Catholicism, such as some of the aforementioned works by Athans and Delaney on Maria Duce, may have ameliorated such problems. He also places too great an emphasis on the role of McQuaid. For example, while he rightly acknowledges the existence of Catholic anti-communism in Northern Ireland,[109] Cardinal D'Alton's papers are not used, which would have expanded Smylie's handling of this point. Smylie's thesis is also important in its focus on the British-based Connolly Association, a left-republican Irish organisation close to the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), and he has since published a journal article based on

[104] Seán Nolan, *Communist Party of Ireland: outline history* (Dublin, 1975).
[105] Mike Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland: the pursuit of the workers' republic since 1916* (Dublin, 1984).
[106] Patrick Smylie, 'Irish communism 1945-1970: Cold War, partition and convergence' (PhD, Queens' University Belfast, 2010), pp. 76-79.
[107] Ibid, pp. 75-76.
[108] Delaney, 'Political Catholicism in post-war Ireland', p. 510.
[109] Smylie, 'Irish communism 1945-1970', p. 51.

this section of the thesis. The Church's opposition to the Connolly Association, which was considerable, is not examined in this context,[110] despite it being signposted as an important topic by other scholars,[111] and Connolly Association veterans.[112]

Matt Treacy's 2012 *The Communist Party of Ireland, 1921-2011, vol. 1, 1921-1969* – a further volume has not yet appeared – is significant as it was the first work to exploit the release of the CPI's archive in 2011. It also makes use of previously neglected archival material elsewhere, such as MI5 files on the Connolly Association in Britain's National Archives. Despite this, the work is let down by factual errors, as this thesis shall highlight, and frequently fails to provide citations for its claims. It is also marred by Treacy's attitude towards the CPI itself in its various incarnations, which goes beyond reasoned criticism to a rigid partisan hostility which, in a manner inverse to Cooney, reduces the people it discusses to caricature, rather than providing a serious assessment of their careers. This leads Treacy to downplay the importance of Catholicism to Irish anti-communism, a fact which ignores the particular weakness of the Irish communist movement in comparison with those in the rest of Europe. An engagement with Catholic archives, which Treacy entirely neglects, would surely have led to a better understanding of the subject matter in this regard.[113]

Individual figures in the communist movement have been the subject of journal articles, book chapters, or slim pamphlets, and there is still far more scope for substantive studies of their lives. While it may be questioned why figures who were undeniably marginal throughout their political careers in Ireland merit study, the inherently transnational nature of the lives they led and comparative rareness, in Irish terms, in their political choices make them figures of interest.[114] Seán Byers' 2015 biography of Seán Murray is a rare book-length biography of an Irish communist, and is an excellent recent contribution to the literature on Irish communism. It uses previously neglected archival sources to discuss a figure whose life straddles inter-war and Cold War Irish communism.

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[110] Patrick Smylie, 'The Connolly Association, the CPGB and Irish communism, 1945-1962' in *Labor History* (2017), pp. 1-17, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/citedby/10.1080/0023656X.2017.1346902?scroll=top&needAccess=true, accessed 24 Aug., 2017.

[111] Kieran O'Shea, *The Irish emigrant chaplaincy scheme in Britain, 1957-82* (Naas, 1985), p. 15; Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950*, p. 44; Enda Delaney, *The Irish in post-war Britain* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 160-161.

[112] C. Desmond Greaves, *Reminiscences of the Connolly Association: an emerald jubilee pamphlet, 1938-1978* (London, 1978); Anthony Coughlan, *C. Desmond Greaves, 1913-1988: an obituary essay* (Dublin, 1990); Roy Johnston, *Century of endeavour*: *a biographical and autobiographical view of the twentieth century in Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).

[113] Matt Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland, 1921-2011: vol. 1, 1921-1969* (Dublin, 2012).

[114] These include, but are not confined to, Stephen Bowler, 'Seán Murray, 1898-1961, and the pursuit of Stalinism in one country' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 18 (1993), pp. 41-53; Hazel Morrissey, 'Betty Sinclair: a woman's fight for socialism, 1910-1981' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 9 (1983), pp. 121-132; Emmet O'Connor, 'Seán Murray' in Emmet O'Connor and John Cunningham (eds.), *Studies in Irish radical leadership: lives on the left* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 109-120; Patrick Smylie, 'Betty Sinclair' in Emmet O'Connor and John Cunningham (eds.), *Studies in Irish radical leadership: lives on the left* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 121-132; Michael Quinn, *The making of an Irish communist leader: the life and times of Michael O'Riordan, 1938-1947* (Dublin, 2011).

While Byers notes that McQuaid 'encouraged the formation of vigilance groups to monitor and actively combat "atheistic" communist influences', he does not draw upon the material on communism in the Dublin Diocesan Archives, which contain several mentions of Murray.[115] Michael Quinn's *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations, 1917-1991* includes discussion of the Irish-USSR Friendship Society, a group with many communist members which attracted the opposition of the Catholic Church during the Cold War. While Quinn acknowledges the interest the Archdiocese of Dublin had in the group, he does not examine the relevant documents in the Dublin Diocesan Archives, beyond citing descriptions in the catalogue of the communism section of the McQuaid papers. Thus, as with Byers, the extent of clerical interest in the organisation is not fully explored.[116]

Some other notable recent works have expanded the scholarship on Irish Catholic anti-communism during the Cold War. David Connolly's 2011 M. Litt thesis, 'The "red scare" in 1950s Dublin: genuine or generated? The role of Archbishop McQuaid's Vigilance Committee', is a good overview of the subject, particularly in its discussion of the personalities involved on the committee, but confines itself to a discussion of the Committee's work, and does not exhaust the Vigilance Committee material in the McQuaid papers. It argues that it was a generated scare in order 'to secure and maintain the dominant position and intellectual hegemony of the Catholic Church in Ireland and further afield', even though it previously acknowledges 'the genuine fear' on the Irish hierarchy's part that ideas from the Eastern Bloc could permeate into Ireland.[117] Enda Delaney's 2011 article 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth century Ireland' skilfully places Irish Cold War anti-communism within both its transnational and domestic contexts. Delaney emphasises the importance of American anti-communism, events in Europe, and 'a deeply entrenched fear of the impact of the modern on Irish society, shared by many politicians, Catholic clerics and some intellectuals', in fanning Cold War anti-communism in Ireland.[118] The bulk of Delaney's article deals with Fr Denis Fahey's organisation, Maria Duce, and its protests against proposed visits by 'communist' American film stars to Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s, which illustrates how one aspect of American red scare politics was taken up across the Atlantic. In focusing on Maria Duce alone Delaney risks overstating how typical the organisation's activities were of Irish Catholic anti-communism, and his consequent argument that the activities of lay Catholic activists in Ireland were primarily directed 'at people and forms of cultural production from across the Atlantic' ignores the activites of groups like the CTSI

[115] Seán Byers, *Seán Murray, Marxist-Leninist and Irish socialist republican* (Sallins, 2015), p. 163.
[116] Michael Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations, 1917-1991* (Dublin, 2016), pp. 191-192.
[117] David Connolly, 'The "red scare" in 1950s Dublin: genuine or generated? The role of Archbishop McQuaid's Vigilance Committee' (M. Litt, TCD, 2011), pp. 44-46.
[118] Delaney, 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth-century Ireland', p. 878.

and the Knights of St. Columbanus, both of whom were greatly interested in the threat of domestic Irish communism.[119]

An article by Emmet O'Connor providing a useful overview of Irish opposition to communism from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1970s has recently been published in an issue of the journal *Twentieth Century Communism* exploring anti-communism internationally. O'Connor's article creates an unnecessary distinction between Irish anti-communism in the 1930s, where he argues that 'there were genuine domestic grounds – however exaggerated – for anti-communism' and Cold War anti-communism, where he contends that 'international events were more influential, and the church exploited popular propaganda to intensify public piety and clerical direction of spirituality'.[120] The global situation's role in fomenting Irish anti-communism during the Cold War was indeed important. The anti-communist intelligence work of the CIB, the Knights of St. Columbanus and the Archdiocese of Dublin's Vigilance Committee, organisations whose activities O'Connor does not mention in his discussion of the Cold War period,[121] demonstrate that the Church retained a genuine, if disproportionate, fear of the activities of Irish communists into the Cold War era also. Brian A. McKenzie's recent article on the European Youth Campaign in Ireland, meanwhile, draws on McQuaid's archives to explore how this transnational organisation operated in a Cold War context in Ireland. McKenzie's article is particularly valuable in its attempt to situate Ireland within a growing scholarship on the role of youth and the Cold War, and its discussion of McQuaid's Vigilance Committee is placed in this context. This thesis builds on McKenzie's work by exploring the Catholic concern that communists were particularly attempting to recruit Irish youth into their ranks.[122]

The labour movement is also a significant focus of this thesis, as both communists and anti-communists emphasised it as an area of activity. The pre-eminent general histories of Irish trade unionism acknowledge the pressures of Catholic anti-communism on Irish trade unionism, albeit cursorily,[123] as do biographies of important figures in the Irish labour movement.[124] *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society* is an indispensable resource as regards this subject, containing over forty years of research on Irish trade unionism and working class life. For instance, recent years

[119] Ibid, p. 885.
[120] O'Connor, 'Anti-communism in twentieth century Ireland', p. 59.
[121] Ibid, pp. 71-74.
[122] Brian A. McKenzie, 'The European Youth Campaign in Ireland: neutrality, Americanization and the Cold War, 1950 to 1959' in *Diplomatic History*, xl, no. 3 (2015), pp. 355-372.
[123] Charles McCarthy, *Trade unions in Ireland, 1894-1960* (Dublin, 1977); Terry Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition: the labour movement in Northern Ireland, 1939-1953* (Belfast, 1993); Francis Devine, *Organising history: a centenary of SIPTU, 1909-2009* (Dublin, 2009); O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*.
[124] John P. Swift, *John Swift: an Irish dissident* (Dublin, 1991); Thomas Morrissey, *William O'Brien, 1881-1968: socialist, republican, Dáil deputy, editor and trade union leader* (Dublin, 2007); O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*.

have seen two articles in the journal on the Catholic Workers' College (CWC), a Dublin Jesuit educational institution for trade unionists set up in 1951 that was strongly anti-communist. Both articles contain valuable reminiscences on the CWC, but fail to use the considerable material on the CWC in the Irish Jesuit Archives that heavily emphasise its anti-communism,[125] an issue that is also a problem with similar recent articles by David Limond.[126] *Saothar* also contains several articles on trade unionists from both Moscow-line and Trotskyist communist backgrounds, which contain insightful recollections on their experiences of Catholic anti-communism.[127] Research on the anti-communist pressures Irish trade unions faced have received varying degrees of treatment from scholars. The anti-communist suspicion the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) attracted from the Church has received some attention, though relevant material in the Galway Diocesan Archives (GDA) and the *Standard* newspaper has not been used.[128] The red scare the Federation of Rural Workers' (FRW) endured has also been studied, though Dan Bradley did not have access to the considerable material on this subject in McQuaid's and D'Alton's papers.[129] By contrast, the extraordinary story of the Archdiocese of Dublin's attempts to remove the seaman and trade unionist Des Branigan from office in his union has been overlooked entirely by scholars, and is discussed here for the first time comprehensively. Aside from studies of the labour movement, the Irish Labour Party in the period has received an excellent overview in Niamh Puirséil's *The Irish Labour Party, 1922-73*. Puirséil's work takes into account the pressures the intense nature of Irish Catholic anti-communism placed upon Labour. Puirséil also notes the importance of the Knights of St. Columbanus and McQuaid's Vigilance Committee in monitoring the activities of communists and suspected communists, although material in the McQuaid papers, which were not then catalogued to the extent they were later, are not fully exploited.[130]

[125] Francis Devine, 'The Catholic Workers' College: some data from 1951-1961' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 40 (2015), pp. 83-88; Aidan Seery and Liam McKenna, 'The Catholic Workers' College Dublin - a personal history' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 39 (2014), pp. 45-53.
[126] David Limond, 'Advanced education for working people: the Catholic Workers' College, a case study' in Brendan Walsh (ed.), *Essays on the history of Irish education* (London, 2016), pp. 339-358; David Limond, 'The Jesuits, Mary and Joseph: the Catholic Workers' College in Dublin, 1951-66' in *Catholic Historical Review*, cii, no. 2 (2016), pp. 318-339.
[127] See, for example, Morrissey, 'Betty Sinclair', pp. 121-132; Francis Devine, 'Socialist trade unionist: Matt Merrigan's political formation' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 12 (1987), pp. 94-106; Evanne Kilmurray, 'Joe Deasy: the evolution of an Irish Marxist, 1941-1950' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 13 (1988), pp. 112-119; Francis Devine, 'An undiminished dream: Andy Barr, communist trade unionist' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 16 (1991), pp. 95-101; Joe Deasy, 'George Jeffares' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 20 (1995), pp. 12-14.
[128] John Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland, 1948-1950' in *Irish Communications Review*, xiii, no. 1 (2000), pp. 30-34; Mark O'Brien, *The fourth estate: journalism in twentieth century Ireland* (Manchester, 2017).
[129] Dan Bradley, *Farm labourers: Irish struggle, 1900-1976* (Belfast, 1988).
[130] Niamh Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party, 1922-73* (Dublin, 2007).

This study also looks at a number of Irish social movements which attracted anti-communist suspicion due to the alleged influence of communists within them. The Irish Housewives' Association (IHA), one such body, is discussed by one of its founders, Hilda Tweedy, in her 1992 book *A link in the chain*. The book mentioned the pressures the allegations placed on the IHA during the Cold War,[131] and subsequent studies of the social and political activities on Irish women in the period have also touched on the controversy which surrounded the IHA.[132] A recent *History Ireland* article by James de Haan has also briefly delved into some of the material in the John Charles McQuaid papers casting light on the controversy.[133] This project builds on this previous research by more fully exploiting material in McQuaid's archive in this regard, and also highlights documents in the CPI archive which reveal IWL efforts to encourage its members to join the IHA, something not mentioned in earlier studies. This thesis also discusses the IHA within the context of other groups affected by similar allegations. This is important, as many of these groups, such as Ireland's peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns, had an overlap in membership with the IHA's own liberal, socially aware activists.

In contrast to the IHA, little research has been done on Irish peace and nuclear disarmament movements apart from Richard Harrison's brief *Irish anti-war movements, 1824-1974*.[134] While the anti-communist pressures on the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) from Protestant clergy in Northern Ireland has been touched on by one journal article,[135] and Smylie has briefly remarked on the communist movement's attitude to CND,[136] the considerable preoccupation of the Catholic clergy with communist peace activity has not been substantively examined. The anti-communist allegations faced by the Irish Association for Civil Liberty (IACL), another group drawn from much the same middle-class liberal milieu as the IHA, in the period has also been ignored by scholars, apart from incidental references.[137] The Catholic concerns about communist infiltration of the unemployed movement in the 1950s has attracted more interest, both from Evanne Kilmurray's

[131] Hilda Tweedy, *A link in the chain: the story of the Irish Housewives' Association* (Dublin, 1992).
[132] Caitríona Clear, *Women of the house: women's household work in Ireland, 1922-1961* (Dublin, 2000); Linda Connolly, *The Irish women's movement: from revolution to devolution* (Dublin, 2003); Rosemary Cullen Owens, *A social history of women in Ireland* (Dublin, 2005) ; Alan Hayes (ed.), *Hilda Tweedy and the Irish Housewives' Association: links in the chain* (Dublin, 2011).
[133] James de Haan, 'McQuaid's old granny: Una Byrne's mission to clean up the Irish Housewives' Association' in *History Ireland*, xxiii, no. 1 (Jan/Feb., 2015), pp. 42-44.
[134] Richard S. Harrison, *Irish anti-war movements, 1824-1974* (Dublin, 1986).
[135] Alan Nagle, 'From Ban-the-Bomb to Ban-the-Increase: 1960s street protests in civil rights Belfast' in *Irish Political Studies*, xxiii, no 1 (2008), pp. 41-58.
[136] Smylie, 'Irish communism', pp. 150-151.
[137] David McCullagh, *The reluctant Taoiseach: a biography of John A. Costello* (Dublin, 2011), p. 320; Dermot Keogh, 'The role of the Catholic Church in the Republic of Ireland, 1922-1995' in *Building trust in Ireland: studies commissioned by the forum for peace and reconciliation* (Belfast, 1996), p. 137.

dated *Fight, starve or emigrate*,[138] and John Johnston-Kehoe's more archivally rich study in *Saothar* in 2009. While Johnston-Kehoe makes use of material in McQuaid's archive unavailable to Kilmurray, he is primarily concerned with the political career of Jack Murphy, the independent TD involved in the movement in the latter part of the 1950s. He does not fully exploit material in Catholic archives dealing with the Catholic fear of communist exploitation of the unemployment problem. This thesis give a fuller account of McQuaid's role, integrated within its broader analysis of Cold War Catholic anti-communism.[139]

Archival sources

Material contained in Catholic diocesan archives in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland are the chief archival sources used in this thesis. The most prominent of these are the Dublin Diocesan Archives (DDA), which contain the papers of John Charles McQuaid. Such is the scale of McQuaid's papers that the broadcaster John Bowman, who presented a 1998 documentary previewing their opening later that year, estimated that it would take scholars decades to exhaust them, as they contain several hundred boxes of material.[140] McQuaid succeeded to the position of Archbishop at a time of considerable diocesan disorganisation, his predecessor, Edward Byrne, having suffered from ill-health throughout the latter part of his tenure. McQuaid significantly overhauled the Archdiocese, and ensured that the considerable correspondence he received was responded to swiftly after he arrived in Archbishop's House in Drumcondra, Dublin from his residence in Killiney at 8 each morning. He insisted that he himself remove the letters from their envelopes so his secretaries could not sift bad news. Between his other duties as Archbishop each day, he would ensure the correspondence was responded to, sometimes giving his secretaries the gist of his response and allowing them to answer, but frequently crafting the replies himself. Attempts to persuade him to use a dictaphone were ignored,[141] though he was no Luddite, endeavouring to procure a photocopying machine in 1961.[142] He characteristically annotated documents in his spidery handwriting, 'sometimes as points of reply but very often just his first thoughts and memory aids for his own reference'.[143] These annotations are crucial to the historian in revealing McQuaid's thoughts,

[138] Evanne Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate: a history of the unemployed associations in the 1950s* (Dublin, 1988).
[139] John Johnston-Kehoe, '"The unemployed TD": the unemployed protest committee and the brief political career of Jack Murphy, 1957-58' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 34 (2009), pp. 63-83.
[140] 'What the papers say' (RTÉ, 1998).
[141] David Sheehy, 'Archbishop McQuaid: the diocesan administrator' in *Doctrine and Life*, liv, no. 3 (Mar., 2003), pp. 164-169. One prominent contemporary sketch of McQuaid describes him as 'an efficient administrator who spends long hours at his desk penning all his personal letters in his own hand'. Roland Burke Savage, 'The Church in Dublin, 1940-1965' in *Studies, an Irish quarterly review*, liv, no. 216 (Winter, 1965), p. 303.
[142] Deirdre McMahon, 'John Charles McQuaid: Archbishop of Dublin, 1940-72' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds.), *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 1999), p. 353.
[143] Francis Xavier Carty, *Hold firm: John Charles McQuaid and the Second Vatican Council* (Dublin, 2007), p. 13.

sometimes revealing an 'impishly witty and self-mocking' sense of humour which belied the austere public persona.[144]

McQuaid ensured his voluminous correspondence was fastidiously preserved. David Sheehy, the former Dublin diocesan archivist, has noted that, given McQuaid's image, some might expect 'someone so renowned in clerical circles for being secretive and manipulative' to be 'careful to cover his tracks and destroy the evidence of his misrule'.[145] Despite this, McQuaid appears to have emulated his predecessor Cardinal Cullen, whom he claimed was 'as heedless of self-justification during death as he was intrepid in administration during life'.[146] Sheehy has suggested that McQuaid felt his archive should be preserved both for the administrative benefit of his successors and because, as he told Whyte in 1970, 'when in the decades ahead my archives have been opened, many judgments will be modified, even reversed'. While possessing disdain for 'secular historiography and biography',[147] he was aware future scholars would have a keen interest in his papers, telling the journalist Louis McRedmond in 1971 that his archives would 'contain many surprises for those who have already attempted to assess my years as Archbishop of Dublin'.[148] Delaney has noted that 'McQuaid's *modus operandi* in all aspects of his authoritarian episcopacy was to draw on an extensive network of loyal and trusted individuals, both clerical and lay, to gather detailed information before embarking on a new initiative, or making a significant decision'.[149] This description applies perfectly to his handling of communism, and his archives shed much light on his handling of this aspect of his episcopacy.

Within the McQuaid archives, section XXIII deals primarily with communism and contains the records of McQuaid's Vigilance Committee, as well as information given to the Archdiocese by state sources, Catholic Action organisations and individual informants such as Úna Byrne, a lay Catholic who prolifically corresponded with McQuaid about communist activity. Beyond this section, this thesis also draws upon other sections of the McQuaid papers. Section XV/E, which contains correspondence with foreign dioceses, further illustrates the Church's responses to communism abroad, as do sections XVI and XVII which deals with the Archdiocese's correspondence with the Holy See and the Papal Nuncios respectively. Section XXII, on trade

[144] Sheehy, 'Archbishop McQuaid: the diocesan administrator', p. 165.
[145] David Sheehy, 'Archbishop McQuaid: legend into history' in *Doctrine and Life*, liv, no. 2 (2003), p. 103.
[146] John Charles McQuaid, *Wellsprings of the faith* (Dublin, 1956), p. 209.
[147] Sheehy, 'Archbishop McQuaid: legend into history', pp. 104-106.
[148] Clara Cullen and Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh, *His Grace is displeased: selected correspondence of John Charles McQuaid* (Dublin, 2013), p. 6.
[149] Delaney, *The Irish in post-war Britain*, p. 137.

unionism and industrial relations, and section XXIV, on subversives, are two parts of McQuaid's voluminous papers which have proved particularly important in the domestic context of this thesis.

In keeping with the emphasis on looking at the hierarchy as a whole and not just McQuaid, this thesis also explores the papers of other bishops. Unfortunately, Irish diocesan archives are uneven in the records which have survived, and have suffered from 'a legacy of neglect and the continued under-resourcing of archival services' as one authoritative overview of Irish Catholic archives has put it.[150] As Limerick's current diocesan archivist recently observed, many archives are currently run by a serving diocesan priest 'acting in a part-time, voluntary capacity with obvious negative implications for the provision of an effective, professional archival service'. In other instances, there is no archivist at all.[151] For instance, the Cork Diocesan archivist advised me that they have no material on anti-communism, which is particularly disappointing given that two of the diocese's bishops in the period studied, Daniel Cohalan and Cornelius Lucey, were outspoken opponents of communism and are referred to throughout this thesis. To give another instance, the papers of Daniel Mageean in Down and Connor, which I visited, contain considerable information on anti-communism in the inter-war period but little of substance in the Cold War period, into which his episcopacy extended.

Beyond Dublin and Down and Connor, the thesis uses in particular the Cardinal D'Alton papers in the Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Memorial Library and Archive (OFMLA) in Armagh. Despite his seniority in the hierarchy, D'Alton is a figure who has been largely overlooked by historians, partly due to his style of leadership; by nature unassuming, he often assigned colleagues tasks, and hence Mageean and McQuaid often in practice dealt with the Stormont and Dublin governments in key matters.[152] In an overview of the Cardinal's career drawing upon his still underused papers, Ó Corráin ably summarises the material in D'Alton's archive dealing with anti-communism, which encompasses subjects ranging from the CIB to the Irish government's attitude to the debates on recognition of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations in the 1950s.[153] This thesis more fully exploits this material. Bishop Michael Browne's papers are also used herein. A 'keen historian and scholar', most of the material in the Galway Diocesan Archives dates from Browne's own era,[154] and his papers contain several files dealing with communism in both domestic

[150] Patrick J. Corish and David Sheehy, 'Introduction' in Mary Ann Lyons (ed.), *Records of the Irish Catholic Church* (Dublin, 2001), p. 1.
[151] David Bracken, 'The pastoral function of Church Archives: a reflection on the theological, judicial and pastoral context of Roman Catholic diocesan archives' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, lxxxii, no. 1. (Feb., 2017), p. 66.
[152] Ó Corráin, 'The quiet leader', pp. 291-293.
[153] Ibid, pp. 305-308.
[154] Jan Power, 'Archives report: Galway Diocesan Archives' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlvi (1991/1992), p. 135.

and international contexts. I have also examined the papers of Fr Denis Fahey in the Kimmage Manor Archives in Terenure, Dublin, which retain a significant amount of his correspondence that casts further light on the prolific anti-Semitic and anti-communist writer. While Fahey's correspondence was meant to have been destroyed, several boxes of it were overlooked and were discovered by Sr Mary Christine Athans in 1979 in the course of her doctoral research into Fahey.[155] The Irish Jesuit Archives (IJA) have also been visited, and are particularly valuable for the information they contain on Dublin's Catholic Workers' College, a body which had an important role in the Church's efforts to prevent Ireland's trade union movement from coming under the influence of anti-Catholic doctrines.

The usage of material in religious and diocesan archives presented challenges. The authors of many of the letters in the communism section of McQuaid's papers are often not identified by the descriptive list, for example. These anti-communist correspondents, such as Gabriel Diskin, rarely signed their names, and in some instances, such as that of Úna Byrne, their signatures were subsequently scrawled out. It was possible to work out the authors of most letters by their handwriting, as in some instances their signatures did feature on one or two of their letters due to oversight. Most religious and diocesan archives that were visited permitted the use of digital photography of material. This allowed me to maximise the efficient use of time spent visiting these archives, allowing for closer analysis of pertinent letters and documents at home or at my desk in the Hardiman Building in NUI Galway. The availability of sources in religious and diocesan archives, and in particular the McQuaid, D'Alton and Browne papers, has allowed me to present a far more comprehensive analysis of the anti-communism of the Irish Catholic Church in the period than scholars were able to until the recent past. With the exception of the Down and Connor Diocesan Archives, the material in the religious and diocesan archives I visited were well catalogued, which made my archival visits much easier and more straightforward. Some of these archives, like the Galway Diocesan Archives and the O'Fiach Memorial Library and Archives, have been underused as many scholars have not looked beyond the Dublin Diocesan Archives when considering church archives. While the Dublin Diocesan Archives has been better utilised by scholars, the cataloging of the communism section of the McQuaid papers, while excellent, was only completed in May 2010, which helps explain why some earlier studies, such as Cooney's, only noted in passing the existence of the CIB and the Vigilance Committee.

[155] Mary Christine Athans, 'The Coughlin-Fahey connection: Father Denis Fahey CssP, Father Charles E. Coughlin and religious anti-Semitism in the United States, 1938-1954' (PhD, Berkeley, 1982), pp. viii-ix.

The National Archives of Ireland (NAI) in Dublin, Belfast's Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), the British National Archives in Kew, London, and the CIA's online Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room have also been accessed for state files on anti-communism. Department of Foreign Affairs files in the NAI are particularly important to the first chapter, which discusses the Irish Catholic Church's response to international Cold War events, as they illustrate the extent that Catholicism shaped Irish responses to the Cold War. Irish security surveillance files on the Communist Party of Ireland in its various incarnations, the Connolly Association, and trade union and peace, nuclear disarmament and unemployed movements are also cited throughout this thesis. They add to and help to clarify matters raised in the analysis of the diocesan archival material. The NAI also contains the papers of Hilda Tweedy, which contain extensive information on the IHA and the red scare it faced. PRONI contains files on the Connolly Association and police monitoring of lay Catholic anti-communist protests in Northern Ireland, while Britain's National Archives contains several files on Connolly Association figures and other Irish communists. The Irish Military Archives were approached for information on the interning of communists during the Emergency, an important subject matter for the thesis as several figures discussed herein were interned. Unfortunately, this material was not available to me as it is currently closed to researchers due to third party data protection issues. The Irish Labour History Society Museum and Archives were also visited in the course of the research for this thesis, and initially looked promising as several figures mentioned in this thesis, including Desmond Branigan and Seán Dunne, had collections deposited there. Unfortunately the material in these archival deposits originates from a period several decades after the time period this thesis deals with.

Aside from religious archives, material from a number of other non-state archives have also been consulted while working on this project. The most important of these is the Seán Nolan and Geoffrey Palmer Communist Party of Ireland archive contained in the Dublin City Library and Archives (DCLA) in the city's Pearse Street Library, which has been open to researchers since 2011. The archive is particularly important in examining the internal life of the party, which is useful in helping to assess how accurate perceptions of Irish communism by the Catholic clergy, lay Catholic organisations, and newspapers were. I have also accessed some material from the archives of the CPGB held by the Labour History Archive and Study Centre in the People's History Museum (PHM) in Manchester. CPGB material has been particularly useful in exploring the party's own attempts to rebut Catholic anti-communist propaganda and the CPGB's relationship with the Connolly Association.

The University College Dublin Archives (UCDA) are also an important source, containing several relevant collections such as those of FF's Seán MacEntee and FG's Seán Mac Eoin, two government ministers with a keen interest in communism. The papers of MacEntee, whose frequent accusations of communist infiltration of Labour and Clann na Poblachta caused the *Irish Times* to memorably describe him as a 'political Don Quixote tilting gaily at Communist windmills'[156], are particularly useful. They contain several documents on subversive movements compiled by Peter Berry of the Department of Justice from Special Branch sources during the FF administrations of 1932-1948. These documents should be used with caution, because, as Brian Hanley emphasises, Special Branch information was often faulty. They remain an invaluable record of state surveillance of communism extending into the early Cold War period, and contain mention of many of the groups and individuals who also attracted clerical suspicion in the post-war years.[157] The papers of John de Courcy Ireland, a veteran Irish leftist frequently accused of communist sympathies by Catholic anti-communists from the 1940s to the 1960s, are also held by University College Dublin (UCD) and have proved useful. I have also examined the papers of Owen Sheehy Skeffington in the National Library of Ireland. Sheehy-Skeffington, a liberal socialist, like de Courcy Ireland was a frequent object of Catholic suspicion. His widow, Andrée, is also discussed in his thesis due to her role in the IHA, and she wrote a biography of her late husband following his 1969 death which is also useful.[158] Owen and Andrée's children, Micheline and Alan Sheehy-Skeffington, kindly gave me access to Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington's original manuscript for the biography, which is two-thirds longer than the eventual published version.[159] The National Library also contains a minute book of a Dublin-based branch of Maria Duce, which complements material in Fahey's papers.[160] The Documents on Irish Foreign Policy series, which collates primary source documents from the NAI and the UCD Archives, have also been accessed, and are particularly pertinant to the first chapter.[161] I did not have time to consult all of the relevant archives in the National Library and the National Archives due to time and space constraints, and the papers of Éamon de Valera and Frank Aiken in UCD and of Seán O'Casey in the National Library are two which provide outlets for further research.

[156] Tom Feeney, *Seán MacEntee: a political life* (Dublin, 2009), p. 229.
[157] Brian Hanley, 'Peter Berry's notes on "subversion" in the 30s and 40s' in *History Ireland*, ix, no 2 (Summer, 2001), pp. 5-6.
[158] Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff: the life of Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, 1909-1970* (Dublin, 1991).
[159] Sheehy-Skeffington MS.
[160] Minute book of the St. Philip Neri branch, Maria Duce (NLI MS 46, 649).
[161] Catriona Crowe, Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh and Eunan O'Halpin (eds.), *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, vii, 1945-1948* (Dublin, 2012); Catriona Crowe, Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh, Eunan O'Halpin and Kate O'Malley (eds.), *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, ix, 1948-1951* (Dublin, 2014); ibid, *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, x, 1951-1957* (Dublin, 2016).

Journals and periodicals are also a key source of information. I have completed analyses of the *Irish Catholic Directory*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, the Dominican *Irish Rosary*, the Jesuit *Irish Monthly* and *Studies*, Maria Duce's *Fiat*, the Maynooth Catholic sociological journal *Christus Rex*, the *Standard* and early issues of *Hibernia*. The *Standard*, 'Ireland's main Catholic newspaper until the late 1940s',[162] is particularly important to this thesis, as it regularly engaged in exposes of the Irish communist movement: 'some of the articles were so detailed that it was thought they had been written on the basis of Special Branch files'.[163] To a less systematic degree, I have also looked at the *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, the *Father Mathew Record*, the *Irish Catholic*, and the *Far East*. The pamphlets of lay Catholic organisations are also used and the National Library and the Catholic Central Library in Dublin have been accessed in this regard. I have also received some files from the Catholic University of America in Washington DC on the Catholic News Service and its correspondence with some Irish Catholic journals, which casts further light on the issues raised within them. On the opposite side of the political spectrum, the Connolly Association's *Irish Democrat* has been fully uploaded online.[164] Both McQuaid's archive and the Pearse Street Library have extensive runs of the communist *Irish Workers' Voice*. *The Bell*, a liberal periodical from the era, has also been used.

The thesis will also use online sources. In a recent journal article about his blog, *Come Here To Me*, Donal Fallon has noted that 'blogging has now become a central part of the dissemination approach of Irish cultural institutions wishing to put the spotlight on items in their collections or to promote forthcoming events'.[165] Not mentioned in his article, but of particular use to this thesis, has been *Lux Occulta*, a blog containing pamphlets and articles from the twentieth century from a variety of Irish Catholic organisations and publications, many of which deal with anti-communism. Shane, the blog's creator, has kindly given me permission to cite from some of these pamphlets here.[166]

It is a matter of regret that interviews with protagonists from the time were not carried out, but unfortunately there was not sufficient time. The conversion of this thesis into a monograph may allow for this to be amended. I have made use of an interview in which the trade unionist Mick O'Reilly interviewed Desmond Branigan, a trade union leader extensively discussed in this thesis,

[162] Mary E. Daly, *Sixties Ireland: reshaping the economy, state and society, 1957-1973* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 145.
[163] Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland', p. 32.
[164] Connolly Association, *Irish Democrat* (1939-2000), http://www.connollyassociation.org.uk/irishdemocrat/, accessed 28 Aug. 2017.
[165] Donal Fallon, 'Come Here To Me!: blogging the stories of Dublin in the digital age' in *Éire-Ireland*, lii, nos 1-2 (Spring/Summer, 2017), pp. 301-302.
[166] *Lux Occulta*, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/, accessed 28 Aug. 2017.

before the latter's death in 2016 at the age of 98.[167] A transcript of recollections offered by Seán Coyle, a Dominican priest, to Shane of *Lux Occulta* has also been used.[168]

Thesis structure

This thesis has used a thematic rather than a narrative structure. It contains many individual case studies of Catholic anti-communism in the time period, and many of these case studies were matters of concern for the Church during most or all of the twenty years examined by the thesis. It was therefore felt that a narrative structure would make discussion of these case studies fragmentary, and that a thematic treatment of the material was more appropriate in discussing the individual aspects of the thesis, giving it a more coherent narrative. While the thesis deals with the period between 1945 and 1965, in some instances events in the pre-war and Emergency periods shall be referred to, as doing so was deemed necessary to better contextualise later events.

Chapter One takes a transnational approach, exploring the Irish Catholic Church's response to the global Cold War. The post-war situation in Europe particularly caught the attention of Irish Catholics, and the position of the Catholic Church in eastern Europe's 'new democracies' prompted strong reactions in Ireland as it did amongst Catholics globally. The imprisonments, killings and expulsions of Catholic clergy from China, Korea and Vietnam, and anti-communist campaigns in countries with large Irish communities such as the United States, Canada and Australasia, also had a sizeable impact on Catholics in Ireland.

In Chapter Two, the focus moves from an international to a domestic context, discussing the response of the Irish Catholic Church and her subsidiary organisations to Ireland's own small communist movement. The chapter looks particularly at the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy towards Irish communism. Key Catholic organisations which monitored communist activity, from lay Catholic groups such as the CTSI and the Knights of St. Columbanus to the Archdiocese of Dublin's Vigilance Committee, are also analysed. The chapter explores whether the response of the Catholic hierarchy, lay Catholic organisations and the Catholic press to Ireland's communists was proportionate.

In Chapter Three, the thesis returns to a primarily transnational focus, examining Irish Catholic responses to the CPGB and the Connolly Association. While the Connolly Association

[167] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017 and 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part two', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rptk9wTBIi8, accessed 7 Sept. 2017. For an obituary of Branigan, see *Irish Times*, 8 Oct. 2016.
[168] Seán Coyle, 'Some reminiscences and thoughts of a Dub', *Lux Occulta*, 26 Feb. 2012, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2012/02/26/some-reminiscences-and-thoughts-of-a-dub/#more-4573, accessed 31 Aug. 2017.

formally distanced itself from the CPGB, many of its leading figures were CPGB members, and the Connolly Association was seen by many, including the CPGB, as a means through which British communists could reach the Irish community in Britain. The chapter will focus on Catholic efforts to counteract the Connolly Association's recruitment efforts amongst Britain's Irish community.

Chapter Four looks at the impact of anti-communism on Ireland's trade union movement. It shall explore how the ideological climate of Irish Catholic anti-communism and the attitude of the hierarchy impacted on these tensions within Irish trade unionism. The importance of post-war Catholic workers' education in attempting to inculcate an ethos in the Irish trade union movement grounded in Catholic social teaching is also discussed. The chapter explores a number of Irish trade unions which attracted clerical attention due to figures within them being accused, fairly or unfairly, of communist sympathies.

Chapter Five concludes the thesis by discussing a number of social movements which attracted suspicion from anti-communist Catholics due to communist efforts to extert influence within them. It begins by discussing the red scare the Irish Housewives' Association encountered in the post-war years. The chapter then moves on to discuss similar anti-communist accusations which the Irish Association for Civil Liberty, as well as peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns and the unemployed movement, encountered during the post-war years. Like chapters one and three in particular, this chapter shall have a strong transnational dimension, especially in its discussion of peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns.

Using previous neglected archival sources, this thesis shall help to fill a gap in the existing literature by providing a systematic analysis of Ireland's place in the 'religious Cold War'. In doing so, it shall not only deepen our knowledge of a still under-researched aspect of modern Irish Catholicism, but shall offer new insights more broadly into culture, politics and society on both sides of the Irish border. While a peripheral actor in the conflict, Ireland, in large part due to its Catholicism, could not but be profoundly affected by the broader tensions of the time. As Jeremiah Kinane, the Archbishop of Cashel, said in 1946: 'we here in Ireland are not outside this struggle. We must remember that this is no longer a remote island dreaming its dreams in the western seas; we are in daily, hourly contact with Europe and the world'. Kinane went on to warn that 'the human agents of the anti-Christ are also here, trying to spread their subtle poison amongst us', and the history that follows will trace how the hierarchy, which Kinane viewed as 'primarily' possessing 'the duty of

counter-acting' communism in Ireland,[169] responded to the ideological battle which the Cold War represented.

[169] *Cork Examiner*, 17 Oct. 1946.

Chapter One

‘One great universal danger of communism’: The Irish Catholic Church and the global Cold War

‘As the result of two world wars the Christian nations of Europe are exhausted, while the power, prestige and influence of the Soviet Union daily increases’. This extract from a 1954 pastoral letter by Connacht’s Catholic bishops is indicative of the hierarchy’s concern for the plight of the Catholic Church in the communist world.[1] The perception that ‘since the beginning of Bolshevism in 1917, communism had never been defeated in any country, except Spain’ made the ideology seem like a ‘invincible and growing force’ in the Irish Catholic conciousness.[2] Irish Catholics could not be immune from the broader western Cold War attitude, ‘absurd in retrospect’ according to Eric Hobsbawm, ‘but natural enough in the aftermath of the Second World War, that the Age of Catastrophe was by no means at an end; that the future of world capitalism and liberal society was far from assured’.[3] McQuaid’s view, expressed to the American ambassador George A. Garrett in 1949, that war between the eastern and western blocs was inevitable was by no means regarded as far-fetched at the time.[4]

Despite Ireland’s peripheral role in the Cold War, its progress attracted attention in Ireland on a popular level, and Brian Fallon has observed that its events were ‘of absorbing interest to Irish readers’.[5] As Oliver Rafferty notes, ‘once the Soviet Union fought on the side of the United Nations [during the Second World War] there was more of a tendency to question what kind of world was being fought for’.[6] The Irish hierarchy would have shared the attitude of the Cork-born Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, that the Allied victory did not mean ‘persecution and displacement’ had ceased in Europe.[7] While the arrival of the Red Army in Nazi-occupied Europe brought liberation from Nazi genocide, it also meant the imposition of communist regimes following the Soviet model, with ensuing attempts to curtail the Church’s influence. The jailings of Archbishops

[1] *Sligo Champion*, 6 Mar. 1954.
[2] Kenny, *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland*, p. 228.
[3] Hobsbawm, *Age of extremes*, p. 230.
[4] McCabe, *A diplomatic history of Ireland*, p. 108.
[5] Brian Fallon, ‘Reflecting on Ireland in the 1950s’ in Dermot Keogh, Finbarr O’Shea and Carmel Quinlan (eds), *The lost decade: Ireland in the 1950s* (Dublin, 2004), p. 40.
[6] Oliver Rafferty, *Violence, politics and Catholicism in Ireland* (Dublin, 2016), p. 167.
[7] Brenda Niall, *Mannix* (Melbourne, 2015), p. 284.

Mindszenty of Hungary, Stepinac of Yugoslavia, Beran of Czechoslovakia and Wyszyński of Poland during the 1940s and 1950s all deeply alarmed Pope Pius XII.[8] On 1 July 1949 he introduced the Decree against Communism, which clarified that Catholics who joined or supported a communist party or distributed communist literature would be denied the sacraments, and decreed that Catholics who affirmed communist doctrine would be excommunicated.[9]

The victory of Mao's communists in mainland China in 1949, soon followed by the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and the partition of Vietnam in 1954, also signalled 'an extension of the persecution which the Church faced in Eastern Europe'.[10] The early Cold War was also marked by countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain looking inward to identify sympathisers of the opposing bloc, instanced by 'persecution of Titoists in Eastern Europe, McCarthyism in the USA'.[11] In many western countries, the threat of domestic communist infiltration was a prominent concern of the Catholic clergy and laity, as it was of the broader public.[12] The Cold War's impact was such that it influenced the devotional lives of Irish Catholics just as it did with their co-religionists abroad. The belief that the Virgin Mary had condemned the communist threat to Christianity during her apparition in Fatima, Portugal, in 1917, a key theme of Marian devotion internationally,[13] existed in Ireland, and James S. Donnelly has linked 'the mighty wave of renewal in devotion' to the prayer in Ireland in the late 1940s in part to the prevailing anti-communist climate.[14]

[8] Frank J. Coppa, 'Pope Pius XII and the Cold War: the post-war confrontation between Catholicism and communism' in Dianne Kirby (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War* (Basingstroke, 2003), p. 56.
[9] Ibid, pp. 62-63.
[10] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*, p. 406.
[11] Kirby, 'Ecclesiastical McCarthyism', p. 187.
[12] Donald F. Crosby, *God, Church and flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950-1957* (Chapel Hill, 1978); Maurutto, 'Private policing and surveillance of Catholics', pp. 113-136; Duncan, *Crusade or conspiracy*; Fitzgerald, *The Pope's battalions*; Reid, 'Struggle for souls', pp. 72-88; Doody, 'Grappling with secularism', pp. 53-71.
[13] Thomas A. Kselman and Steven Avella, 'Marian piety and the Cold War in the United States' in *Catholic Historical Review*, lxxii, no. 3 (July., 1986), pp. 409-410.
[14] James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Knock Shrine and the Marian Year of 1954' in John Cunningham and Niall Ó Ciosáin (eds.), *Culture and society in Ireland: essays in honour of Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh* (Dublin, 2015), p. 323. This was reflected in publications like the *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, which asked its readers in 1954 to pray for 'the conversion of Russia through Mary Immaculate Mother of God'. *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, May 1954, highlighted by *Lux Occulta*, 8 Sept. 2012, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2012/09/08/the-irish-messenger-of-the-sacred-heart-may-1954/, accessed 31 Aug. 2017. There was a special focus on Marianism in Ireland during the Marian Year, 1954, which was expressed in large part by the large-scale 'rosary rallies' held across Ireland by Patrick Peyton, a Mayo-born priest based in the United States. Donnelly, 'Knock Shrine and the Marian Year of 1954', p. 323. Peyton argued that the rosary was an 'offensive weapon that will destroy Communism', and his rallies had a strong anti-communist focus. Indeed the CIA, recognising Peyton's propagandistic value, later supported his 'rosary rally' visits financially in South America in the early 1960s. Richard Gribble, 'Anti-communism, Patrick Peyton, CSC and the CIA' in *Journal of Church and State*, xlv, no. 3 (Summer, 2003), pp. 540-548. Peyton's Irish rallies also had a strong anti-communist focus. At the 60,000 strong Peyton rally in Loughrea, Co. Galway, Bishop Philbin of Clonfert spoke of how 'the liberty and dignity of man was being trampled upon and stamped out through a great portion of the earth, perhaps across one-third or a quarter of it'. *Standard*, 21 May 1954.

This chapter shall discuss the Irish Catholic Church's engagement with the Cold War internationally. Firstly, it shall focus on the most immediate theatre to Ireland in the Cold War – Europe. Fuller has noted that there was 'a deep awareness' of the treatment of the Church in communist Europe, particularly of the arrests of Stepinac and Mindszenty,[15] and Ireland's Department of External Affairs 'showed particular interest in internal developments in eastern European countries with significant Catholic populations'.[16] Europe was a particular focus of Irish clerical condemnations of communist persecution of Catholicism. For instance, the Irish hierarchy in 1952 condemned the proposed execution of a bishop and four priests in Bulgaria, designating Sunday 26 October 1952 as a day of 'reparation' for the faithful for the injuries done to the Church globally.[17] Irish responses to the plight of the Church elsewhere in communist Europe shall also be considered, and, while Italy was not part of the communist world, Irish involvement in the Holy See's efforts to prevent Italy's communists prevailing in the 1948 election shall be discussed as a notable example of Irish Catholicism's investment in the broader Cold War.

Irish Catholic responses to the expansion of communism in China and Korea, which, as Diarmaid Ferriter has noted, 'further fuelled the articulation of pious outrage' in Ireland,[18] shall be explored. Most Irish households had a relationship with Ireland's missionary 'spiritual empire' through monetary collections, relatives and aquaintances in the missionary orders, and the distribution of magazines such as the Columban *Far East*.[19] The expulsions of Irish missionaries from communist parts of east Asia hence caused particular angst. Reactions to Catholic anti-communism in the Anglosphere countries – with the exception of Britain, discussed in the context of the Connolly Association in Chapter Three – will also be examined, particularly with reference to the Irish diaspora. While Catholic anti-communist campaigns in the United States attracted Irish interest, similar campaigns elsewhere in the English-speaking world, particularly in Australia, also received Irish attention.

Irish responses to the treatment of the Church in eastern Europe

In the immediate post-war era, the jailing of two leading European church leaders, Archbishop (later Cardinal) Stepinac of Yugoslavia and Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, by their countries'

[15] Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950*, p. 71.
[16] Catriona Crowe, Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh and Eunan O'Halpin, 'Introduction' in *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, vii*, p. xv.
[17] Anon, 'Communist persecution in Bulgaria, Irish hierarchy's statement at Maynooth, 14 October, 1952' in *Christus Rex*, vi, no. 3 (July, 1952), pp. 459-460. In 1959, to give another example, Browne denounced the 'persecution of the Church in East Germany' in front of five hundred schoolchildren in Galway. Aan de Wiel, *East German intelligence and Ireland*, p. 52.
[18] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 517.
[19] O'Sullivan, *Ireland, Africa and the end of empire*, p. 15.

respective post-war communist regimes caught the imaginations of Catholics in Ireland, as they did of Catholics internationally. Stepinac was the first of the two to be convicted, a Yugoslav court sentencing him to sixteen years imprisonment on 11 October 1946 for supporting the wartime Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, or NDH) which was governed by Ante Pavelić's fascist Ustaše. Stepinac, it alleged, was complicit in the NDH's genocidal killings of an estimated 300,000 Serbs, Jews, and Roma in Axis-occupied Croatia as well as in the persecution of Croat dissidents and the forced conversions of Orthodox Serbs. While some members of the Croatian Catholic clergy and hierarchy supported and in some cases directly participated in Ustaše atrocities,[20] Stepinac's relationship with the Ustaše remains controversial. There is a broad consensus that Stepinac, after an initial period of enthusiasm at the prospect of an independent Catholic Croat state, became increasingly critical of the Ustaše, but the extent to which he opposed the regime is still fiercely debated.[21]

Due to its Catholicism, Ireland played a role in the diplomatic controversy surrounding Stepinac which was above the country's weight. Joseph Walshe, Ireland's ambassador to the Holy See, despaired of the initially slow response from the Irish hierarchy to the Stepinac judgement.[22] Walshe had been appointed as ambassador in 1946, and his 'exuberantly Catholic' persona differed markedly from that of his 'worldly wise and astute' predecessor, Thomas Kiernan.[23] Irish bishops became more vocal in the following weeks, Bishop MacNamee condemning both the silence of the 'British secular press' and the governments 'responsible for setting up the regime which so flagrantly

[20] In one of the most notorious examples, the commandant of the notorious Jasenovac concentration camp – where almost 60,000 died during the war – was a Franciscan, Misoslav Filipović. Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland: European minority nationalists and political asylum, 1937-2008* (Dublin, 2009), p. 140. For discussion of estimates of the amount of people the Ustaše murdered, see Michael Kennedy, 'A deed agreeable to God: Andrija Artuković and Croat Ustaše connections with Ireland' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, xxv (2014), pp. 190-191.

[21] For an overview of the historiography on Stepinac's relationship with the Ustaše, which concludes that, while Stepinac intervened in some instances to prevent NDH atrocities, he failed to oppose the Ustaše in a systematic manner, see Mark Biondich, 'Controversies surrounding the Catholic Church in wartime Croatia, 1941-45' in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, xii, no. 4 (2006), pp. 429-457. Stella Alexander's biography of Stepinac notes how Croats tend to present him as a 'spotless saint' while many Serbs, in the words of one Serbian Orthodox bishop, view him as spearheading 'a campaign of extermination and forcible conversion of the Orthodox'. Stella Alexander, *The triple myth: a life of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac* (New York, 1987), pp. 4-5. For a sympathetic recent account from a Bosnian Jewish perspective which emphasises Stepinac's criticisms of Pavelić and his attempts to shield Jews from genocide, see Esther Gitman, 'Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac of Zagreb and the rescue of Jews, 1941-1945' in *Catholic Historical Review*, ci, no. 3 (Summer, 2015), pp. 488-529. Leach quotes a damning characterisation of Stepinac's attitude towards the NDH as 'a general pattern of private protest and public support, of lauding the goals but baulking at the means'. Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, p. 140. Tellingly, U.S. State Department officials were 'reluctant to characterise the guilt or innocence of the Zagreb Archbishop', the American observer at Stepinac's trial concluding that the Archbishop had 'shown too much tolerance, perhaps sympathy, towards the Independent State of Croatia'. Charles R. Gallagher, 'The United States and the Vatican in Yugoslavia' in Dianne Kirby (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War* (Basingstroke, 2003), p. 129.

[22] Letter from Joseph Walshe to Frederick Boland, 11 Nov. 1946 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/37, 'Religious persecution in Yugoslavia: resolutions of protest against trial and sentence of Cardinal Stepinac').

[23] Kennedy, 'A deed agreeable to God', p. 192.

violated the much-vaunted principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms'.[24] In an example of how past suppression of Irish Catholics was frequently compared to the treatment of the Church in eastern Europe in this period, Bishop Browne compared Stepinac to Blessed Oliver Plunkett, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh executed by Britain in 1681.[25] Stepinac's trial was 'merely one example of the persecution coming in every country where the Communist Party is in power', Archbishop D'Alton told massgoers on Christmas Eve.[26]

Stepinac's cause gained wide support from Irish politicians. After the verdict, a number of local government bodies and political party branches passed protest resolutions.[27] In Dáil Éireann, the independent TD James Dillon was an early and vocal supporter, and both he and opposition FG TDs raised the case with De Valera on 23 October. The Taoiseach noted he had 'no special information which would enable me to make an authoritative statement on this matter', but assured the Dáil that, 'should any practical way present itself in which we can be of any help in bringing effective influence to bear on the situation, the opportunity will not be neglected'.[28]

Contemporaneously, McQuaid cooperated closely with Dillon in drafting a motion he planned to put before the Dáil, the Archbishop suggesting a number of changes to it.[29] Dillon's statement was the subject of considerable debate when it was submitted on 21 November, as, while deputies were united in condemning Stepinac's jailing, De Valera's decision to put forward a more dispassionately phrased motion caused controversy. The Taoiseach was concerned that the language of the Dillon motion was likely to alienate foreign governments.[30] De Valera's motion was also

[24] Clipping from *Irish Independent*, 2 Nov. 1946 (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946').
[25] Clipping from *Irish Independent*, 14 Nov. 1946 (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946').
[26] Entry for 24 Dec. 1946 in 'Record of Irish ecclesiastical events for the year 1947' in *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1948, pp. 684-686.
[27] Letters from William McEvoy, South Laois Area Council, Irish Labour Party, 19 Oct. 1946; J. Timmins, town clerk, Kilkenny Corporation, 23 Oct. 1946. Both letters were forwarded by the President's Office, to whom they were sent, to the Holy See (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946'). Cobh Urban Council and Wexford County Council were amongst others who also issued condemnations, *Irish Press*, 15 Oct. 1946; 18 Oct. 1946.
[28] Éamon de Valera, Dáil Éireann deb., ciii, no. 1, cols. 2-7 (23 Oct. 1946). See also clippings from *Irish Independent*, 24 Oct. 1946, *Irish Times*, 24 Oct. 1946 (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946'). Debate also noted in Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, p. 227.
[29] Drafts of Dillon's motion annotated by McQuaid (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/2/4/1-4). Text of final Dillon motion (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946'). While Dillon, a former FG TD who had resigned from the party over his support for Ireland's entry into the Second World War, had been a lone opponent of Irish neutrality during the war years, his view that communism was 'the greatest threat to world peace and liberty' meant on this issue he 'found himself on the mainstream rather than swimming against the tide'. Dillon subsequently rejoined FG and became its leader. Maurice Manning, *James Dillon: a biography* (Dublin, 1999) p. 217.
[30] Text of motion contained in clipping from *Irish Times*, 20 Nov. 1946 (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946').

written after consultation with ecclesiastical authorities, and was praised by McQuaid.[31] The latter motion was ultimately passed unaminously, after initially defeating Dillon's motion by 65 votes to 34.[32] Walshe told Boland it was warmly regarded in the Holy See, the diplomat adding that he hoped it would motivate the bishops 'to do a little more'.[33] Pius XII later sent De Valera a message conveying his 'great joy' at the motion.[34] McQuaid assured Walshe that its impact in Ireland was 'excellent', and that counter-arguments to the Catholic view of Stepinac had a 'very small chance of acceptance. The decent ordinary man does not give it a serious thought'.[35] Following the motion's success, the Irish government lobbied on Stepinac's behalf in all countries with which it had diplomatic relations, keeping the Papal Nunciature informed. Most replies were sympathetic, while noting that their governments were limited in the actions they could take.[36] The sole exception was Louis St. Laurent, the Canadian foreign minister. Alongside other concerns, St. Laurent took offence at a statement from Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe, who had condemned the United Nations Organisation for criticising Franco's 'noble' Spain while allegedly being less critical of Yugoslavia.[37]

The *Standard*'s foreign editor, Anthony Henry Count O'Brien of Thomond, personally knew Stepinac from his time living in Zagreb from 1938 to 1941, and defended the Archbishop in the *Irish Times* when a London-based correspondent of Yugoslavia's news agency wrote a letter to the paper criticising Stepinac.[38] McQuaid approved, telling Walshe that O'Brien had given the original letter-writer 'a very sound threshing'.[39] O'Brien subsequently wrote a widely publicised pamphlet defending the Yugoslav cleric. In its foreword, McQuaid asserted that 'the position of an Archbishop-Primate in a country like Yugoslavia, at a period such as that which we have witnessed, necessarily required the Archbishop to enter into relations with every movement and every manner

[31] Letter from Frederick Boland to John J. Hearne, Irish High Commissioner in Ottawa, 1 Jan. 1947 (NAI, DFA., 6/410/37, 'Religious persecution in Yugoslavia: resolutions of protest against trial and sentence of Cardinal Stepinac').
[32] 'Imprisonment of Cardinal Stepinac – motion', Dáil Éireann deb., ciii, no. 9, cols. 1322-1403, 21 Nov. 1946. For contemporary reportage of the debate, see clippings from *Irish Independent*, 22 Nov. 1946, *Irish Times*, 22 Nov. 1946. (NAI, Pres, 1/P2921, 'Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia: trial and sentence, 1946'). Debate also noted in Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, p. 229.
[33] Joseph Walshe to Frederick Boland, 25 Nov. 1946 (DIFP, viii, document 234).
[34] Document entitled 'message received by the Taoiseach from His Holiness the Pope' (NAI, TSCH, 3/S13942, 'Cardinal Stepinac, Primate of Yugoslavia, trial and imprisonment'.)
[35] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Joseph Walshe, 23 Nov. 1946 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/50/14).
[36] Letter from Frederick Boland to Gino Paro, Apostolic Nunciature, Dublin, 27 June 1947, enclosing document entitled 'demarchés made to Foreign Governments in accordance with the resolution concerning religious persecution passed by Dáil Éireann on the 21st November 1946' (NAI, DFA, 6/410/37, 'Religious persecution in Yugoslavia: resolutions of protest against trial and sentence of Cardinal Stepinac').
[37] The remarks had been picked up on in the Canadian press. Letter from John J. Hearne to Frederick Boland, 21 Dec. 1946 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/37, 'Religious persecution in Yugoslavia: resolutions of protest against trial and sentence of Cardinal Stepinac'). For Fogarty's remarks, see *Irish Press*, 20 Dec. 1946 and Feeney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 22.
[38] *Irish Times*, 26 Nov. 1946.
[39] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Joseph Walshe, 23 Nov. 1946 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/50/14).

of person'.[40] O'Brien, in the book, claimed that Stepinac was 'absolutely opposed to the Croat extremists'.[41] While O'Brien, at least, acknowledged their brutal history, the nature of the Ustaše was underplayed for many in Irish society at the time. Leach has noted that for some in Ireland the group's former members were not 'reviled as war criminals' but instead morphed into anti-communist martyrs.[42]

Importantly, in June 1948, Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the Communist International's post-war successor. Consequently, western relations with Tito warmed. Tito refused to release Stepinac and the Vatican believed, in a U.S. diplomat's words, that the split was merely 'a family quarrel among avowed communists'.[43] While Stepinac was released from the prison in 1951, he remained under house arrest,[44] and Yugoslavia severed diplomatic relations with the Holy See in 1952 after Pius XII elevated Stepinac to the Cardinalate.[45] Hence, while Ireland's communists were now sharply critical of Tito,[46] Irish Catholic attitudes towards Yugoslavia remained unchanged.

One notable dissenter from the dominant Irish view of Stepinac was Hubert Butler, a Kilkenny-born essayist. Like O'Brien, Butler had travelled extensively in Yugoslavia, living in Zagreb between 1934 and 1937.[47] The Croatian genocide was 'not so much a limb as a backbone' of Butler's writing, and he produced over three dozen essays on Yugoslavia over his career.[48] He expressed distaste for Seán O'Casey's 'staccatto Stalinism',[49] but this did not prevent him from being seen as a 'crypto-communist' by many Catholics.[50] His views were brought more sharply into

[40] Anthony O'Brien, *Archbishop Stepinac: the man and his case* (Dublin, 1947), p. vii.
[41] Ibid, p. 11.
[42] Leach, *Fugitive Ireland*, pp. 135-136. A particularly ignomious example of Irish attitudes towards the Ustaše is the case of Andrija Artuković, a leading NDH official. With the support of the Franciscan Order, Artuković entered Ireland in 1948 and spent 'a quiet year living apparently unrecognised in a South Dublin suburb' before moving on to the United States. In Kennedy's estimation, he entered Ireland, not because of sympathy on the part of the Irish authorities with the Ustaše, but rather because they took at face value his claim that he was 'simply a Catholic refugee fleeing Godless Yugoslav communism', apparently ignorant of his true identity as an organiser of genocide. Kennedy, 'A deed agreeable to God', pp. 188-189.
[43] Gallagher, 'The United States and the Vatican in Yugoslavia', pp. 133-136.
[44] Clippings, *New York Times*, 22 Nov. 1951, *Irish Press*, 6 Dec. 1951 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/37, 'Religious persecution in Yugoslavia: resolutions of protest against trial and sentence of Cardinal Stepinac).
[45] Coppa, 'Pope Pius XII and the Cold War', p. 58. In addition, mob violence against Catholic clergy remained commonplace in Yugoslavia until 1953, when the government stepped in more firmly to prevent occurences. In one particularly notorious instance, a Slovene suffragan bishop was covered in petrol and set alight. Owen Chadwick, *The Christian Church in the Cold War* (2nd ed., London, 1993), p. 67.
[46] IWL member George Jeffares claimed in 1951, for instance, that Yugoslavia had degenerated into 'an ordinary bourgeois republic'. *Irish Workers' Voice*, June/Sept., 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1149).
[47] Robert Tobin, *The minority voice: Hubert Butler and southern Irish Protestantism, 1900-91* (Oxford, 2012), p. 61.
[48] Chris Agee, 'The Stepinac file' in Chris Agee, *Unfinished Ireland: essays on Hubert Butler* (Belfast, 2003), p. 150. See Butler's essay 'The Artukovitch file' in Hubert Butler, *Balkan essays* (Belfast, 2016), pp. 249-275.
[49] Roy Foster, *The Irish story: telling tales and making it up in Ireland* (Dublin, 2002), p. 189.
[50] Ibid, p. 196. Butler found this higly ironic, given that friend Peadar O'Donnell complained of his 'damnable anti-Sovietism'. Tobin, *The minority voice*, p. 136. He himself met the imprisoned Stepinac with a delegation of British Quakers in 1950. Stepinac was evasive about his links with the NDH during the war, curtly replying 'notre conscience

public scrutiny after he became embroiled in an affair known as the Papal Nuncio incident, the 'climax' of his engagement with Yugoslavia. He had been invited by Owen Sheehy-Skeffington to attend a meeting of the International Affairs Association in Dublin's Shelbourne Hotel on 31 October 1952, prompted by Tito's impending visit to London. *Standard* editor Peadar O'Curry gave a paper entitled 'Yugoslavia – the pattern of persecution' at the meeting. Despite initial attempts by the organisers to dissuade him, Butler stood up following O'Curry's contribution and attempted to ask a question about anti-Serb persecution by the Ustaše. The Papal Nuncio, who was in the audience unbeknownst to Butler, immediately left. The meeting was then called to an end.[51] Paul Blanshard, a prominent U.S. critic of Catholicism, was invited to the meeting by Sheehy-Skeffington,[52] and gave it prominence in his book *The Irish and Catholic power*, a critical 1954 examination of church-state relations in Ireland. In the meeting's aftermath, Butler was condemned by Kilkenny Corporation and lost his position as honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, while Sheehy-Skeffington was disinvited from a meeting at Rathmines Town Hall. [53] The move likely enhanced the suspicion with which Sheehy-Skeffington was regarded by the Church, particularly on foreign policy.[54] Writing in *The Bell*, Seán Ó Faoláin placed primary blame for the controversy on the Association itself, which, he stated, 'blundered exceedingly' in inviting the Nuncio to the meeting without informing him there was a discussion afterwards in which he may have diplomatically felt obliged to defend the Church's position. Yugoslavia's antagonists 'are not seen as Marshal Tito and Archbishop Stepinac; they are seen as Satan and Christ', Ó Faoláin observed.[55]

Stepinac's plight again came into focus in Ireland in October 1955, when the Yugoslav football team travelled to play its Irish counterpart in Dublin. The Archbishop was deeply hostile to cultural and sporting contact between communist countries and Ireland. The chaplain of an Irish dance group had previously asked him for advice about attending the International Folk Dance Festival in the Netherlands. The Archbishop advised that the trip be cancelled if 'a team is present representing the murderers of Bishops and priests'.[56] When seven prominent Irish cultural and media

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est tranquille' when questioned by Butler, but was pleased when Butler informed him that his case 'had roused great interest and sympathy in Ireland'. See his essay, 'A visit to Lepoglava' in Butler, *Balkan essays*, pp. 199-203.

[51] Tobin, *The minority voice*, p. 136. For Butler's account, see Butler, *Balkan essays*, pp. 230-232.

[52] Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff*, p. 155.

[53] Paul Blanshard, *The Irish and Catholic power: an American interpretation* (London, 1954), pp. 190-195.

[54] For example, Úna Byrne forwarded McQuaid in 1953 a talk by Sheehy-Skeffington on Radio Éireann where he argued for the necessity of a 'modus vivendi' with the communist nations. Typed script of lecture given by Owen Sheehy-Skeffington on Radio Eireann, titled 'World Affairs', 28 Nov. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/392-393).

[55] Seán Ó Faoláin, 'On a recent incident at the International Affairs Association' in *The Bell*, xviii, no. 9 (Feb., 1953), pp. 518-519.

[56] Note from Archbishop's secretary annotated by McQuaid, 1 July 1955 (DDA., AB8/B/XXIII/290). McQuaid gave his assent to the trip going ahead when the chaplain ascertained that no team from the Eastern Bloc would be invited. Note from Archbishop's secretary annotated by McQuaid, 8 July 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/293).

figures visited the Soviet Union in January 1955 at the invitation of the USSR Society for Cultural Relations, the *Standard* was predictably hostile,[57] and it obtained a message from McQuaid stating that 'if any form of approval had been sought, it would never have been granted'.[58] Needless to say, an invitation to McQuaid to attend the group's homecoming was ignored.[59] Milotte further instances the visit of Soviet astronomers to Dublin in August 1955, which was attended by both senior politicians and the Papal Nuncio, as an example of how Cold War attitudes mellowed in the mid-1950s.[60] This détente, of sorts, was not embraced by McQuaid. He intervened to prevent two Legion of Mary members who had offered to give the astronomers a tour of 'the Legion hostels and the Dublin slums' from doing so.[61]

Hence, when McQuaid was approached in 1952 by Joe Wickham, secretary of the Football Association of Ireland (FAI), for advice on the possibility of the Yugoslav team visiting Dublin, the Archbishop discouraged the proposition as 'very inadvisable'.[62] McQuaid was therefore shocked when, in 1955, it was announced that an Ireland-Yugoslavia game would go ahead in Dublin. Fr John O'Regan, Chancellor of the Dublin Diocese, promptly rang Wickham, urging him to call off the match. Wickham told O'Regan that it was too late to postpone it. McQuaid's position dampened attendance, though 21,400 supporters still showed up at Bohemian's Dalymount Park on 19 October to see Yugoslavia beat Ireland 4-1. Costello's opposition to the match ensured that President Seán T. O'Kelly did not attend, despite a previous announcement that he would. Cooney's claim that the match represented a 'populist revolt against McQuaid's iron rule'[63] exaggerates the situation, and Conor McCabe has demonstrated that a team of Yugoslavia's international stature would usually receive a much larger attendance; the crowd which showed up to the match was comparable to that which showed up for minnows Luxemburg a year later.[64]

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[57] These were the *People* newspaper's Dublin correspondent Liam Mac Gabhann, the sculptor Seán De Burca, the dramatist and trade unionist James Plunkett, the literary editor Anthony Cronin, the Irish language activist Cathal McCrystal , John Boyd, a BBC producer in Northern Ireland and Robert J. McKinistry, a Northern Ireland professional. For Quinn's discussion, see Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations*, pp. 207-213.
[58] *Standard*, 21 Jan. 1955. After the case was raised in Dáil Éireann, a Department of External Affairs official noted that while it was customary to decline 'known communists' permission to visit the Soviet Union, none of the men involved could be described as a communist or a 'fellow traveller'. Document, 'Notes for the Minister' (NAI, DFA, 340/12/68/3, 'Question regarding the facilities, if any, which were granted to a group of Irishmen who visited Russia (January 1955)).
[59] Letter from L. Byrnes of the Irish Social and Political Union to John Charles McQuaid, 21 Apr. 1955. An annotation to the letter notes that the Archdiocese's subsequent investigations could not find any reference to either this individual or this group.
[60] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 225.
[61] Note from Archbishop's secretary, 5 Sept. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/591).
[62] Letter from Joe Wickham to McQuaid annotated by the Archbishop, 17 Jan. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/48/1).
[63] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, pp. 310-315.
[64] Conor McCabe, 'Catholics, communists and hat-tricks: the Ireland v Yugoslavia soccer international of 1955' , *Dublin Opinion*, 2 July 2009, http://dublinopinion.com/2009/07/02/catholics-communists-and-hat-tricks-the-ireland-v-yugoslavia-soccer-international-of-1955, accessed 28 Aug. 2017.

McQuaid received support, unsurprisingly, from the *Standard*, which asserted that 'Catholics can now most effectively register their disapproval of the nature of the fixture by failing to attend it'.[65] The secretary to the Papal Nuncio, Gaetano Alibrandi, hailed McQuaid's action as 'magnificent and splendid'.[66] The President of the Croat section of the French Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, Miro Mrsic, ended his congratulatory letter to the Francophile Archbishop with the words: 'vive l'Irlande, vive la Croatie martyrisée'.[67] Seán Mac Eoin, the Minister for Defence, also regretted that the Yugoslav team had been granted visas. He claimed the decision was taken at the last minute 'to save face for all concerned' as the Yugoslavs had not followed the correct procedures.[68]

To be sure, McQuaid also received his share of criticism. A Garda file on the IWL informed McQuaid that Ireland's 'communist element' took 'much satisfaction' in the fact the match had gone ahead.[69] P. J. Kilroy, a Manchester-based member of the Connolly Association, wrote to McQuaid claiming that the affair and decisions like it from the Irish hierarchy were 'a source of joy to Orange Lodge leaders'.[70] As Kilroy predicted, the controversy was soon seized on by unionists wishing to assert the old slogan that 'Rome Rule is Home Rule', and Harry Midgley, the Stormont Minister for Education and a former leader of the NILP who defected to the Unionist Party, described it as 'one of the most monumental pieces of clerical interference' in Ireland's history.[71] Ultimately, for all the heat the match generated, it appears to have had little long-term impact on the FAI's attitude. The Archdiocese of Dublin's Football Association Group, which was set up by McQuaid in the aftermath

[65] *Standard*, 21 Oct. 1955.
[66] Note from Archbishop's secretary on conversation with Alibrandi, 26 Oct. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/48/6
[67] Letter from Miro Mrsic to John Charles McQuaid, 21 Oct. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/48/7/1).
[68] Draft letter to the press regarding Yugoslav match controversy, 25 Oct. 1955 (UCDA, Seán Mac Eoin Papers, P522/521). This was echoed internally within the Department of External Affairs, official Seán Ó hÉideáin stating that they would have advised against the move, had they known about it, due to enduring difficulties surrounding Stepinac's situation. Letter from Seán Ó hÉideáin to John A. Belton, 14 Oct. 1955 (DIFP, x, document 368).
[69] Weekly Reports from An Garda Siochana on the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) and kindred organisations,18-22 Oct. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/180).
[70] Letter from P. J. Kilroy to John Charles McQuaid, 26 Oct. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/48/8/1). While Kilroy did not mention his political affiliation in this letter, an unrelated letter from him to D'Alton, cited in Chapter Three, makes his affiliations explicit.
[71] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 314. Midgley wedded his anti-communism and anti-Catholicism, telling a Derry Apprentice Boys meeting in 1953 that there was a 'fundamental resemblance' between 'the Vatican and the Kremlin'. In this, Walker notes, he was directly influenced by Paul Blanshard's *Communism, democracy, and Catholic power*. Graham S. Walker, *The politics of frustration: Harry Midgley and the failure of labour in Northern Ireland* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 207-208. The book drew comparisons between the Catholic Church and the Soviet Bloc as 'totalitarian' systems, asserting that in 1951 the number of books banned in Hungary was 'almost as long as the corresponding list of banned books in Catholic Ireland'. Paul Blanshard, *Communism, democracy and Catholic power* (Westport, Conn., 1951), p. 100. The idea that Catholicism and communism were comparable was a common anti-Catholic trope on both sides of the Atlantic repeated by Ian Paisley in the 1960s. Richard Jordan, *The second coming of Paisley: militant fundamentalism and Ulster politics* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2013) pp. 188-189.

of the debacle, complained in 1957 that Ireland's 'B' team was to play Romania in Dublin that October. 'Evidently, FAI has learned nothing from the Yugo-Slav match', it told McQuaid.[72]

Stepinac was remembered in Ireland till the end of his life, if with less intensity than in previous years. Following his death on 11 February 1960, Taoiseach Seán Lemass conveyed his sympathy to Msgr. Seper, co-adjuctor Archbishop of Zagreb. McQuaid and D'Alton also offered condolences to Seper, D'Alton praising Stepinac as 'a fearless champion to human freedom',[73] while Bishop Rodgers of Killaloe described Stepinac as 'a man who had suffered much and been forgotten by the world'.[74] The *Standard* reminded readers of O'Brien's 1947 book, which it again advertised for sale.[75] Chris Agee has noted that while Stepinac's case stands in Ireland as 'one of those tremendous political issues that is quickly forgotten by later generations',[76] his legacy is still important in the former Yugoslavia, where he is regarded as 'saintly and patriotic' by many Croats and hated by the Serbs.[77]

Hungary was also a country whose plight attracted the interest of Irish Catholics. Pius XII had appointed the relatively unknown Archbishop József Mindszenty, 'a Hapsburg loyalist who was anti-republican, anti-democratic and anti-communist', to the Cardinalate in October 1945.[78] Mindszenty proceded to promote an attitude of rigid opposition to the country's communists that even fellow anti-communist Hungarians sometimes found excessive.[79] An article in *Studies* took note of Mindszenty for his intransigence in 1946, praising him for refuting 'attack and innuendo from the left-wing press and radio'.[80] By December 1948 Hungary had become a Soviet-style one party state under communist rule.[81] Mindszenty was placed under house arrest after a much-publicised trial, which turned him into an international anti-communist icon amongst Catholics, eclipsing even Stepinac. The Yugoslav Archbishop 'became John the Baptist to Mindszenty's Christ', as one scholar has quipped.[82]

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[72] Note on Football Association Group's activities, 13 Oct. 1952 (DDA, AB8/XXII/48/21).
[73] *Irish Press*, 11 Feb.; 12 Feb. 1960.
[74] *Cork Examiner*, 12 Feb. 1960.
[75] *Standard*, 19 Feb. 1960.
[76] Agee, 'The Stepinac file', p. 154.
[77] Ibid, pp. 159-160.
[78] Kent, *The lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII*, p. 98.
[79] Peter Kenez, 'The Hungarian Communist Party and the Catholic Church, 1945-1948' in *Journal of Modern History*, lxxv, no. 4 (Dec., 2003), pp. 870-871.
[80] John Murray, 'The significance of Hungary and its present plight' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxv, no. 139 (Sept., 1946), p. 323.
[81] Kenez, 'The Hungarian Communist Party and the Catholic Church', p. 888.
[82] Eric Jarvis, 'The creation of a controversial anti-communist martyr in early Cold War America: reactions to the arrest and show trial of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, 1948-1949' in *The Historian*, lxxviii, no. 2 (Summer, 2016), pp. 282-284. American Catholics were particularly outspoken, and in New York Cardinal Francis Spellman and the Mayo-born Mayor, William O'Dwyer, led Catholic protest. John Cooney, *The American Pope: the life and times of Francis Cardinal*

Mindszenty's arrest was soon picked up on in Ireland, the *Standard* reporting speculation that he could be transported to Siberia.[83] It was swiftly condemned by the Irish hierarchy. Bishop Browne used the case to warn against the idea that 'communism can never get a majority' in Ireland, noting that Hungary's communists had been a minority in the country before taking control. Archbishop D'Alton stated that Mindszenty was guilty, in the eyes of Hungary's government, of 'the unpardonable crime in challenging the omnipotent state'. Archbishop Kinane declared that Mindszenty's conviction 'has aroused feelings of indignation and horror not only in the breast of Catholics but of all throughout the world who love justice and freedom'.[84] In Dublin, McQuaid prescribed that the Litany of Our Lady of Loreto be recited for God's intercession on Mindszenty's behalf in all his Archdiocese's churches, and sent a telegram to the Hungarian Premier on behalf of the clergy and laity of the Dublin Archdiocese protesting his sentence.[85]

Irish anger at the jailing of Mindszenty and Stepinac culminated in a large scale demonstration on their behalf in Dublin's O'Connell Street on 1 May 1949, which was estimated by the *Irish Catholic Directory* as being 150,000 strong, and by McQuaid to the Papal Secretary of State as being 'about 140,000'. A motion was passed conveying to Pius XII their 'detestation of the cruel tyranny of atheistic communism'. Forwarding the motion to Papal Secretary of State J. P. Montini, the future Pope Paul VI, McQuaid stated it had resulted in 'a practical devotion to Mass and the Sacraments such as even the Eucharistic Congress in 1932 has not exceeded'.[86] McQuaid's actions on the issue had already been well-received in Rome, Walshe informing McQuaid that Pius XII mentioned them to him 'in the warmest terms'.[87] The plight of Hungarian Catholics again attracted attention in Ireland in 1951 when Archbishop Groesz, Mindszenty's successor as Primate of Hungary, was also placed on trial and convicted. The prosecutors' purpose had been to 'strike down the chief shepherd who had taken the place of Cardinal Mindszenty and thus strike confusion amongst the faithful of his flock', Archbishop D'Alton stated.[88]

Awareness of Mindszenty endured in Ireland throughout the 1950s. Fr George O'Donnell, president of St George's Seminary, Philadelphia, informed massgoers at the city's St Patrick's Church, including Taoiseach John A. Costello in 1956 that Oliver Plunkett died 'for the same Faith

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Spellman (New York, 1984), p. 166. It should be noted that this is a different John Cooney to the McQuaid biographer, and the two are not related. Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 462.

[83] *Standard*, 31 Oct. 1948.

[84] *Irish Independent*, 3 Jan. 1949.

[85] *Irish Press*, 4 Feb. 1949.

[86] Entry for 1 May 1949 in 'Record of Irish ecclesiastical events for the year 1949' in *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1950, pp. 722-723; Letter from John Charles McQuaid to J. B. Montini, Papal Secretary of State, 2 May 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XVI/I/3/40).

[87] Letter from Joseph Walshe to John Charles McQuaid, 3 Mar. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/50/14).

[88] *Irish Independent*, 30 June 1951.

for which Stepinac and Mindszenty suffer today'.[89] The year was a prodigious one for Hungary as it was for the entire Eastern Bloc. Nikita Khrushchev's condemnation of Stalin-era atrocities in his 'secret speech' that March contributed to an increased questioning of authority in the Soviet Union, which evolved into open protest in some of the other Eastern Bloc states.[90] On 30 October Hungarian leader Imre Nagy called for negotiations to end the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary. The same day Mindszenty was released from house arrest.[91] McQuaid wrote to Mindszenty offering his prayers that the 'last vestiges of communist tyranny and persecution' in Hungary would soon be swept away,[92] while Taoiseach John A. Costello expressed to Mindszenty his hope that Hungary's 'gallant struggle for freedom and the faith' would be successful.[93]

While Mindszenty had not being involved in initiating the uprising, many Irish Catholics believed he was behind it,[94] and while 1956 did not, as Ferriter asserts, create the 'personality cult' surrounding the imprisoned Cardinal, it certainly varnished it.[95] This was the case in Northern Ireland where, as on the rest of the island, Mindszenty's plight 'was known to every Catholic schoolchild in the 1950s'.[96] The socialist campaigner Eamonn McCann, then a Derry schoolboy, recalled in his memoir that 'the Hungarian Rising of 1956 was seen clearly as an attempt by the Hungarian people to end oppression of the Church'.[97] On a 2000 state visit to Hungary, the Belfast native and Irish President Mary McAleese recalled how, throughout November 1956, 'each night at family prayers we prayed for the people of Hungary and as a six-year-old I was better acquainted with the name of Cardinal Mindszenty than I was with our own Irish Cardinal of the same period'.[98] Mindszenty's brief period of freedom was terminated after the Soviet invasion of Hungary that November suppressed the revolution, and he took refuge in the American embassy in Budapest, 'where he remained, an embarrassing and unwelcome guest, until 1972', as Pollard states.[99]

More broadly, the Catholic Church supported Irish government efforts to bring Hungarian refugees to Ireland, John A. Costello thanking McQuaid for his swift offer to help the government on the issue.[100] When Máire Adler, an Irish woman living in Canada, wrote to D'Alton criticising the

[89] *Cork Examiner*, 19 Mar. 1956.
[90] Simon Hall, *1956: A year in revolt* (London, 2016), p. 165.
[91] Ibid, pp. 313-314.
[92] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Cardinal József Mindszenty, 31 Oct. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XV/E/32/8).
[93] Joseph Walshe to Frederick Boland, 25 Nov. 1946 (DIFP, x, document 463).
[94] Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 195.
[95] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 490.
[96] Marianne Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster: a history* (London, 2000), p. 469.
[97] Eamonn McCann, *War and an Irish town* (2nd ed., London, 1993), p. 70.
[98] *Irish Times*, 4 Apr. 2000.
[99] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*, p. 371. At Paul VI's instigation, Mindszenty then reluctantly left for the Hungarian seminary in Vienna, where he died in 1975. Chadwick, *The Christian Church in the Cold War*, pp. 71-72.
[100] Letter from John A. Costello to John Charles McQuaid, 13 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/7/19).

Irish government for its allegedly sluggish response to the Hungarian refugee crisis,[101] D'Alton replied defending the government, claiming Ireland had 'shown more sympathy' to Hungary than any other country.[102] An Interdepartmental Conference on Hungarian Refugees, which had input from several governmental departments, had been set up in November, and was consulted by McQuaid, amongst others, in its activities. Ultimately, 539 Hungarians were accepted into Ireland,[103] with several hundred housed in an unused army camp in Knockalisheen, Co. Limerick. The experience of the Hungarians would be an unhappy one. A report by Joseph Szoversky, a Hungarian native naturalised in Ireland, alleged the camp with filled with 'hooligans and irresponsible elements' and possibly even communists. Some adult men at the camp launched a hunger strike in May 1957 to demand the government clarify their status. The strike was only called off when the local bishop, Limerick's Patrick O'Neill, intervened with a commitment that the cases of those who wished to leave Ireland would be expedited. A number even returned to Hungary and issued a radio broadcast urging those still in Knockalisheen to do the same. Ultimately, courtesy of the American National Catholic Welfare Committee (NCWC), most of the Hungarians secured admission to Canada in 1958, only 61 remaining in Ireland.[104]

Czechoslovakia was another region which attracted significant interest in Ireland during the early Cold War. As in Yugoslavia, the relationship between the Church and fascist collaborators during the Second World War was deeply controversial there.[105] Communists established complete control of the country's government in February 1948, the *Standard* reprinting a statement by Jozef Beran, the Archbishop of Prague, urging the Czechoslovak people to 'come to their senses' and reject communism.[106] Beran was sentenced to sixteen years house arrest in 1949 after he released a pastoral letter denouncing the country's communist authorities as 'wolves in sheep's clothing'.[107] His case attracted clerical condemnation in Ireland, though not to the extent Mindszenty's and Stepinac's did. Browne declared in 1949, for instance, that Czechoslovakia's 'communist totalitarian tyrants'

[101] Letter from Máire Adler to Cardinal John D'Alton, 26 Nov. 1956 (OFMLA., D'Alton Papers, Box 27, 'Hungarian Relief Appeal, November 1956').
[102] Letter from Cardinal John D'Alton to Máire Adler, 4 Dec. 1956 (OFMLA., D'Alton Papers, Box 27, 'Hungarian Relief Appeal, November 1956').
[103] Ward, 'A big show-off to show what we can do', p. 131.
[104] Ibid, pp. 136-139.
[105] During the Second World War, the breakaway Slovak Republic had been led by Monsignor Jozef Tiso, a Nazi collaborationist implicated in the deportations of Jews. Tiso, who was executed in 1947, never attained the fame that Mindszenty or Stepinac did amongst Catholics both in Ireland and globally, largely because the Holy See played down the trial given his unsavoury past. Kent, *The lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII*, pp. 173-176.
[106] *Standard*, 27 Feb. 1948.
[107] Memorandum entitled 'The imprisonment of Monsignor Beran, Archbishop of Prague', 4 Sept. 1951 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/72, 'Persecution of the Church in Czechoslovakia').

were 'trying to disrupt and enslave the Church'.[108] In 1954, the *Standard* claimed that the Czechoslovak authorities were deliberately trying to kill Beran by conciously leaving him in cold conditions, so it would appear he died naturally from pneumonia.[109] Beran was released in the 1960s, and he visited Ireland in October 1966, celebrating mass in Dublin's Pro-Cathedral and having lunch with McQuaid at his residence.[110]

Meanwhile, Poland was an early source of anxiety for the Irish hierarchy. Cardinal MacRory led his brother bishops in June 1945 in abhorring how Poland was 'still crushed beneath the heel of a cruel and ruthless oppressor'.[111] The Irish hierarchy kept abreast of the plight of the Church in Poland, supporting the arrival of a number of Polish students to UCC. Opening a hostel for the students in 1948, Alfred O'Rahilly, President of UCC, stated the Polish had 'had to struggle even more bitterly than ourselves for faith and fatherland'.[112] The students were amongst a number of anti-communist exiles who were admitted to Irish universities in the period, and Montini wrote to Browne in 1951 to convey Pius XII's 'heartfelt appreciation' for Browne's support for six Ukrainian students who, after initial visa difficulties, had been enrolled in University College Galway (UCG) since 1948, where there were already a number of Poles.[113] Montini granted Browne's appeal for further funding to support them, which was supplied by the NCWC.[114] When a representative of Lithuanian Catholics in Germany and Austria wrote to D'Alton two years later requesting permission for a Lithuanian seminary to be founded in Ireland, the hierarchy rejected the proposal, suggesting that

[108] *Connacht Tribune*, 24 Dec. 1949.
[109] *Standard*, 16 Apr. 1954.
[110] Letter from Cardinal Jozef Beran to Archbishop John Charles McQuaid, 17 Oct. 1966 (DDA, AB8/B/XV/E/27/2).
[111] *Irish Independent*, 20 June 1945.
[112] *Cork Examiner*, 21 Oct. 1948.
[113] From 1945 onwards, the Soviet Union had launched a repressive campaign against the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, an Eastern Rite church in full communion with the Holy See, and forcibly attempted to 'reunite' it with the Orthodox Church, which, since 1943, had cooperated with the Soviet government in both domestic and foreign policy. Anna Dickinson, 'Domestic and foreign policy considerations and the origins of post-war Soviet church-state relations, 1941-1946' in Dianne Kirby (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War* (Basingstroke, 2002), pp. 28-30. This was picked up on in Ireland. Noting a broad ignorance amongst western European Catholics towards the Eastern Catholic Churches, and paying tribute to their adherence to Catholicism amidst considerable pressure, a 1950 *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* article drew attention to an Ukraine Orthodox churchman's boast that 'the Ukrainian people were now completely emancipated from the Roman Pope, the ardent champion of world reaction'. Patrick J. Hammell, 'The Eastern Catholic Churches' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxiii, no. 2 (Feb., 1950), p. 108. Ukrainian Catholics in Britain sent McQuaid a 1953 'black book' on religious persecution in Ukraine, asserting that 'Ireland and Ukraine share the same faith and both countries know what persecution means'. Undated letter from Ilarion Holubowycz to John Charles McQuaid, affixed to Anon, *First victims of communism: white book on the religious persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953) (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1062).
[114] Letter from Michael Browne to Giovanni Montini, 2 Aug. 1951; letter from Giovanni Montini to Michael Browne, 22 Oct. 1951 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, file B/2/144).

Lithuanian seminarians instead come to Ireland individually, provided Lithuanian Catholic organisations fund their studies.[115]

The worsening conditions of the Church in Poland were highlighted in 1953 when the Polish anti-communist government-in-exile informed D'Alton that 'at present six bishops are imprisoned or detained, and some hundred of the lower clergy share the lot of their spiritual leaders'.[116] While Poland initially enjoyed relatively positive church-state relations, the situation there soured, and that year Wyszyński was placed under house arrest for protesting the imprisonment of a fellow member of the Polish hierarchy.[117] Browne told local Catholics that they could assist Wyszyński both through their prayers and by making 'the truth known to people who were ignorant or who had been deceived by communist propaganda'. Bishop Hanly of Elphin saw in Wyszyński's imprisonment confirmation of scripture: 'Long ago Christ warned that his followers should expect persecutions and they had seen the fulfilment of his words'. Bishop O'Doherty of Dromore urged Catholics to pray the family rosary in response to the decision. Comparing the 'infidel culture' of communism to Islam, he alleged the prayer had helped to repel Ottoman forces from Europe at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.[118] Wyszyński was released after the 1956 unrest in Poland, and both he and Władysław Gomułka, the more pragmatic communist leader who came to power that year, successfully worked to 'save Poland from the fate of Hungary' and avoid widespread unrest.[119]

The Irish Catholic Church and the Italian elections of 1948

Outside the communist sphere, the strength of communism in Italy was also a lodestone of anxiety for the Church. While Italian communist leader Palmiro Togliatti sought to assuage Catholic concerns that a communist victory in Italy would endanger the Church – unlike many communists, he supported the 1929 Lateran accords between Italy and the Holy See, which recognised the sovereignity of the Vatican[120] – events in eastern Europe ensured the Church's determined

[115] Letter from Archbishop John D'Alton to Father Kayoocius, 30 June 1947 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 27, 'Lithuanian students for the priesthood'). The hierarchy later assented to fund the studies of Lithuanian seminarians in Maynooth. Letter from Archbishop John D'Alton to hierarchy regarding funding for Lithuanian students, 22 June 1950 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 27, 'Lithuanian students for the priesthood').
[116] Document forwarded by Z. Zalesca, Vice-Consul for Poland, to Cardinal John D'Alton, 9 Mar. 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 34, 'Consul general of Poland - Declaration of the Polish government in exile on the persecution of the Church in Poland').
[117] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*, p. 377.
[118] *Irish Independent*, 5 Oct. 1953. This was a broader Catholic trope of the era, and McQuaid, amongst others, regarded the rosary as being behind Catholic victories against Ottoman armies in Europe in previous centuries. McQuaid, *Wellsprings of the faith*, p. 177.The then contemporary struggle against communism was regularly compared to the medieval and early modern Christian struggle against the Ottomans by Catholic anti-communists during the Cold War, particularly due to Pius XII's usage of the analogy. Forlenza, 'The enemy within', p. 226. See, for an Irish example, Liam Brophy, 'Mohammedanism and the Marxian menace' in *Irish Monthly*, lviii, no. 871 (Jan., 1946), pp. 17-21.
[119] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*, p. 377.
[120] Forlenza, 'The enemy within', p. 211.

opposition to Italian communism.[121] For Catholics, both in Italy and internationally, these fears crystallised in the April 1948 Italian election. 'The most passionate, the most important, the longest, the dirtiest, and the most uncertain electoral campaign in Italian history', it represented a choice between two very different versions of Italy: one, represented by the Christian Democrats, that was Catholic and capitalist, and another, represented by the communist-led Popular Front, that was secular and socialist. While the Christian Democrats had traditionally enjoyed the support of the Italian Catholic clergy, the Church's 'planned and studied' intervention in that year's election, in Ventresca's estimation, 'marked a break with the past'. The Pontiff acted through the newly formed Civic Committies of Luigi Gedda, a veteran Catholic Actionist and 'an ingenious and tireless political organiser'. By the first week of February 1948, it had a presence in 18,000 of Italy's 27,000 parishes while by the end of March it had 300,000 volunteers across the country.[122]

Italy's role as a Cold War battleground attracted increasing Irish attention in the immediate post-war era. *The Bell* in 1946 predicted that the country's communists were 'likely to win many seats' in its next general election, but also noted that the Church's influence was likely to bolster the Christian Democrats against the communist threat.[123] Communist killings of priests alleged as collaborators in the northern region of Emilia-Romagna between 1944 and 1946 entrenched Catholic anti-communism in Italy,[124] and *Hibernia* in 1947 claimed that former communist partisans in neighbouring Piedmont had regrouped and were 'terrorising the countryside', something Italy's weak central government was powerless to prevent.[125] Similarly, in a 1947 address to the Knights, McQuaid warned that 'Italy a year ago' had been a sign 'that communism was on the upsurge.'[126] Both the Irish Catholic Church and the Irish state would play their own role in the attempt to keep the Popular Front from power, which, while small in the overall context of the election, was an unprecedented initiative for the young Irish state. Walshe's alarmist reports were essential in making both aware of the Italian danger. The ambassador, in Keogh's estimation, fell 'in completely' behind Gedda.[127]

[121] John Pollard, 'The Vatican, Italy and the Cold War' in Dianne Kirby (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War* (Basingstroke, 2003), pp. 108-109.
[122] Robert A. Ventresca, *From fascism to democracy: culture and politics in the Italian election of 1948* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 4-5.
[123] J. S., 'The Italian see-saw' in *The Bell*, xi, no. 4 (Jan., 1946), pp. 844-845.
[124] Forlenza, 'The enemy within', p. 214.
[125] *Hibernia*, Jan. 1947.
[126] Bolster, *The Knights of Saint Columbanus*, p. 93.
[127] Keogh, 'Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War', pp. 91-92.

Working on information received from Walshe, MacBride sent leading members of the Irish hierarchy, such as McQuaid and D'Alton, copies of an appeal from Gedda asking for funds.[128] D'Alton released a letter he received from Gedda which argued that if the world's Catholics did not support the Italian election effort it 'may mean the end of Christian civilisation in Europe'.[129] In a radio address on 11 April, McQuaid told Ireland's Catholics that 'the issue in Italy is none other than the triumph of the one true Faith over the blasphemy and tyranny of atheistic communism', a statement U.S. ambassador George Garrett hailed as 'by far the strongest evidence so far of a more aggressive attitude on the part of the Irish people towards the Communist menace'. Collections for the Italian fund occurred 'in churches, in shops, in factories and in small towns', and by early May had generated £60,000 for the Italian cause, which was lodged in the embassy's account in Rome and then transferred to Gedda.[130] Walshe again conveyed the happiness with which McQuaid's activities had been greeted in Rome, reassuring him than the Vatican's 'inefficient machinery' meant that this had not always been conveyed to McQuaid directly.[131]

Lay Catholic organisations in Ireland had soon rallied to the hierarchy's call. By the end of May, Supreme Knight Dr Stafford Johnson claimed the Knights nationally had given £11,000 to the Italian cause.[132] Since Dublin woman Mary Ingoldsby visited there in 1946, the Legion of Mary had also been active in the country, particularly in areas which were traditional strongholds of the communists. It was active in the election effort; interviewed on a visit home by the *Standard* in 1949, Ingoldsby noted the Legion had sixty Praesidia in the country. While the *Standard* argued that the their work was contributing to the decline of Italian communism,[133] Walshe, who shared Legion founder Frank Duff's view that it was a valuable bulwark against the ideology in Italy, was frustrated by the slowness of its growth, claiming that the fact it was predominantly attracting women as members was alienating men.[134]

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[128] Ibid, p. 98.
[129] Clipping from *Irish Independent*, 29 Mar. 1948 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 27, 'Appeal for financial help from Italian Catholics').
[130] Keogh, 'Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War', pp. 100-102. The hierarchy's fundraising dwarfed the actions of their English counterparts, who raised £5,000. Kester Aspden, *Fortress Church: the English Roman Catholic Bishops and politics, 1943-63* (Herefordshire, 2002), pp. 274-275.
[131] Letter from Joseph Walshe to John Charles McQuaid, 19 May, 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/50/1).
[132] Bolster, *The Knights of Saint Columbanus*, p. 95.
[133] *Standard*, 13 May. 1949.
[134] Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, pp. 230-231. Years later, Ingoldsby recalled that while the Legion's efforts had had some success in winning converts from communism and reviving parishes where massgoing had atrophied, particularly in Emilia-Romagna and the cities of Milan, Turin and Genoa, its work was greatly hindered due to suspicion from the Italian hierarchy – a fact not helped by Ingoldsby's sex. Mary F. Ingoldsby, 'The Legion of Mary abroad' in *The Furrow*, xxiii, no. 8 (Aug., 1972), pp. 467-475.

During and after the defeat of the communists, the government attempted to conceal its own role in the fundraising from public knowledge, given the 'anxiety in Iveagh House over the possibility of unsolicited publicity for the Department'.[135] Privately, Costello formally lauded De Gasperi through the Italian legate in Dublin on 23 April, hailing 'the magnificent response of the Italian people'.[136] It was also welcomed in *Studies* by Daniel Binchy, the former Irish ambassador to Berlin, who argued that had the communists won the election, 'the Sovietisation of the whole continent of Europe would become a mere question of time ... and would the streamroller be halted for long by the English channel – or indeed by the Irish sea?'[137] While communism remained a force in Italy – one in three Italians supported the communists by the end of the 1940s[138] – the country remained within the western bloc.

Catholic Ireland and the Cold War in Asia

While Irish missionary activity before the twentieth century predominantly concentrated on the Irish diaspora, and to a lesser extent on areas of the British Empire like India and Africa, the Irish Catholic Church forged a connection with east Asia from the early twentieth century, primarily through the efforts of the Maynooth Mission to China, or Columban Fathers.[139] The Columbans, who were founded in 1916 by two priests, Edward Galvin and John Blowick, grew rapidly. The Columban magazine, the *Far East*, had a circulation of 45,000 by 1919,[140] and by 1929 the Columbans had thirty nine priests in Han Yang and fourteen in Kienchang.[141] As vocations rose in Ireland in the period, other orders soon followed. The Irish Jesuit Province established a mission in Hong Kong in 1926, involving itself in education. In the 1930s, it established a presence in the nearby city of Canton (now Guangzhou) on the Chinese mainland.[142] Likewise, an Irish Franciscan mission to China was set up in inland Hupeh (now Hubei) Province in 1935.[143]

[135] Keogh, 'Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War', p. 105.
[136] Letter from Taoiseach John A. Costello to His Excellency Francesco Babuscio Rizzo, 23 Apr. 1948 (NAI, TSCH, 3/S14328, 'Achievements of Alcide De Gasperi and colleagues in Italian government: message from Taoiseach to Italian Minister').
[137] Daniel Binchy, 'Background of the Italian general election' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxvii, no. 147 (Sept., 1948), pp. 257-258.
[138] Forlenza, 'The enemy within', p. 233.
[139] Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: a literary and intellectual history* (Syracuse, 2004), pp. 179-181.
[140] Frank Hoare, 'The influence of the crusade symbol and war metaphor on the motivation and attitudes of the Maynooth Mission to China, 1918-1929' in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, xxiv, no. 3 (Summer, 2006), p. 57.
[141] Ibid, p. 63.
[142] Louis McRedmond, *To the greater glory: a history of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 253-255.
[143] Patrick Conlan , 'Missions and missionaries' in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty (eds.), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990* (Dublin, 2009), p. 279.

China had been an uneasy area for priests to operate, and Catholic missionaries were attacked, imprisoned and killed by both communists and apolitical bandits in the 1920s and 1930s.[144] Irish priests were amongst the victims.[145] In addition to these difficulties, Irish missionaries faced harrassment from the brutal Japanese occupiers of China during the Second World War.[146] Their position became especially precarious after October 1949, when Mao's communists secured full control of the country's mainland. Since the post-war era, Irish Catholic periodicals had increasingly noted the threat of Chinese communism, *Hibernia* reminding its readers in 1946 that 'one of every five people on the earth is Chinese. If China went Red...'.[147] News began filtering home about the increased danger of the country's communists to its missionaries. Ivo Sullivan, an Irish Franciscan who had spent twelve years in China, noted on a visit home in December 1948 that 'Peiping (Beijing) is surrounded by communists' and that 'Hupeh is in danger'.[148] While the Chinese Communist Party's 1949 Common Programme guaranteed religious liberty, Catholic missionaries were understandably anxious about their future in the new China, given the actions of communist regimes in Europe and the persecution they had previously faced in communist-controlled territories of China before the People's Republic of China's emergence.[149]

These fears were well-founded. From 1949, the Catholic Church's freedom to operate in China was increasingly curtailed, and the communist authorities took a hard line towards foreign missionaries.[150] As an *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* account by a French missionary priest in northern China outlined, relative 'toleration' was giving way to jailings of Catholic clergy.[151] The *Rosary* noted in 1951 the jailings of four French, Italian and American bishops and 'at least forty foreign priests and twenty seven Chinese priests'.[152] By 1951, 95 per cent of foreign missionaries had left mainland China, the remainder consisting of a number of Irish and Italian clergy.[153] The Columban

[144] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*, p. 167.
[145] See, for example, the fate of Columban Cornelius Tierney, killed while in communist custody in 1931. *Irish Independent*, 30 Mar. 1931. Fellow Columban Hugh Sands, a native of Newry Co. Down, met Mao while imprisoned by Chinese communists in the 1930s. After Mao's death, Sands revealed the 'guarded respect' he had for Mao, 'a very learned man', despite the 'quite brutal' treatment he received in communist custody. *Irish Independent*, 10 Sept. 1976.
[146] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, pp. 157-158.
[147] *Hibernia*, Apr. 1946.
[148] *Standard*, 31 Jan. 1949.
[149] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, p. 153.
[150] Ibid, pp. 158-159.
[151] Raymond de Jaegher, 'The church and communism in China' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxiii, no. 4 (Apr., 1950), pp. 325-330.
[152] Henry Gaffney, 'Red rain on Tonkin' in *Irish Rosary*, lv, no. 7 (July, 1951), p. 209.
[153] Beatrice K. F. Leung and William T. Liu, *The Chinese Catholic Church in conflict, 1949-2001* (Boca Raton, 2001), p. 62.

presence alone fell from 152 missionaries in 1948 to 22 in June 1952.[154] Bishop Galvin, then 70, was himself expelled from the country in late 1952 after a trial held by the communist authorities.[155]

Accounts soon reached Ireland of Irish priests imprisoned or killed in the country. The Department of External Affairs closely monitored their plight through newspaper clippings. Cases mentioned in the Department's file on China include that of an Irish Vincentian, Maurice Kavanagh, one of five priests from that Order who had been tortured while in communist imprisonment,[156] and the 1952 jailing of four Columbans for promoting the Legion of Mary.[157] The Legion was particularly singled out for persecution by the communist authorities, and its publication, *Maria Legionis*, protested that the Chinese government had 'grossly misrepresented' it as an organisation in order to justify legal impediments on its activities.[158] On their return to Ireland, Irish priests spoke about their experiences. Daniel Fitzgerald, a Cork Columban who had been imprisoned, told the *Cork Examiner* that 'many is the time we Irish priests out there had a quiet laugh at Irishmen being labelled as, of all things, imperialists'.[159] George Byrne, one of the original Jesuits who established the Hong Kong mission in 1926, expressed hope that Catholicism would replace communism as the dominant force in China.[160] R. J. Kennedy, an Irish Jesuit priest imprisoned in Canton after he was accused of being a foreign spy and Legion of Mary member, privately circulated an account of his experiences.[161]

A crucial figure in interpreting the Cold War in Asia for the readers of the Irish Catholic press was Patrick O'Connor, a Dublin-born Columban priest and reporter whose articles were syndicated by the NCWC's Catholic News Service. O'Connor's output hence had a vast range; the Catholic News Service alone contributed to two hundred periodicals in the United States and another sixty on six continents.[162] While an undoubted anti-communist, O'Connor sought and successfully secured interviews with leading Asian communists. *Studies* furnished readers in 1950 with a 1946 interview by O'Connor of Zhou Enlai, who subsequently became China's communist premier after 1949. While O'Connor found Enlai personally pleasant, he vigorously disagreed with Enlai's

[154] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, p. 154.
[155] Clipping, *Evening Herald*, 22 Sept. 1952; *Irish Independent*, 22 Sept. 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/132, 'Religious Persecution in China').
[156] Clipping, *Standard*, 12 Sept. 1952; *Irish Times*, 30 Sept. 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/132, 'Religious Persecution in China').
[157] Clipping, 27 July 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/132, 'Religious Persecution in China').
[158] *Maria Legionis*, Sept. 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/132, 'Religious Persecution in China').
[159] Clipping, *Cork Examiner*, 16 Sept 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/132, 'Religious Persecution in China').
[160] George Byrne S.J., 'China: yesterday, today' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxvii., no. 6 (June, 1952), p. 408.
[161] 'What I saw of the Red Terror in China' and 'Canton Chronicle Contined: Fr. R. J. Kennedy, Oct 1953' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/677) and (IJA, J216/3).
[162] John T. Donovan, 'The American Catholic Press and the Cold War in Asia: the case of Father Patrick O'Connor, S.S.C. (1899-1987)' in *American Catholic Studies*, cxv, no. 3 (Fall., 2004), p. 25.

contention that religious persecution did not exist in China, citing several examples of Catholic priests who had been imprisoned or killed.[163]

The Irish state followed a strict policy of non-recognition of the People's Republic of China since 1949.[164] Frank Aiken resisted resolutions urging the government to raise the expulsion of Irish priests with Beijing. His secretary asserted that returned Irish missionaries had advised them not to do so as 'one of the principal accusations brought against them by the communists is that they are agents of foreign powers; and intervention on their behalf by such powers only give their persecutors an opportunity of reinforcing this unjust charge'.[165] The Irish government's China policy faced criticism from both the US government and the Irish and American hierarchies in September 1957 when it decided to vote in favour of an Indian resolution proposing a discussion regarding the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The decision was indicative of the independent-mindedness which marked Frank Aiken's second term as Minister for External Affairs from 1957 to 1961. While his FG predecessor, Liam Cosgrave, had cleaved closely to American foreign policy, Aiken had told diplomat Conor Cruise O'Brien that Ireland 'in the previous session of the General Assembly had been too subservient to the position of the United States'.[166] Hence, Aiken initiated what was both 'possibly Ireland's most exciting time, in purely diplomatic terms' and one of 'the lowest ebbs' of Ireland-U.S. relations.[167] While making clear that 'no country has a greater horror of despotism, aggression and religious persecution than Ireland has', he expressed his belief at the UN General Assembly on 22 September 1958 that a debate on the admittance of China would best advance adherence to the UN charter.[168] Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York was a particularly stern critic. As O'Brien later told filmmaker Peter Lennon, the Eisenhower administration had 'called out Cardinal Spellman to the rescue to put the heat on Mr. Aiken and his government'.[169] Spellman's sentiments were echoed by Cardinal Richard Cushing of Boston, who, unlike Spellman, made his displeasure at Aiken's decision known publicly.[170] The Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the US ambassador to the UN, John Cabot Lodge, taken

[163] Patrick O'Connor, 'Chou En-Lai: communist premier' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxix, no. 154 (June, 1950), pp. 123-126.
[164] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, pp. 163-164.
[165] Letter from W. P. Fay to City Manager and Town Clerk, Cork Corporation, 30 Sept. 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/132, 'Religious Persecution in China').
[166] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, pp. 178-180.
[167] Maurice Fitzgerald, 'Ireland and the U.S. in the post-war period' in Dermot Keogh, Finbarr O'Shea and Carmel Quinlan (eds.), *The lost decade: Ireland in the 1950s* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 190-192.
[168] Dowling, 'Irish policy on the representation of China at the United Nations', p. 85.
[169] *The Rocky Road to Dublin*, dir. by Peter Lennon, 1968. O'Brien later claimed that Spellman's closeness to Senator Joseph McCarthy, which is discussed further below, caused many Democratic-leaning American Catholics to ignore his view on the China controversy. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Memoir: my life and themes* (Dublin, 1998), p. 191.
[170] Dowling, 'Irish policy on the representation of China at the United Nations', p. 85.

aback with Aiken's 'nuts' decision, noted that his position was a controversial one for a Catholic to take.[171]

At home, the decision was strongly criticised by Cardinal D'Alton the following year.[172] The Irish hierarchy claimed to their American counterparts in February 1958 that it 'did not reflect the views of Irish Catholics'. Aiken held firm to his position and, as with Irish membership of NATO – where the approval of McQuaid and D'Alton for NATO membership had failed to make a substantive impact on the country's course – it illustrates the limits of the hierarchy's influence over Irish foreign policy.[173] Catholic frustration at the decision should not be exaggerated. While John Cooney claims it motivated an angry American hierarchy to discourage Catholic pilgrimages to Ireland,[174] Peter Murray has questioned this, noting that Cushing's support for pilgrimage tourism to Knock was not dinted by Aiken's decision,[175] and that, for most US Catholics, strong sentiment regarding Ireland's position faded quickly.[176] This mellowing in American Catholic attitudes was due in part to Ireland's own efforts. The Irish embassy in Washington DC paid particular attention to reportage in the Catholic press, and forwarded an April 1959 speech by Aiken condemning the recent Chinese invasion of Tibet to the NCWC's news bureau.[177] Irish diplomatic concern regarding US Catholic opinion was again highlighted when the Department of External Affairs forwarded Spellman and Cushing – as well as all Irish missions – copies of a resolution protesting the imprisonment of an Irish-American bishop in China, James Walsh. Cushing swiftly replied, regarding the resolution as 'magnificent'. One internal dissenter within the Department at the decision was Conor Cruise O'Brien, who worried that 'to draw their attention especially to it might be taken as indicating a nervous desire to placate and retrieve past "errors". No?'[178] O'Brien's attempts to convince Frank Aiken to support the discussion of Chinese entry to the U.N. were controversial, and were, in the view of UCD History Professor T. D. Williams, exaggerated in their actual impact on Aiken's ultimate decision.[179]

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[171] Fitzgerald, 'Ireland and the U.S. in the post-war period', p. 193.
[172] Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland*, p. 305.
[173] McCabe, *A diplomatic history of Ireland*, p. 108; Ó Corráin, 'The quiet leader', p. 301.
[174] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 330.
[175] Peter Murray, 'Beating the Irish State with U.S. Croziers: theatre, tourism, UN policy and church-state relations, 1957-58' in *National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis Series*, liv (Dec., 2009), pp. 14-16.
[176] Ibid, p. 8.
[177] Letter from John J. Hearne to Elmer Von Feldt, 13 Apr. 1959 (CUA Archives, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Catholic News Service, Box 22, Folder 3, 'Irish embassy, 1939-1959'). Ireland was a vocal supporter of the Tibetan cause, in part due to a desire to repair any loss of face it had suffered in American eyes as a result of its 1957 vote. Kate O'Malley, '"China is more important to you than Armagh": Frank Aiken and Tibet' in Bryce Evans and Stephen Kelly (eds.), *Frank Aiken: nationalist and internationalist* (Sallins, 2014), p. 281.
[178] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, p. 188.
[179] Anthony J. Jordan, *To laugh or to weep: a biography of Conor Cruise O'Brien* (Dublin, 1994), p. 28.

O'Brien became a source of concern for the Church, and he later recalled how innuendo that he was a communist, which had been first prompted by an anti-Franco speech he gave as a Labour Party student delegate in 1938, revived during his 'official career'.[180] A note amongst McQuaid's papers on the 'alarming' developments within Irish foreign policy under Aiken, likely written by Úna Byrne, asserted that 'Mr. Aiken cannot be suspected of being a communist; but he is very anti-American and "anti-West" generally. It would be easy for "fellow travellers" to sell him the communist line'. O'Brien was described by the note's author as having 'strong left-wing views', which were shared by Tom Woods, a fellow member of the Department. While Máire MacEntee, who later married O'Brien, was not on Byrne's list of External Affairs's alleged leftists,[181] her friendship with David Crean, a Trinity College Dublin (TCD) lecturer who had 'just returned from a communist sponsored tour of China', was noted as concerning. De Valera was unaware of the attempts to turn 'Irish foreign policy into an instrument of communist propaganda', the note's author claimed.[182] Local clergy in Howth, Co. Dublin, were approached in 1958 to ascertain whether O'Brien's and MacEntee's children were being brought up in the Catholic faith.[183] O'Brien, who wrote critically about American anti-communism during the 1960s,[184] and became a Labour Party government minister in the 1970s, remained a figure of suspicion for McQuaid until the end of the Archbishop's tenure.[185] The communist rumours did not hurt his career; an American diplomat, he later observed, would have had a much worse experience in the same situation.[186]

Despite their expulsion from China, the Columbans remained confident that they would eventually prevail over communism. Jeremiah Piggott, Superior of the Huchow Mission, told members of the Maynooth Union in June 1953 that 'in God's good time we shall return'.[187] Returning Columbans frequently used their experiences in China to highlight the dangers of communism in Ireland. Edward McElroy, a returned missionary from China, argued in 1957 that 'If we have 400 communists in Ireland we have, proportionately, as many as China had in 1937. And who can assure them that there are not 400 communists in our country?'[188] Reviewing Albert Galter's *The red book of the persecuted Church*, an attempt to distil the position of the Church in the

[180] O'Brien, *Memoir*, pp. 99-100
[181] Her father was Seán MacEntee, which likely saved her from suspicion. Feeney, *Seán MacEntee*, p. 223.
[182] Typed note on Frank Aiken's policy (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/533).
[183] Typed note on Conor Cruise O'Brien, 24 Oct. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/534).
[184] Donald Harman Akenson, *Conor: a biography of Conor Cruise O'Brien* (Montreal, 1994), p. 293.
[185] A 1968 report in McQuaid's archive noted that Rudi Dutschke, the German leftist student leader described as a 'communist agitator', had recently stayed in Cruise O'Brien's home in Howth to convalesce after an assassination attempt by a far-right student. Typed report on communist activity, c. 1968 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/671).
[186] O'Brien, *Memoir*, p. 100.
[187] *Irish Independent*, 24 June 1953.
[188] Edward McElroy, *Life in communist China* (Navan, 1957), p. i.

communist sphere which soon gained an Irish publisher,[189] O'Connor claimed that British communists were seeking to discredit the Church in the eyes of Irish Catholics,[190] and asserted that 'every communist and every fellow traveller in Ireland is encouraging and promoting the persecutions elsewhere, since communism is one'.[191] Such efforts ensured that Irish Catholics remained aware of their co-religionists in China.[192]

Elsewhere in Asia, the situation Korea's 258,000 Catholics faced was even worse than that their Chinese co-religionists endured, Pollard estimating that the communist Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or North Korea, destroyed 'all religious institutions with a thoroughness which was only equalled in Albania'.[193] The beginning of the Korean War in June 1950, where the United Nations intervened militarily to repel a communist offensive against the Republic of Korea, or South Korea, threatened the country's Catholics as a whole. The Columbans had been in Korea since 1933, and the war's commencement spelled trouble for the forty Irish Columbans then in South Korea.[194] There were two Columban apostolic prefectures in South Korea, and the northernmost of the two, headed by Monsignor Thomas Quinlan, was particularily imperilled.[195] Following the communist offensive, a number of members of the Columbans were reported missing. One, Peter Collier, was soon found dead in his parish near Seoul, while Quinlan, along with fellow Columbans Francis Canavan, Thomas Cusack and John O'Brien, were listed as being amongst several westerners thought to have been held by the North Korean authorities.[196] Canavan, Cusack and O'Brien were later confirmed as also having been killed.[197] Quinlan was later released and returned to Ireland in April 1953, with 'a great crowd, easily one of the biggest ever seen' to greet him.[198] Irish Columbans remained in South Korea, and three recently ordained Columbans arrived in Korea in 1953, the first foreign missionaries since June 1950.[199] Seán Coyle, a Dublin schoolboy and later a Columban priest, later recalled Quinlan's homecoming as a 'national event' on a par with Irish reactions to the

[189] Albert Galter, *The red book of the persecuted Church* (Dublin, 1957).
[190] Patrick O'Connor, 'Religion under communism' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxiii, no. 12 (Dec., 1957), p. 412.
[191] Ibid, p. 416.
[192] In one instance, James Bannon, a lay Catholic, wrote to McQuaid in 1960 asking him to denouce the selling of tins of Chinese pineapple pieces in Clery's of O'Connell Street, Dublin, 'in view of the protest you made when [the] communist football team were to play in Dublin'. Letter from James Bannon to McQuaid, 30 May 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/634). There is no record of McQuaid's reply, if any, though a tin label which Bannon sent to McQuaid remains in the archive (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/635).
[193] Pollard, *The Papacy in the age of totalitarianism*, p. 408.
[194] *Irish Independent*, 27 June 1950.
[195] Ibid, 29 June 1950.
[196] *Cork Examiner*, 31 Dec. 1951.
[197] *Irish Times*, 11 Aug. 2014.
[198] Entry for 23 Apr. 1953 in 'Record of Irish ecclesiastical events for the year 1953' in *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1954, p. 712.
[199] Clipping, *Irish Press*, 24 Aug. 1953 (NAI, DFA., 6/410/72/11, 'Religious persecution in Korea').

jailings of Mindszenty and Stepinac.[200] Quinlan himself returned to the country, and was appointed as Apostolic Regent to Korea later in 1953.[201]

Vietnam also attracted Irish attention from the late 1940s onwards. Criticising an article in the *Standard* which he felt had done 'incalculable harm' by misrepresenting the communist concept of the 'popular front', Browne brought a *London Times* article on communism in Indo-China to the attention of Peadar O'Curry in 1947. The article argued that the 'dictatorial control' of Ho Chi-Minh's communists within the Vietnamese nationalist movement illustrated 'how a small group of men, if disciplined and sufficiently ruthless, can grasp power'. Browne regarded the fact the *Times* had printed such an article as significant, as he felt that 'the *Times* is not hostile to communists'.[202] In 1952, *The Furrow* reproduced a speech by a lay Vietnamese Catholic which spoke emotively of the 'lonely road' Asian Catholics faced on a continent increasingly dominated by 'the Red Star'.[203] Unlike China and Korea, Vietnam had attracted few Irish clergy and religious, and a 1953 *Irish Monthly* article on the increasing violence between Vietnamese communists and France noted that Columban John Dooley, the Apostolic Regent to Indo-China and Siam since 1951 and a native of Shrule, Co. Mayo, was the only Irish Catholic clergyman there, alongside four Irish nuns of the Order of St Paul of Chartres. The Legion of Mary were also present locally, having been introduced a few years before.[204] Dooley was a vocal opponent of communism, emphasing in a joint letter with Vietnam's leading bishops in 1951 that the country's Catholics could not 'cooperate' with its communist party.[205]

Vietnamese Catholics faced a particularly precarious situation during the country's conflict, especially after 20 July 1954, when the Geneva Conference divided the country along the Seventeeth Parallel. As soon as the agreement was announced, refugees from communist North Vietnam, over three quarters of whom were Catholics, began moving south.[206] The plight of Catholics in north Vietnam was extensively and emotively reported in the US Catholic press, particularly by O'Connor, who was based in Hanoi with the NCWC.[207] He wrote to the *Irish Times* in late 1956 challenging

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[200] Coyle, 'Some reminiscences and thoughts of a Dub', accessed 31 Aug. 2017.
[201] *Irish Independent*, 7 Oct. 1953 (NAI, DFA., 6/410/72/11, 'Religious persecution in Korea').
[202] *London Times*, 8 Feb. 1947. Letter from Michael Browne to Peadar O'Curry, 21 Feb. 1947 (GDA., Michael Browne papers, file B/12/6).
[203] Ly Chang Trung, 'Asia – communist' in *The Furrow*, iii, no. 7 (July, 1952), pp. 343-344, highlighted by *Lux Occulta*, 2 Feb. 2011, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2011/02/12/the-irish-monthly-may-1953/, accessed 31 Aug. 2017.
[204] Sheila O'Loughlin, 'Indo-China: Catholic and communist' in *Irish Monthly*, lxxxi, no. 957 (May, 1953), pp. 169-172.
[205] Stephen Denney, 'The Catholic Church in Vietnam' in Pedro Ramet (ed.), *Catholicism and politics in communist societies* (Durham, N.C., 1990), pp. 272-274.
[206] Peter Hansen, 'Bắc Đi Cú: Catholic refugees from the north of Vietnam, and their role in the southern Republic, 1954-59' in *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, iv, no. 3 (Fall, 2009), pp. 178-179.
[207] Seth Jacobs, *America's middle man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, religion, race and US intervention in South East Asia* (Durham, N.C., 2004), pp. 136-137.

pro-North Vietnam statements George Jeffares, the IWL's expert on foreign affairs and particularly Asia,[208] was making in letters to the paper, such as that refugees moving south were unhindered by the communists and that an armistice between north and south had been violated by the latter.[209] While Robert McNamara has stated that the Department of External Affairs's interest in Vietnam began in 1961,[210] this ignores the interest it took in the plight of Vietnamese Catholics caught up in the aftermath of Geneva. In 1954 the NCWC sent it *Terror in Vietnam*,[211] a publication chiefly consisting of articles by O'Connor on the Catholic refugee situation. Following the Geneva Conference, Dooley, 'the only Papal representative now behind the Iron Curtain' as O'Connor put it,[212] was placed under 'virtual house arrest' and his contact with Rome was restricted.[213] He retained some contact with Ireland, and D'Alton assured him in 1959 that he could 'be sure of the prayers of Catholic Ireland'.[214] He was later forced to leave Vietnam in July 1959 due to illness caused by 'the stresses of climate, circumstances and the lack of any rest or relaxation'.[215] Visiting Ireland in December 1959, where he was greeted at Dublin airport by McQuaid and Papal Nuncio Antonio Riberi, Dooley urged Irish Catholics to pray for the persecuted Church internationally.[216]

Irish Catholic responses to anti-communism in the US and Canada

In the United States, the Catholic Church also played an important role in fomenting early Cold War anti-communism. Jonathan Herzog notes that, for many Americans, 'each martyred priest and closed church in the Eastern Bloc became yet another confirmation of religion's centrality to the emerging conflict'.[217] While anti-Catholic sentiment had historically been deeply ingrained in American society, the fact the Catholic Church was strongly anti-communist, a position closely identified with Americanism, ensured 'the loyalty and patriotism' of American Catholics 'was largely unquestioned' during the Cold War.[218] As Spellman informed the Jesuit periodical *America* in June 1946, 'the first loyalty of every American is vigilantly to weed out and counteract Communism and convert

[208] Deasy, 'George Jeffares', p. 13.
[209] *Irish Times*, 28 Aug. 1956; 8 Oct. 1956; 11 Oct. 1956; 17 Oct. 1956.
[210] McNamara, 'Irish perspectives on the Vietnam War', p. 76.
[211] National Catholic News Service, *Terror in Vietnam: a record of another broken pledge* (Washington DC, 1954).
[212] Clipping, *Far East*, Jan. 1955 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/72/10, 'Religious persecution in Indo-China').
[213] Denney, 'The Catholic Church in Vietnam', p. 274.
[214] Letter from Cardinal John D'Alton to John Dooley, 16 May 1958 (OFMLA, Box 32, 'Maynooth Mission to China').
[215] Letter from Timothy Connolly to Cardinal John D'Alton, 22 July 1959 (OFMLA, Box 32, 'Maynooth Mission to China').
[216] Entry for 5 Dec. 1959 in 'Record of Irish ecclesiastical events for the year 1960' in *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1961, pp. 662-663.
[217] Jonathan Herzog, *The spiritual-industrial complex: America's religious battle against communism in the early Cold War* (Oxford, 2011), p. 6.
[218] Dianne Kirby, 'The Cold War and American religion' in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (May. 2017), http://religion.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-398, accessed 29 June 2017.

American Communists to Americanism'.[219] Traditionally Irish-American Catholic bodies like the American AOH embraced anti-communism in the post-war years, the organisation passing a motion in 1946 calling for the removal of communists from 'all government agencies, all schools, and all labor unions'.[220] The anti-communism of Irish-America was acknowledged by Harry Truman, who told attendees at the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick dinner in New York on St. Patrick's Day, 1948, that the Soviet Union was a nation which had 'steadily expanded its control over its neighbours' against which the US need to make its faith and strength 'unmistakably clear to the entire world'. While Irish Catholic anti-communism in the US was in one sense typical of American society, many Irish-American Catholics also used it to differentiate themselves from the country's white Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite. Irish-American anti-communist figures like the young conservative intellectual William F. Buckley, the Grand Knight of the Knights of Columbus, John Swift – who ironically shared his name with an Irish trade union leader widely seen as a communist 'fellow-traveller' - and the Auxiliary Bishop of New York Fulton J. Sheen all spoke, in Timothy J. Meagher's words, of a 'credulous, soft and/or decadent privileged WASP establishment, seduced by a communist siren song into endangering the republic'.[221]

Anti-communism was frequently highlighted by American clergymen and bishops on their visits to Ireland. Edward Flanagan, an Irish-born priest associated with the 'Boys Town' children's home in Nebraska, condemned communism several times on his 1946 trip to Ireland. Speaking at a De La Salle industrial school in Belfast, Flanagan warned that it was important to ensure children were raised with a Catholic ethos, as the world was 'approaching a period' where 'we would be faced with one great universal danger of communism'.[222] In a talk in the Savoy Cinema, Limerick, he argued that, if a country did not look after its youth properly, 'communism and Hitlerism are going to grasp that country and those people'.[223] 'There is no country in which communism has

[219] Seán Cronin, *Washington's Irish policy, 1916-1986: independence, partition, neutrality* (Dublin, 1987), p. 172.
[220] Matthew O'Brien, "'Americans on the March": Irish America and ethnic patriotism in the mid-twentieth century' in *Éire/Ireland*, xl, nos 1-2 (Spring/Summer, 2015), pp. 176-177. The American AOH's shift in focus contributed to an expansion of membership in the late 1940s, after decades of slow decline. Ibid, pp. 181-182. Its condemnations were noted by External Affairs. Clipping from *Irish Press*, 5 Sept. 1947, with sentence detailing the American AOH's condemnations of the Stepinac ruling underlined (NAI, DFA, 6/410/37, 'Religious persecution in Yugoslavia: resolutions of protest against trial and sentence of Cardinal Stepinac').
[221] Timothy J. Meagher, 'Irish America without Ireland: Irish-American relations with Ireland in the twentieth century' in Niall Whelehan (ed.), *Transnational perspectives on modern Irish history* (New York, 2015), pp. 210-212. Sheen was famous in the U.S. for his popular radio and television broadcasts which frequently contained anti-communist themes. Herzog, *The spiritual-industrial complex*, pp. 57-59.
[222] *Irish Press*, 18 June 1946.
[223] *Limerick Leader*, 8 July 1946.

made less inroads than Ireland, for the reason you have the only faith that can effectively meet it', Fulton J. Sheen told worshippers in Croghan, Co. Roscommon in April 1952.[224]

One US figure who attracted considerable interest from Catholic anti-communists in Ireland was Senator Joseph McCarthy. While McCarthy was a practicing Catholic of Irish extraction,[225] who showed deference to the Catholic clergy, his anti-communism essentially sprang from secular, rather than religious, sources. Given the Church's emphasis on anti-communism, his vigorous espousal of it was frequently tied to his religion both by Catholic supporters and hostile observers.[226] American clerical support for McCarthy was picked up on in Ireland, Ambassador John J. Hearne regularly sending assessments home which emphasised that McCarthy's activities were being opposed by 'New England Episcopalians'.[227] Whyte instances responses to McCarthy as an example of how some amongst the Irish hierarchy expressed a 'somewhat simplistically anti-communist point to view' towards the global Cold War.[228] Browne repeatedly emphasised the threat of communism to American Catholics while on a 1953 tour of North America, telling massgoers in Columbia, South Carolina, that the Soviet presence in eastern Europe was analogous to the 'British domination of Ireland immediately following the Reformation'.[229] He took note of a pro-McCarthy article by Richard Girder, a U.S. priest, which argued that 'the man is acting within the framework of the same Constitution that has governed us for the past 166 years'.[230] Browne's vigorous defence of McCarthy on his return echoed Girder's article, the Bishop asserting that communism 'could not be discovered by ordinary methods, and Senator McCarthy has shown a great ability in discovering and securing very accurate information. He is in no sense the kind of witch-hunter he is represented to be'.[231] McCarthy's campaign was fatally weakened in 1954 amidst increasing criticism of his methods in the United States, but this did not dissuade Bishop Lucey of Cork from vigorously defending McCarthy on his own return from a U.S. visit that year. Lucey asserted that McCarthy had 'an unsavoury job because [communists] are a slippery unsavoury lot, but surely it is a job that should be done if people value the free way of life'. Unlike Browne, Lucey acknowledged that 'not all his suspects have been found guilty', but nonetheless defended McCarthy's work overall. 'People I met

[224] *Sligo Champion*, 26 Apr. 1952.
[225] Three of his four grandparents were Irish-born. Gerard Madden, 'McCarthyism, Catholicism and Ireland' in *History Ireland*, xxv, no. 3 (May/June, 2017), p. 46.
[226] Crosby, *God, church and flag*, pp. 34-36. Paul Blanshard heavily emphasised McCarthy's Irishness and Catholicism in *The Irish and Catholic power*, for instance. Blanshard, *The Irish and Catholic power*, pp. 286-288.
[227] McKenzie, 'The European Youth Campaign in Ireland', p. 429.
[228] Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland*, p. 304
[229] Clipping from unidentified newspaper (GDA, Michael Browne papers, file B/11/16).
[230] Clipping from the *Leader*, c. 1953 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, file B/11/16).
[231] *Cork Examiner*, 21 Aug. 1953.

in America were shocked at the way McCarthy has been condemned without a hearing in Ireland', he claimed.[232]

Maria Duce's periodical, *Fiat*, also praised McCarthy. Maria Duce (later known as Fírinne) emerged from a study group centred around Denis Fahey in 1942, and Enda Delaney suggests that Fahey formed the organisation after the death of his friend and collaborator, the Jesuit Edward Cahill, the year before.[233] The organisation reflected and echoed Fahey's beliefs,[234] as propounded in works like *The rulers of Russia*. In Fahey's worldview, 'naturalism' was the key opponent of the Catholic Church. Naturalism expressed itself both in 'invisible forms', namely 'Satan and his fellow demons' and 'visible forms', chiefly Freemasonry and the Jews. Fahey claimed to have proven that communism was 'an instrument' through which 'the Jewish nation' sought to work 'for the elimination of the supernatural outlook in society and the installation of naturalism'.[235] While Maria Duce's heavily Dublin-centric membership appears to have never numbered more than a hundred, it had sizeable numbers of 'associates' who numbered about five or six thousand. *Fiat* had a similar circulation.[236] McCarthy was a natural hero for the group.[237] Printing fulsome tributes syndicated from the US press following McCarthy's 1957 death, *Fiat* 42 criticised Radio Éireann and Irish print newspapers for mentioning McCarthy's death 'perfunctorily', claiming that at least the Soviet media acknowledged that 'the sickle of death had struck down the most formidable enemy of communism in the United States'.[238] *Fiat* 50 praised the actor John Wayne for stating at a London press conference that McCarthy was not a witch-hunter, but had himself been witch-hunted.[239]

Another figure who was regarded sympathetically by some key Irish clergymen was J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Steve Rosswurm has noted that while Hoover has become 'a buffoonish figure in American history', this has obscured how seriously the FBI director was regarded in his lifetime, particularly amongst U.S. Catholics.[240] From 1940 onwards, Hoover, while a Presbyterian, placed particular emphasis on the recruitment of Catholics into the FBI, as he and the FBI's executive committee viewed them as ideologically sound anti-

[232] *Irish Independent*, 30 Mar. 1954.
[233] Delaney, 'Political Catholicism in post-war Ireland', p. 497. The founder of the lay Catholic group An Ríoghacht, Cahill had shared many of Fahey's anti-Semetic views. Thomas J. Morrissey, *The Ireland of Edward Cahill S.J., 1868-1941 – a secular or a Christian state* (Dublin, 2016), p. 92.
[234] Delaney, 'Political Catholicism in post-war Ireland', p. 494.
[235] Denis Fahey, *The rulers of Russia* (3rd. ed, Dublin, 1939), pp. 48-49.
[236] Delaney, 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth century Ireland', pp. 887-888.
[237] Ibid, p. 899.
[238] *Fiat* 42.
[239] *Fiat* 50.
[240] Steve Rosswurm, *The FBI and the Catholic Church, 1935 -1972* (Amherst and Boston, 2010), pp. 1-2.

communists.[241] Due to a shared anti-communism, Hoover was popular with both the Catholic laity and hierarchy. He shared intelligence on communist infiltration of the labour movement with Spellman.[242] Hoover was also friendly with Cardinal Richard Cushing of Boston, who 'ceaselessly promoted' Hoover's 1958 book *Masters of deceit,*[243] in which Hoover emphasised that communism was an enemy of all those who believe 'in a Supreme Being'.[244] Hoover's anti-communist pronouncements attracted the interest of *Hibernia*, which noted his praise for America's Catholic education system, in which 'not a single non-Christian or non-American principle is taught'.[245] Fahey was amongst his Irish clerical admirers. He sent material on communism to the FBI Director in 1951. While indicating his appreciation for Fahey's letter and enclosed documents, Hoover politely declined his request for information on communist activity, stating that 'no inference should be drawn that we do or do not have data concerning the organizations you mentioned'.[246] McQuaid was also an admirer of Hoover, and received a pre-publication copy of *Masters of deceit* from Cushing.[247] McQuaid informed Rev. William J. McDonald of the Catholic University of America during a visit of the latter to Dublin later that year of his admiration of Hoover, and McDonald let Hoover know of his enthusiasm for his work.[248] Hoover promptly wrote to McQuaid expressing his 'real encouragement' on hearing of the Archbishop of Dublin's support, forwarding him another copy, personally signed, of *Masters of deceit*.[249] While an irresistable nugget of history, the contact between Hoover and McQuaid was incidental, and its significance should not be exaggerated. Unsurprisingly Cooney makes much of their correspondence, comparing the 'control freak' McQuaid to Hoover, and claiming McQuaid's admiration of the FBI director is 'one of the most revealing insights into his complex character'.[250] This greatly overstates the case. That McQuaid and Fahey admired Hoover is not particularly remarkable, given the 'hero worship' he received from American Catholics.[251] Nonetheless, it further emphasises the broader awareness which existed within the Irish Catholic Church of anti-communist efforts in the USA.[252]

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[241] Ibid, pp. 41-42.
[242] Herzog, *The spiritual-industrial complex*, p. 85.
[243] Rosswurm, *The FBI and the Catholic Church,* p. 68
[244] J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of deceit*: *the story of communism in America and how to fight it* (New York, 1958), p. 321.
[245] *Hibernia*, Jan. 1946.
[246] The organisations Fahey requested information about are not listed in the letter of acknowledgment. Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Denis Fahey, 23 June 1951 (KMA, Denis Fahey Papers, Box 12).
[247] Letter from Cardinal Richard Cushing to John Charles McQuaid, 3 Mar. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XV/E/89/16).
[248] Letter from William J. McDonald to John Charles McQuaid, 20 Sept. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/53/27/18/1).
[249] Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to John Charles McQuaid, 20 Sept. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/53/27/17a).
[250] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid,* p. 327.
[251] Rosswurm, *The FBI and the Catholic Church,* p. 1.
[252] In another example, John McCloskey, director of the NCWC's French Mission, sent McQuaid in 1957 a letter from a U.S. conservative periodical *Human Events*, highlighting a paragraph which described the U.S. publication *Political Affairs*, as 'the most authorititive medium through which the Communist party line of the moment is expounded', McCloskey claiming that the communist periodical had previously featured articles discussing Ireland. Letter from John

Fahey himself was an important figure in the transnational Catholic anti-communist links between Ireland and the United States. Largely due to the anti-Semitic broadcasts of the infamous 'radio priest' Charles Coughlin, an important figure in the Depression-era United States over whom Fahey had a considerable influence, his works had gained attention in the United States and internationally since the 1930s.[253] In particular, Fahey viewed the cinema as a means through which international communism, through its Jewish financial supporters, attempted to eradicate 'love of country and the fusion of all nations into one vast agglomeration, subject to itself'.[254] This echoed broader Catholic concerns about the morality of cinema in the inter-war period which endured until the 1960s.[255] Fahey's own attitude was particularly filtered through his anti-communist and anti-Semitic obsessions. In the late 1940s, Maria Duce made communist infiltration of Hollywood a priority. In this, they were influenced by events in the United States. In the post-war era, the FBI placed much emphasis on communist activity in Hollywood, believing such activity to have 'its origins and codirection in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'.[256] The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), an anti-communist investigative committee of the United States House of Representatives, held hearings on these allegations in 1947 which led to the creation of the studio 'blacklist', which banned suspected communists from the film industry.[257] This attracted attention in Ireland. For example, the *Bell* published an account by Woodrow Wyatt, a British Labour MP, which detailed the plight of the Hollywood Ten, prominent blacklist targets. Christo Gore-Grimes of the Irish Association for Civil Liberty prefaced the piece by noting that 'as a people we have much the same weakness for intolerance, and the same suspectibility to mass hysteria. One the witch-hunt gets under way it is impossible to stop it, or prevent its injustices'.[258] While it never quite became 'mass hysteria', Gore-Grimes may have been thinking of Maria Duce's campaign

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McCloskey to John Charles McQuaid, 11 July 1957, with attached clipping of *Human Events*, 8 June 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/602-603).

[253] Coughlin informed Fahey that 350,000 of the latter's *The Rulers of Russia* had been distributed in the United States alone by Coughlin's National Union of Social Justice – free of charge, as Fahey unfortunately discovered when he enquired about royalties. Delaney, 'Anti-Communism in mid-twentieth Century Ireland', pp. 887-888.

[254] Denis Fahey, *The mystical body of Christ in the modern world* (Waterford, 1938), p. 176. Fahey informed FG leader William T. Cosgrave in a 1941 letter that 'the Jews, utilising other anti-Catholic forces … will corrupt and debase our ideals by the cinema etc. and they will lead our subversives from behind,' a letter Cosgrave ignored. Dermot Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*: *refugees, antisemitism and the Holocaust* (Cork, 1999), p. 171.

[255] Curtis, *A challenge to democracy*, p. 102. Welcoming delegates to the International Congress of the Cinema to Dublin in July 1955, McQuaid argued, for instance, that 'no facile explanation of art for art's sake' could exempt cinema from the 'divine law of morality', and further asserted that 'subsidiary groups have the right and the duty to assist the civil authority in maintaining public morality'. McQuaid, *Wellsprings of the faith*, pp. 225-227.

[256] John A. Noakes, 'Official frames in social movement theory: the FBI, HUAC, and the communist threat in Hollywood' in *Sociological Quarterly*, xli, no. 4 (Sept., 2000), p. 662.

[257] Ibid, pp. 667-668.

[258] Woodrow Wyatt, 'The Hollywood Ten' in *The Bell*, xvi, no. 2 (Nov., 1950), p. 30. The Irish Association for Civil Liberty was an organisation which would become the victim of an anti-communist scare encouraged by Maria Duce in its own right, as Chapter Five shall discuss.

against the invitations of 'red' US film figures, such as Gregory Peck, Danny Kaye and Orson Welles, to Ireland. In March 1949 it set up a subsidiary organisation, the Catholic Cinema and Theatre Patrons' Association (CCTPA).[259]

The CCTPA became a key focus of Maria Duce activity. In October 1949, for example, all members of the St Philip Neri branch joined it.[260] Catholic activists in the United States were crucial to inspiring these post-war protests. Using Fahey's papers, Enda Delaney has traced his connections with key figures behind the emergence of the post-war Hollywood red scare, including California State Senator Jack Tenney, whose California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, founded in 1941, conducted investigations into alleged Hollywood communists. Fahey was also in touch with Myron Fagan, head of the anti-communist Cinema Educational Guild, and helped promote Fagan's publication *Red stars over Hollywood* in Ireland.[261] Members of the St Philip Neri branch approached newsagents asking them to stock the book.[262] This campaign was also promoted by Limerick Maria Duce member Seán South, whose later death during the IRA's 1956-62 border campaign granted him posthumous fame.[263] South's letters and articles in the *Limerick Leader* include frequent allegations of communist infiltration of Hollywood, which drew heavily upon the Tenney Committee's reports.[264] A letter from Fagan to Fahey shortly after, which ended by stating 'more power to our young friend in Limerick, and if there is any way I can be of service to him – and of course to you, don't hesitate for a moment to let me know', suggests that Fahey evidently considered South's output significant enough to highlight to the American.[265]

The CCTPA was mocked by Ireland's actual communists, the *Irish Workers' Voice* stating in 1951 that if it wished to protest films with 'rape, illicit love, violence, sadism', it should look towards the capitalist USA.[266] Indeed, Milotte has noted the irony that the IWL's opposition to cultural Americanisation aligned with that of many Catholics, claiming that 'the *Voice* even found common cause with the *Standard* in denouncing the "vulgarities" of Marilyn Monroe'.[267] Ironically

[259] Delaney, 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth century Ireland', p. 885.
[260] Minute book of the St. Philip Neri branch, Maria Duce, 6 Oct. 1949 (NLI, MS 46,649).
[261] Delaney, 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth century Ireland', pp. 888-890.
[262] Minute book of the St. Philip Neri branch, Maria Duce, 8 Dec. 1949 (NLI, MS 46,649).
[263] As Seán Gannon highlights, South's ultimate fate was deeply ironic as Fahey loathed the IRA, predicting in *The mystical body of Christ in the modern world* that an IRA victory would mean Ireland would be 'trampled under foot in another world empire ruled by Moscow or Jerusalem'. Denis Fahey, *The mystical body of Christ in the modern world* (Waterford, 1938), p. 97, quoted in Seán Gannon, '"Schools of corruption:" the contexts for Seán South's anti-semitism' in *Old Limerick Journal*, xliv (Winter, 2010), p. 21.
[264] *Limerick Leader*, 10 Jan. 1949; ibid, 24 Jan. 1949.
[265] Letter from Myron Fagan to Denis Fahey, 5 Feb. 1949 (KMA, Denis Fahey papers, Box 12).
[266] *Irish Workers' Voice*, July 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1135).
[267] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 220. A 1952 internal IWL document entitled 'Culture in Ireland' stated that the IWL must oppose British and American culture by promoting the Irish language and Irish music. 'The Ceilidh, with its collective dances, its stirring music and songs and its convivial atmosphere, must eventually take the place of the

the *Standard* and its drama critic Gabriel Fallon, a prominent head of the Catholic Stage Guild who Delaney identifies as representative of a 'more liberal variant of Irish Catholicism in the 1940s and 1950s' was a constant critic of the CCTPA.[268] Neither the CCTPA nor Maria Duce received the hierarchy's formal approval, although Delaney views McQuaid as being tacitly sympathetic towards the CCTPA. For example, the Archbishop intervened to prevent Gregory Peck from appearing before the Catholic Stage Guild in Dublin in 1949, and he disapproved of Orson Welles, whose left-wing sympathies were well-known, visiting Ireland in 1951. The CCTPA did not long survive Fahey's 1954 death, and Fahey's relationship with McQuaid was already cooling by the early 1950s, influenced by Fahey and Maria Duce's anti-Semitism and their campaign to amend the Irish constitution to remove article 44.1, which recognised minority faiths, including the Jewish community.

Catholic concern about the impact of Hollywood on Irish morality remained an enduring concern. Vinton Chapin of the U.S. embassy in Dublin took it seriously, and used it to urge Washington to ensure that the US Information Service, a body which produced Cold War propaganda aimed at foreign audiences, paid attention to Ireland.[269] Úna Byrne later drew upon Fagan and Tenney's writings in 1953 to accuse the American director John Huston of communist sympathies. She was alarmed that Huston was considering making a film in Ireland about the seventeenth century Irish poet Anthony Raftery, describing it as 'the thin end of the wedge of communism coming into this country'.[270] In the same vein, in 1958 McQuaid received a letter from a woman in New York, warning him that Myron Cohen, a popular nightclub comedian in the city she claimed was a communist, was coming to Dublin.[271]

Elsewhere, in Canada, Catholic anti-communism was an important force throughout the country, notably in Quebec. In common with Ireland, the Church was particularly influential amongst Quebec's majority Francophone Catholic population, whose religious identity historically

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highly individualised and commercialised dancing and music of the modern dance-hall', it advised. (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 56).

[268] Delaney, 'Anti-communism in mid-twentieth century Ireland', p. 894.

[269] Whelan, *Ireland and the Marshall Plan*, p. 382.

[270] Typed reports by Úna Byrne on John Huston (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/420-421). Huston, who purchased a manor near Craughwell, Co. Galway, in 1955 and became an Irish citizen in 1964, never made his proposed Raftery film. Instead he worked on 'the most difficult picture I ever made', 1954's *Moby Dick*, which was partly shot in Ireland. Roddy Flynn and Riog O'Connell, 'John Huston and the Irish film industry' in Tony Tracy and Roddy Flynn (eds.), *John Huston: essays on a restless director* (Jefferson, NC, 2010), pp. 185-187.

[271] Letter from Katherine M. Burke, 2 Aug. 1957, with attached newspaper clipping mentioning Cohen's proposed appearance in Dublin from unidentified newspaper (DDA., AB8/B/XXIII/298).

helped differentiate them from the region's Anglophone Protestant elite.[272] Catholic anti-communism was also evident in Toronto, where the Archdiocese sought to counter, through surveillance, attempts by communists to appeal to its flock in a manner reminiscent of the Archdiocese of Dublin's own anti-communist efforts under McQuaid.[273] Ottawa's 1947 International Marian Congress witnessed a strong attack on communism by international attendees, who included D'Alton and Mindszenty.[274] Browne was another prominent Irish ecclesiastic visitor to Canada, and a statement by the Bishop in Ottawa on his 1953 tour that there were 'virtually no communists in Ireland' – which was in marked contrast to the warnings he made in Ireland about the need for anti-communist vigilance – was picked up in the Ottawa press.[275]

Cold War anti-communism in Canada drew the attention of both Irish state and ecclesiastical authorities in the late 1940s. This was in response to the widely reported publication of the Kelloch-Taschereau report, the result of a Canadian Royal Commission investigation sparked by Igor Gouzenko, a former cipher clerk at the USSR's Ottawa embassy, defecting to Canada with evidence that the Soviet Union was actively engaged in espionage there.[276] Ireland's representative in Canada, John J. Hearne, was asked in March 1947 to continue to forward Dublin information on communist, infiltration.[277] While *Christus Rex* mourned in 1948 that 'the copies of the report that reached this country were too few and too late',[278] it nonetheless was taken into account by the Irish hierarchy. Frederick Boland forwarded James Staunton, the Archbishop of Ferns, a copy of the report after its publication.[279] Evidently, Boland's sending of the Kelloch-Taschereau report was remembered by McQuaid. Thanking Fahey in 1949 for forwarding him a book on US anti-communism, McQuaid noted in response: 'I wonder is it quite as good as the Blue Book of the Canadian Royal

[272] Gregory Baum, 'Comparing post-World War II Catholicism in Quebec, Ireland and the United States' in Leslie Woodcock Tentler (ed.), *The Church confronts modernity: Catholicism since 1950 in the United States, Ireland, and Quebec* (Washington D.C., 2012), p. 269.
[273] Interestingly, the Archdiocese of Toronto shared anti-communist intelligence with Toronto police and supported police attempts to disrupt communist meetings, despite the force's traditional association with the Orange Order. Maurutto, 'Private policing and surveillance of Catholics', pp. 130-140. Unsurprisingly, there is no evidence of similar cooperation in Northern Ireland. The author of a 1930s report on communism in Northern Ireland in the Down and Connor Diocesan Archives stated he was 'not aware of any steps taken by the Government to check the activities' of the groups listed. Document, 'Responsa ad interrogationes de actione atheistarum' (DCDA, Daniel Mageean Papers, unsorted).
[274] Mark G. McGowan, 'The tails and trials of a "double minority": the Irish and French Catholic engagement for the soul of the Canadian Church, 1815 – 1947' in Colin Barr and Hilary M. Carey (eds) *Religion and greater Ireland: Christianity and Irish global networks, 1750- 969* (Montreal, 2015), pp. 116-117. D'Alton's meeting with Mindszenty at the Congress is mentioned in the *Standard*, 31 Dec. 1948.
[275] Clippings from the *Ottawa Journal* and *Le Droit*, c. 1953 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, file B/11/16) .
[276] David MacKenzie, *Canada's red scare 1945-1957* (Ottawa, 2001), pp. 4-8.
[277] Letter from the Secretary, Department of External Affairs to Ambassador John J. Hearne, 3 Mar. 1947 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/201, 'Communism in Canada').
[278] C.B.D., 'The report of the (Canadian) Royal Commission' in *Christus Rex*, ii, no. 1 (Jan., 1948), p. 71.
[279] Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, p. 229.

Commission. America seems divided much on the question of pursuing these infernal agents'.[280] Fahey himself highlighted the report in his own writings.[281]

As with Catholicism in North America, the Catholic communities in Australasia were strongly Irish in background. Leading figures in both the Communist Party of New Zealand[282] and the Communist Party of Australia[283] were of Irish Catholic background, a fact *Hibernia* emphasised in 1945: 'It is of Irish interest to note the names of some of Australia's leading communists – Moran, Sharkey, Blake… of Irish descent obviously'.[284] The situation in both countries differed. While New Zealand's small Catholic community focused on 'encouraging trends that already existed in the two main political parties' in its anti-communist activities, Catholics made up around a quarter of the Australian population, making Catholic anti-communism an important factor in twentieth-century Australian politics.[285] Irish-Australians were mainly working class, and predominantly voted for the Australian Labor Party, a tendency consolidated by Labor's opposition to conscription during World War One, which the Irish-born former president of Maynooth College, Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne, a close confidant of de Valera, was a vocal opponent of.[286] The fact the Australian Catholic community had 'played a part in the Labor movement out of all proportion to its members' was highlighted as a particular reason for Australian Catholics to be vigilant about communist activity in a summation of Australian anti-communism an Irish Jesuit in Singapore fowarded to his home provincial in 1953.[287] The Australian Communist Party's influence had grown during the war, its membership reaching 20,000 in 1943,[288] and it was particularly influential within the country's industrial unions and key trades councils.[289] While the party did play a prominent role in the country's 1949 coal strike, the post-war Menzies government greatly exaggerated its influence within the unions.[290]

Mannix was a leading Australian Catholic opponent of communism. In this, he was closely supported by his protégé Bartholomew (B.A., or Bob) Santamaria, a prominent lay Catholic

[280] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Denis Fahey, 10 Sept. 1949 (KMA, Denis Fahey Papers, Box 11).
[281] Denis Fahey, *The tragedy of James Connolly* (Cork, 1947), pp. 39-40.
[282] Nicholas Reid, 'Struggle for souls', p. 74.
[283] Denis O'Hearn, 'Freedom from Mother Church: the Stephen Hero image in Australian literature' in Colm Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland: bicentenary essays* (Dublin, 1986), p. 33.
[284] *Hibernia*, Oct. 1945.
[285] Reid, 'Struggle for souls', pp. 87-88.
[286] Declan O'Connell and John Walhurst, 'Church and class (Irish-Australian labour loyalties and the 1955 split)' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 8 (1982), pp. 46-48.
[287] While not signed, these documents were likely written by the Movement. 'The Catholic Resistance to Communism in Australia, 1945-50' and 'The Catholic Resistance to Communism in Australia,1951-53', documents forwarded by Fr. Paddy Joy S.J. to Dublin, 23 May 1953 (IJA, 53/32(1)).
[288] Smith, 'Policing communism across the "white man's world", p. 191.
[289] Fitzgerald, *The Pope's battalions*, pp. 71-72.
[290] Smith, 'Policing communism across the "white man's world", p. 188.

activist.[291] While of Sicilian descent, Santamaria could not but be aware of the predominantly Irish background of his fellow Catholics in a country where 'the terms Irish and Catholic were almost interchangeable'.[292] Despite the reservations of Cardinal Norman Thomas Gilroy of Sydney, Mannix convinced the Australian hierarchy to support the Catholic Social Studies Movement (commonly known as 'the Movement' or 'the Show'), Santamaria's secretive Catholic organisation, which from 1941 onwards intervened within the Australian Labor Party and trade unions to prevent communist infiltrators from gaining influence. William Hackett, a Kilkenny-born Jesuit, was the Movement's spiritual director in Melbourne, and was Mannix's enduring 'link with Catholic action and the Movement'.[293] Its success in wresting key unions away from communist control gained the admiration of lay Catholics abroad, such as Britain's Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU).[294] Mannix, while controversially giving the divisive Santamaria leeway in his activities, did not have as 'reactionary' a public image, and had a long standing interest in labour questions.[295] His official silence and private opposition to a 1951 referendum by Liberal Prime Minister Robert Menzies to ban the Australian Communist Party contributed to its defeat, the Archbishop sharing the concern of the Australian Labor Party leader Herbert Vere (H.V., or Bert) Evatt, that it would damage trade union liberties.[296]

External Affairs paid close attention to these events. Ireland established a legation in Canberra in 1946,[297] and, paralleling Hearne in Ottawa, the young embassy's first Ambassador, Thomas J. Kiernan, was in April 1947 instructed to forward Dublin information on attempts by communists to infiltrate the civil service and trade unions in Australia.[298] In 1947 Kiernan met with Santamaria and Hackett to discuss the question of Australian communism, Santamaria forwarding

[291] Niall, *Mannix*, pp. 272-278.
[292] O'Connell and Walhurst, 'Church and class', p. 46. In the 1930s he had compared religious persecution in the Soviet Union and China to anti-Catholicism in Scotland and Northern Ireland to better appeal to their sentiments. Fitzgerald, *The Pope's battallions*, p. 33.
[293] Brenda Niall, *The riddle of Father Hackett: a life in Ireland and Australia* (Canberra, 2009), p. 247.
[294] The Movement was distinct from ACTU both in the level of clerical support it enjoyed and Santamaria's domineering control. Seeking to beat the Communist Party of Australia at its own game, the Movement, under his leadership, consciously and explicitly emulated the Leninist 'democratic centralist' theory of organisation. Joan Keating, 'Roman Catholics, Christian Democracy and the British labour movement, 1910-60' (PhD, University of Manchester, 1992), pp. 375-378.
[295] Brian Costar, 'Mannix: loyalism, sectarianism and communism' in Val Noone and Rachel Naughten (eds.), *Daniel Mannix: his legacy* (Melbourne, 2014), p. 16. Reviewing Niall's 2015 biography of Mannix, the Melbourne-born UCD historian, David Fitzpatrick, recalled that his father Richard, 'an atheist Friend of the Soviet Union strenuously opposed to Santamaria's anti-communist crusade, was fascinated by Mannix's perverse humanism'. Alongside his opposition to Menzies' 1951 measure, Mannix, at the suggestion of Richard Fitzpatrick, sent a telegram to US President Dwight Eisenhower seeking a reprieve for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, an American couple convicted and executed in 1953 for communist espionage. *Irish Times*, 26 Sept. 2015.
[296] Niall, *Mannix*, pp. 306-307.
[297] Wylie, *Ireland and the Cold War*, p. 151.
[298] Letter from the Secretary, Department of External Affairs to T. J. Kiernan, Minister Plentipotentiary, Canberra, 14 Apr. 1947 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/43, 'Communism in Australia') .

Kiernan a report the Movement had prepared for the Australian Catholic hierarchy on communist infiltration of the country's trade unions.[299] The embassy closely followed Menzies's referendum, and noted that Labor Deputy Leader Arthur Calwell instanced the fact that De Valera, head of a country that was '90% Catholic', had never moved to ban communism in Ireland as a sign that one could be resolutely Catholic or anti-communist while opposing such bans.[300] Kiernan misjudged Mannix's stance on the referendum, wrongly surmising that because the Catholic *Melbourne Advocate* mourned its failure, Mannix did too.[301]

Clergy and lay Catholic Actionists from both Ireland and Australia spoke about the danger of Australian communism to Irish audiences. In 1947, for example, R. G. Hodgkinson, a member of the Melbourne CYMS, discussed Australian communism in the course of an address to members of Cork's CYMS branch. Highlighting Australian CYMS attempts to counteract communist influence within trade unions, Hodgkinson told attendees that communism would be defeated, not by adopting 'negative' measures towards it, but rather by 'the advancement of Christian ideals in the world'.[302] Speaking to worshippers at Galway in July 1948 after returning from a world tour, Browne spoke of the threat of communism to South Asia and Australia, which he had visited to participate in the Archdiocese of Melbourne's centenary commemorations. Australian communists, Browne continued, were trying, 'by causing disturbances and strikes, to shake the very foundations of the social and economic system'.[303] Browne retained a copy of a speech by Fulton Sheen later published in the Irish Capuchin *Father Matthew Record*, in which Sheen declared during the commemorations that Australia's communist leaders were 'under other individuals whose names you do not know', taking orders from Moscow.[304]

Patrick O'Donnell, coadjutor archbishop of the Archdiocese of Brisbane and a native of Fethard, Co. Tipperary, also spoke about the 'threat' of communism to Australia when interviewed while on a 1950 visit to Ireland. He claimed it was on the decline, something he largely attributed to the activities of the Church.[305] Anthony Cleary, a Melbourne priest, highlighted in *The Furrow* in 1950 how, despite the country's Catholics being 'vigorously active against communism in the trade

[299] Minute from the Irish Minister in Canberra, 11 June 1947 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/43, 'Communism in Australia').
[300] Minute from B. O'Riordan of the Irish embassy in Canberra, 17 Sept. 1951 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/130, 'Australian anti-communist legislation').
[301] Minute from B. O'Riordan of the Irish embassy in Canberra, 2 Oct. 1951 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/130, 'Australian anti-communist legislation').
[302] *Cork Examiner*, 9 Oct. 1947.
[303] *Standard*, 9 July 1948. The centenary commemorations included condemnations of communism from members of the hierarchy globally, including Cardinal Spellman. See Frank Bongiorno, 'H. V. Evatt, Australia and Ireland's departure from the Commonwealth: a reassessment' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii, no. 128 (Nov., 2001), p. 550.
[304] Clipping from *Father Mathew Record* containing address by Sheen to the Men's Night, Catholic Diocesan Centenary commemorations, Melbourne, 7 May 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, file B/12/189).
[305] *Cork Examiner*, 28 Aug. 1950.

unions', communists were 'infecting the atmosphere of the country to a disproportionate extent'.[306] McQuaid, on his 'first sustained break from daily administration since his appointment as Archbishop', himself visited the country for Sydney's Eucharistic Congress. Speaking in the University of Sydney, McQuaid, in Cooney's words, 'offered Australia the scholastic philosophy of Aquinas as the antidote to communism, existentialism and the atomic bomb'.[307] He condemned the 'innate contradiction' of Marxism, which he claimed aimed to create 'an earthly paradise that will be found in the conquest of the universe by internecine revolution'.[308] His Sydney speech became particularly well-known, and in John Feeney's somewhat tongue-in cheek estimation was to Irish seminarians in the 1950s 'almost like a speech in China from Mao Tse Tsung, as a brief summary of the right line on history, art and philosophy'.[309] During the Congress, McQuaid met with Mannix, Santamaria and Labor Party leader Herbert Evatt. His visit to Australia coincided with a visit to Dublin by Francis Forde, a Christian Brothers-educated prominent former Labor politician, Forde telling a *Standard* reporter that communism was a danger to the 'freedoms' the Irish people enjoyed.[310]

In 1955 the 'semi-alliance' that had emerged between 'the most socialist of Australia's main parties and the Church most doctrinally opposed to socialism' to a large extent broke down. After Labor's 1954 election defeat, Evatt accused 'Groupers', as 'Movement' supporters in Labor were known, of failing to fully support the party in Victoria, the only state where the party had not made gains. By this time, the Movement's influence was causing discomfort even amongst fellow anti-communists in the labour movement. In response, Movement supporters broke away from Labor in each state, forming the rival Democratic Labor Party in 1957.[311] McQuaid was warned about the coming split in the Australian Labor Party by Patrick O'Donnell, who asserted that the growing tensions within Labor were caused by claims that the party's 'militant anti-communist element was controlled by an outside source, Catholic Action'. O'Donnell supported Mannix and Santamaria's responses to Evatt, whose leadership of Labour, he claimed, was 'in jeopardy'.[312] The Labor split was further commented upon by Denis Murphy, head of the Australian Catholic Truth Society and a native of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, who, warning that Australia's experience showed that 'mere

[306] Anthony J. Cleary, 'The Church in Australia' in *The Furrow*, i, no. 7 (Aug., 1950), p. 332.
[307] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, pp. 303-304.
[308] McQuaid, *Wellsprings of the faith*, p. 216.
[309] Feeney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 30.
[310] *Standard*, 29 May 1953.
[311] The split had little impact in New South Wales due to a lack of support from both Gilroy and the local Movement, which was semi-independent of Santamaria. O'Connell and Walhurst, 'Church and class', pp. 50-55.
[312] Letter from Archbishop Patrick O'Donnell to John Charles McQuaid, 14 Nov. 1954. (DDA, AB8/B/XV/E/184/6).

generalised declarations of hostility to communism are completely futile in these times', praised the party's 'determined effort' to rid itself of communists on a 1955 visit to Ireland.[313]

Conclusion

While it was a peripheral actor in the Cold War, this chapter has established that the conflict had an important cultural impact on Irish society. The conflict's events, for most Irish people, were framed through the perspective of Catholicism. The diverse and contrasting range of countries discussed in this chapter illustrates both the international importance of Catholic anti-communism during the first twenty years of the Cold War and the extent of interest in Ireland in the impact of the Cold War on the Catholic Church. Events in Cold War arenas as varied as Vietnam, Poland and Canada were noted by Catholics in Ireland, not just at an elite level but amongst the ordinary laity as well, as the May Day demonstration in response to the jailings of Mindszenty and Stepinac demonstrated. Ireland's domestic Cold War climate was inseparable from that of the Cold War internationally. Attempts to challenge the Cold War consensus in Ireland – for example, by the activities of Hubert Butler – risked courting a strong backlash from public opinion, as we have seen. There are indications that there was some amelioration in the Cold War atmosphere in Ireland in this context as the 1950s drew onwards. The 1955 Ireland vs Yugoslavia football match in Dublin is a striking example of this, though the fact that attendance at the match was well below average for a team of Yugoslavia's reputation is a reminder that we should not downplay the reality that Catholic anti-communism remained a potent force in Irish reactions to the global Cold War until the 1960s. The chapter has also demonstrated the influence of Catholicism on Irish foreign policy, instanced in particular by Ireland's international lobbying on behalf of Mindszenty and Stepinac and the Irish involvement in the Italian elections of 1948. Frank Aiken's policy towards China in the United Nations in the late 1950s shows that the Church's influence was far from absolute in this regard, particularly from the mid-1950s onwards. Irish Catholic anti-communists did not just see communism as a threat to their co-religionists abroad. As has been repeatedly shown above, Irish clerical pronouncements on the growth of communism worldwide were repeatedly linked by prominent Catholic observers to the presence of communism in Ireland, and Chapter Two shall discuss the Church's reactions to Ireland's own communist movement.

[313] *Standard*, 8 May 1955.

Chapter Two

‘There is clear evidence of communist activity in this city’: The Irish Catholic Church and Irish communism in the early Cold War

‘In this matter, one can never rest … Your Excellency will now see, I think, more clearly how much, in my opinion, remains to be done, and equally will understand that the fewness of our communists is in no case a reason for failing to take strong precautions’. So John Charles McQuaid informed Giuseppe Sensi, the Papal Nuncio to Ireland, in 1963 after the latter requested information on Irish communism.[1] This chapter will analyse Catholic attempts to monitor communist activity in Ireland, exploring how members of the hierarchy and their diocesan organisations cooperated with individual lay Catholics, Catholic Action organisations, An Garda Síochána, military intelligence, and the government to oppose the Irish communist movement.

Firstly, it shall examine the Church’s responses to Irish communism between the disbandment of the CPI south of the border in 1941 and the creation of the IWL in 1948, with discussion also of the response of the state and lay Catholics to the same perceived danger. Following the expulsions of communists from Labour in 1944, southern communists worked through Michael O’Riordan’s Cork Socialist Party, which was strongly condemned by the city’s bishop, Daniel Cohalan. The TCD-based Promethean Society and the periodical *Review,* both of which attracted lay and episcopal attention, also played an important part in Irish communist politics in the era. As will be explored, Catholic Action organisations delineated for the hierarchy the activities of communists. Secondly, the chapter discusses the setting up of the CIB in 1948, which reported to the hierarchy on communist activity. The IWL was founded the same year, and Catholic responses to the IWL in its early stages are examined. Thirdly, the chapter looks at Catholic protests at the IWL’s involvement in a co-operative society in Ballyfermot, Co. Dublin, and McQuaid’s opposition to Michael O’Riordan’s two candidacies for Dáil Éireann in the 1951 and 1954 elections. These developments likely led in part to the creation of McQuaid’s Vigilance Committee in 1954, which, adopting many of the functions of the CIB, became McQuaid’s primary means of confronting

[1] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Giuseppe M. Sensi, Apostolic Nuncio to Ireland, 26 Apr. 1963 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/652).

communism. Finally, this chapter examines the Vigilance Committee's response to the IWL's initiatives in the late 1950s and early 1960s, such as its perceived closeness to Noël Browne and the involvement of its members in the *Plough* newspaper. The challenges the CPNI faced from Catholic anti-communists in Northern Ireland will also be considered. This chapter shall assess how effective the 'strong precautions' of McQuaid and his Catholic contemporaries ultimately were, exploring whether their efforts were proportionate and directed appropriately.

Prelude: Irish communism and the Church during the Emergency.

In 1938 the CTSI formed an anti-communist propaganda committee after being approached by Bishop Cohalan of Waterford and Lismore on the hierarchy's behalf. The committee produced a number of reports which identified several communist 'cells' in Ireland.[2] Frank O'Reilly, the CTSI's Executive Secretary, wrote to the newly appointed John Charles McQuaid in December 1940, noting that two people, the CTSI's second-in-command, Hugh. P. Allen, and Denis Fahey, were essential to the CTSI's efforts at collating intelligence on communism.[3] Shortly after, Allen forwarded Fahey a document revealing the CTSI's vision for the proposed Bureau. It argued for the creation of two clerical committees to combat communism. The first, consisting of Maynooth academics, would organise articles for publication in the Dublin press, while the second, consisting of Dublin diocesan priests, would collate information on communist activity. It was important the Church did not leave such surveillance work to the state, Allen argued, as 'it is our duty to demonstrate to all concerned that in this country Catholicism is more powerful than the law'.[4] Throughout this period Allen was a prolific correspondent to the hierarchy, sending CTSI reports on communism to McQuaid, Fahey and Browne.[5] Allen informed Browne that while a small number of Trotskyists had recently joined the Labour Party,[6] and the CPI were attempting to gain influence in the trade unions, the overall subversive threat was nothing 'to sing a very loud song about'. He further told Browne that he

[2] Curtis, *A challenge to democracy*, p. 106.
[3] Letter from Frank O'Reilly to John Charles McQuaid, 13 Dec. 1940 (DDA, AB8/B/XXVI/6/13/3). As Fearghal McGarry has noted, Fahey had 'a wide number of people and organisations' suspected of communist activities 'under surveillance' at the time. McGarry, *Irish politics and the Spanish Civil War*, p. 153. He sought out reports on the movement in Ireland, including one compiled by the British Conservative Party's Subversive Movements Information Department in 1932 on Irish communism. 'Weekly bulletin of communist and socialist activites, 14 June 1932' (KMA, Fahey papers, Box 5).
[4] Letter from Hugh P. Allen to Denis Fahey, 25 Dec. 1940 (KMA, Fahey papers, Box 11).
[5] Reports by CTSI on communist movement, c. 1940 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/266-275; KMA, Fahey papers, Box 5; GDA, Michael Browne papers, B/1/47, B/12/189).
[6] This referred to a group of members of the Trotskyist Fourth International in the Labour Party since 1940, centred around the journalist Patrick Trench. Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 188.

received his information from an army officer with whom he could arrange a meeting in Dublin's Gresham Hotel, if the Bishop desired.[7]

The Irish communist movement the CTSI surveyed would soon face turbulent times, as the CPI was one of the more obscure casualties of Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. 'Basking in the reflected glory of Red Army battlefield heroics, urging Labour-Unionist coalition in Stormont and demanding maximum factory output in support of the war effort' caused the party in Northern Ireland to prosper 'spectacularly'.[8] By contrast, while communists south of the border had been 'in somewhat less of a cleft stick' than their northern counterparts before Barbarossa as their anti-war views chimed with the national mood,[9] they were now in the inverse position. While formally disbanding, communists in the south were directed to join the Irish Labour Party, and continued to obey directions from the National Committee of the Communist Party, which moved to Belfast. McQuaid received Garda reports on the CPI meetings detailing the decision to disband its Dublin branch, its sole one in the south,[10] and was continually sent Garda files outlining communist activity within the Labour Party in Dublin, particularly the Dublin Central Branch. Reports highlighted the role of New Books, the communist bookshop managed by Seán Nolan, as a focal point of Dublin communist activity after its founding on 8 January, 1942.[11] In an example of the role of lay informants in providing information on communism to the hierarchy, in 1943 a Dublin civil servant, Kathleen Kirwan, forwarded the Archbishop several copies of the Belfast communist periodical *Unity*, as well as the *Trade Unionist*, a Dublin-based paper edited by the communist Donal O'Reilly,[12] and a report on a communist conference in Belfast.[13] 'There is clear evidence of communist activity in this city, restricted, no doubt, but intelligent, untiring and bitter', McQuaid consequently warned his priests in 1944.[14]

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[7] Letter from Hugh P. Allen to Michael Browne, 2 Oct. 1940 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, B/12/189). Allen's contact with the police was again illustrated in 1942 when he forwarded St. Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra, a letter obtained by Gardaí in a public house in Robertstown, Co. Kildare, which suggested that four of the college's student teachers were planning, with encouragement of the veteran socialist Peadar O'Donnell, to propagate socialism amongst Irish migratory workers in Scotland. McQuaid annotated the letter to state no action be taken against the students. Letter from Fr Jeremiah Twomey to John Charles McQuaid, 13 Oct. 1942, along with copies of the original letter allegedly from O'Donnell to the students, and an attached Garda report (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/171-172).

[8] Peter Murray, 'John McAteer and Marshall Plan technical assistance' in *Saothar, Journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 42 (2017), p. 14. Its membership there mushroomed from fifty in 1941 to a thousand by the war's end. Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 21. However, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) estimated in 1944 that only sixty or seventy of Northern Ireland's communists were 'really active'. Extract from RUC report, 17 July. 1944 (NAUK, KV2/2506, 'Betty Sinclair').

[9] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 131.

[10] Typed reports of communist activies, 23 June. 1941 - 15 Oct. 1941 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/264).

[11] Garda reports on communist activity in Dublin, 1942-1943 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/173).

[12] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 175.

[13] Letter from Kathleen Kirwan to Rev. Secretary, 25 Feb. 1943 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/541). See also copy of the *Trade Unionist*, 24 Feb. 1943 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/542) and report on communist activities (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/543).

[14] Address of His Grace the Archbishop to the clergy at the Archdiocesan retreat, 1944 (DDA, AB8/B/LVII/65/1).

The communist presence within the Labour Party became a cause célèbre in 1944 when the ITGWU disaffiliated from Labour in protest at James Larkin Sr and Jr both becoming Labour TDs in 1943. This, in turn, caused most of Labour's TDs affiliated to the ITGWU to form the breakaway National Labour Party. Although the split was a result of the historic animus between William O'Brien's ITGWU and the Larkins' WUI, O'Brien used allegations of communist infiltration to rally support for disaffiliation, with both of the Larkins having had been communists earlier in their careers.[15] The *Standard* played an important role in Labour's civil war in its support for the ITGWU line. Murray and Feeney note that 'communist penetration of the Labour Party was featured in almost every issue of the *Standard* between January and May 1944', with the paper's contributors apparently having 'access to intelligence material collected by state security agencies'.[16] Alfred O'Rahilly was a stern critic of Labour within the paper, and, drawing attention to the existence of New Books and communist meetings in Dublin, he concluded that the ITGWU's drastic action, while regrettable, was necessary.[17]

Ultimately, a Labour Party enquiry into the allegations of communist infiltration, while finding that many of the *Standard*'s 'vicious attacks' were unfounded, concluded that four members, Seán Nolan, John de Courcy Ireland, R.N. Tweedy and Charles Kenny, had attended a communist conference in Belfast in October 1943. The report was forwarded to hierarchy members such as McQuaid and D'Alton, then Bishop of Meath.[18] De Courcy Ireland, who later attained prominence as a broadcaster, maritime historian and teacher,[19] denied the *Standard*'s repeated accusations that he was a member of the CPI, stating he had attended their meetings 'in exactly the same capacity as I have attended meetings of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael or the Unionist Party'. Praising the Dean of Canterbury's *The socialist sixth of the world*, he stated that it convinced him that 'the solution of this country's long tale of troubles lay in socialism'.[20] De Courcy Ireland was a figure who remained

[15] Peter Murray and Maria Feeney, *Church, state and social science in Ireland: knowledge, institutions and the rebalancing of power, 1937-1973* (Manchester, 2017). p. 48. The following year, the ITGWU left the Irish Trade Union Congress (ITUC) due to the broader tensions between the WUI and the ITGWU, the perceived disproportionate influence of British-based trade unions within the ITUC, and differences between private and public sector unions, a topic more comprehensively discussed in Chapter Four. Emmet O'Connor, 'Labour and politics, 1830-1945: colonisation and mental colonisation' in Donal Ó Drisceoil and Fintan Lane (eds.), *Politics and the Irish working class, 1830–1945* (London, 2005), pp. 40-41.

[16] Murray and Feeney, *Church, state and social science in Ireland*, p. 48

[17] J. Anthony Gaughan, *Alfred O'Rahilly, III: controversialist, part 1: social reformer* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 131-133. One particular article by O'Rahilly in the same vein was taken note of by D'Alton, who was then Bishop of Meath. Clipping, *Standard*, 10 Mar. 1944 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 33, 'The Labour Party, 1944').

[18] 'Report of the committee prepared for the Administrative Council and the Parliamentary Labour Party' (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 33, 'The Labour Party, 1944' ; DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/781a) .

[19] Lawrence William White, 'Ireland, John Evan de Courcy ', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a9435, accessed 8 Aug. 2017.

[20] Letter from John de Courcy Ireland to the *Standard*, 10 Mar. 1944 (UCDA, John de Courcy Ireland papers, P29/G/10). This was a reference to Hewlett Johnston, a Church of England clergyman and well-known Soviet sympathiser,

suspect to Catholic anti-communists throughout the Cold War.[21] All four men were expelled from Labour, as was Michael O'Riordan, a former International Brigader who had joined the Liam Mellows branch in Cork city after his release from internment in the Curragh Camp, where he and other communists had been interned in the early part of the war.[22]

The Larkins escaped expulsion from the party, and McQuaid was forwarded a letter by Luke Duffy, Labour's General Secretary, in which Larkin Jr stated it had been several years since he had been involved in communist activity.[23] Larkin Jr was becoming increasingly cynical of 'this cult of Joe Stalin', as he later put it,[24] though Catholic anti-communist suspicion of him would endure, particularly in the pages of the *Standard* during the 1948 general election.[25] Welcoming Labour Party delegates to the party's annual conference in Wexford town in 1946, Bishop Staunton of Ferns lamented the splits, but warned delegates about the danger of communist infiltration of the labour movement, arguing that communists adhered to a 'foreign ideology' and posed a threat to the freedom of trade unions.[26] The two wings of the Labour Party would remain divided until 1950, when both united while part of the inter-party government.[27]

Catholic responses to developments in Irish communism, 1945-1948

Given the paucity of communists in Ireland throughout the early Cold War, Noel Hartnett[28] had a strong case when he argued in favour of a motion entitled 'that the danger of Ireland going communist is more imaginary than real' at a 1946 meeting of the Fairview Debating Society in Dublin. The belief of an opponent in the debate that 'it would be mere wishful thinking to deny that

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nicknamed the 'red Dean of Canterbury' due to his politics and his position as Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. John Butler, *The red Dean of Canterbury: the public and private faces of Hewlett Johnson* (London, 2011).

[21] In 1953, the CIB estimated he was 'probably in command' of the IWL in the absence of George Jeffares. Catholic Information Bureau sixth annual report, 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau). De Courcy Ireland's election to Dún Laoghaire Vocational Education Committee renewed interest in him on the part of McQuaid's Vigilance Committee, which discussed claims he had visited the Soviet Union in 1934 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/59, Vigilance Committee report, 2 June. 1958). In 1959, the possibility of notifying the Australian authorities that De Courcy Ireland was visiting the country was raised within the Committee (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/72, Vigilance Committee report, 23 Mar. 1959).

[22] Quinn, *The making of an Irish communist leader*, pp. 23-24. The communist presence in the Curragh was of concern to the Church, and Cardinal MacRory wrote to de Valera in 1942 asking that the communist internee Neil Goold-Verschoyle be removed from the camp as his 'dangerous activities' risked influencing other internees. The letter was intercepted and copied by MI5. Copy of letter from Cardinal Joseph MacRory to Éamon de Valera (NAUK, KV2/1801, 'Neil Goold-Verschoyle').

[23] Letter from James Larkin Jr to William Norton, 5 Apr. 1944 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/779).

[24] Puirseíl, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 115.

[25] Manus O'Riordan, 'James Larkin Junior and the forging of an intelligent, thinking movement' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 19 (1994), p. 56.

[26] Entry for 29 Sept. 1946 in 'Record of Irish ecclesiastical events for the year 1946' in *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1947, pp. 700-701.

[27] Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 149.

[28] Hartnett was a young solicitor and former member of Fianna Fáil's executive who became Clann na Poblachta's Director of Elections after its founding later in 1946. Eithne Mac Dermott, *Clann na Poblachta* (Cork, 1998), pp. 15-17.

its danger was real'[29] was one shared by many Catholic clergy in the immediate post-war years, according to their public pronouncements. Patrick Lyons, the Bishop of Kilmore, warned in 1947 that Ireland 'could not long escape the propagators of a faith like communism'.[30] Conor Naughton, a Limerick Jesuit, declared that 'communism was a menace which had obtained a foothold in Europe, in England and in Northern Ireland, and was now threatening this part of our country'.[31] Also in 1947, the *Evening Herald* praised a statement by the Chaplain-General of the CYMS that Irish communists operated covertly as 'the open and above board methods which are used in England scarcely would suffice here'.[32] In 1949 Paul Walsh, a Dublin Franciscan, warned that there were three hundred communists in Dublin alone, claiming that communism could come to power in Ireland through the activities of a minority.[33]

Lay Catholics, too, were alert, and a large number of Catholic pamphlets warned against the threat of communism to Ireland. The CTSI had been a considerable force in Irish publishing since its establishment, distributing twenty-five million items during the 1950s alone.[34] In 1948 it published a series of nine pamphlets, *Communism: its foundation, aims and claims*, written by a Fr John Meagher. The blurb of each of the series, all of which had first appeared in the *Standard*, explained that 'Father Meagher resorts to communist writers, mainly to condemn them out of their own mouths.'[35] The AOH pamphlet *The menace of communism*, authored by John P. McKeown, is also indicative of the tone of Catholic anti-communist pamphlets of the time. It emphasised the threat of 'crypto-communists' who did not state their sympathies openly: 'these people are found in Westminster, Stormont, and, one suspects, the Dáil … the pronouncements of the red Dean of Canterbury may prove more persuasive for some people than the fulminations of Harry Pollitt and Wal Hannington'.[36] McKeown also authored the book *Communism and Ireland*, which emphasised that 'there are men in Ireland at the present time who use the platform and Press to seek to persuade

[29] *Standard*, 22 Feb. 1946.
[30] *Irish Press*, 15 Feb. 1947.
[31] *Cork Examiner*, 2 Dec.1947.
[32] *Evening Herald*, 27 May 1947.
[33] *Irish Independent*, 1 June 1949 . Smylie erroneously asserts that Walsh, whose anti-communist talks were regularly reported in the press, was a Bishop. Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 74.
[34] Andrew McCarthy, 'Publishing for Catholic Ireland' in Clare Hutton and Patrick Walsh (eds.), *The Oxford history of the Irish book, volume v: the Irish book in English, 1891-2000* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 250-252
[35] See, for example, John Meagher, *Communism: its foundation, aims and claims: the land of make believe, no. 2* (Dublin, 1948), available at *Lux Occulta*, 11 Oct. 2010, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2010/10/11/the-land-of-make-believe/, accessed 3 Sept. 2017; Coyle, 'Some reminiscences and thoughts of a Dub', accessed 31 Aug. 2017; John Meagher, *Communism: its foundation, aims and claims: Marx the Man – an idol with feet of clay, no. 5* (Dublin, 1948) available at *Lux Occulta*, 11 Oct. 2010, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2010/10/11/marx-the-man/, accessed 31 Aug. 2017; John Meagher, *Communism: its foundation, aims and claims: Marxism rooted in Prussianism, no. 6* (Dublin, 1948); John Meagher, *Communism: its foundation, aims and claims: blood from a turnip, no. 8* (Dublin, 1948); Father John Meagher, *Communism: its foundation, aims and claims: missionary Marxism, no. 9* (Dublin, 1948).
[36] John P. McKeown, *The menace of communism* (Dublin, 1946), p. 21. Pollitt and Hannington were both prominent CPGB members. Pollitt was its leader throughout most of this period.

the people of Ireland to accept the fate of the people of the Soviet Union', though they 'do not say so in so many words', camouflaging their intentions.[37]

The *Irish Times*' striking 1949 assertion in an editorial that communism 'is as rare in this country as Shintoism' – an argument drawing upon statements by Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen in making its point[38] – was closer to the attitude of successive governments. FG Minister for justice Seán Mac Eoin declared the same year, for example, that: 'As far as I am aware there is no organisation in the state which proclaims itself communist or is associated with the Cominform'.[39] In this, he echoed the similar reticence of successive governments to ban communism.[40] Mac Eoin's colleague Seán McBride, while prone to 'expounding to Dean Acheson on the moral basis of the universal struggle against communism',[41] also downplayed the movement's strength in Ireland.[42] The intelligence services remained attentive to the danger of communist subversion to the Irish state. Dan Bryan of Irish military intelligence warned in 1944 that 'Communism in the future will raise far more security problems for this country than Nazism or Fascism ever did'.[43] Peter Berry, a senior Department of Justice official who had headed its intelligence division on subversive movements since 1941, compiled several dossiers on communist and republican activity which were 'privately printed and circulated to senior officials and ministers'.[44] In 1947 he compiled an extensive report on communist activities in Ireland since 1941, which noted that 'it is hardly possible to attach any clear-cut meaning to the expression "communism" as popularly used in this country' as communist output was 'anonymous in authorship and not explicit in terms'.[45]

In Berry's schema, there were five layers of supporters on which the 'Communist International' relied: the party member, the fellow-traveller, who, while not a party member, 'is carefully trained to follow Communist policy', the sympathiser, who 'may disagree with some policies, but is in general agreement with communist objectives', the opportunist, who, while

[37] John P. McKeown (as Seán P. Mac Eoin) *Communism and Ireland* (Cork, 1948), p. 76. My friend Dr Martin O'Donoghue, an expert on the AOH, notes that McKeown regularly wrote about communism in the *Hibernian Journal*, the Irish AOH's main organ.
[38] *Irish Times*, 1 Sept. 1949.
[39] Seán Mac Eoin, Dáil Éireann deb., cxvi, no. 5. cols. 679-681, 15 June 1949.
[40] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp. 283-284.
[41] Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985*, p. 308.
[42] He revealingly told an American academic in 1949 that 'if, however, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Rev John McQuaid, the chief of police, Commissioner M. J. Kinnane LLB and the head of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, William McMullen, withdrew their stooges' from the IWL, 'only about twelve genuine communists would remain', indicating an awareness of the Church's anti-communist surveillance on MacBride's behalf. Keogh, 'Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War', p. 74.
[43] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 225.
[44] Patrick Maume, 'Berry, Peter' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0629, accessed 8 June 2017.
[45] 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee papers, P67/548).

unconcerned with the communist party's views, 'thinks he can use the party to his own advantage', and the 'muddled liberal', who co-operated with communist party members in campaigns despite 'deep disagreement' with party objectives.[46] Berry's thinking here paralleled McQuaid's position; the Archbishop viewed non-communist liberals who were willing to work alongside communists in political campaigns as little or no different than card-carrying IWL members. The security services were broadly realistic about the paucity of Irish communists. Despite his earlier anxiety, Bryan noted in 1947 that communists were not 'a serious or important factor' domestically.[47] This was a verdict the CIA agreed with, a 1949 report stating that Ireland's 'minute communist element' had 'little appeal' to the Irish due to their Catholicism.[48]

Meanwhile, lay Catholic organisations continued their own monitoring of the communist movement. The 'study of Communistic activities', as Supreme Knight Stephen MacKenzie put it, was a major priority for the Knights of Saint Columbanus on the domestic front. MacKenzie initiated a survey of Irish communism which, in Bolster's words, left 'the Knights under no misapprehension about the infiltration of communistic ideas at all levels'.[49] In July 1948, the Order submitted its resultant report to McQuaid. Many of the bodies mentioned in the report – which was likely derived in part from state sources, as many of the organisations within it were also referenced in Berry's report of the previous December – are discussed throughout this thesis as they were common lodestones of Catholic anxiety about communist infiltration during the era. The 'tentacles' of communism 'spread out', the Knights' believed, from New Books, which was identified by the report as 'the headquarters of the communist movement in Ireland since the ostensible dissolution of the party on 7 July 1941'. Seán Nolan was described as 'the chief liason officer' between Irish and international communism.[50]

One of the organisations mentioned by the Knights, the Irish-Soviet Friendship Society – from 1947, the Irish-USSR Society – was an important progenitor of the IWL. Formed in the afterglow of Soviet victory in Europe, the society was initiated in late 1945 by communists, as well as 'some members of the Jewish community, and various citizens with an interest in Russian

[46] Ibid.
[47] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 284. The same year, Major General Liam Archer, the Irish Army's Chief of Staff, assured Reginard Denning, his British Army counterpart in Northern Ireland, that in the event of conflict between NATO and the Eastern Bloc he did not envisage any acts of 'sabotage' from pro-Soviet elements in Ireland as 'no fifth column could be said to exist'. Memorandum on informal discussion between Major-General Liam Archer, Chief-of-Staff, and Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Denning, GOC, Northern Ireland District, McKee Barracks, Dublin, 2 May 1951 (UCDA, Mac Eoin Papers, P151/503).
[48] 'Situation report Ireland, 1 Apr. 1949' (CIA, Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room , available at https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-01617A001700040001-8.pdf, accessed 12 Sept. 2017).
[49] Bolster, *Knights of Saint Columbanus*, pp. 104-105.
[50] 'The background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).

culture'. Lobbying for the opening of diplomatic links between Ireland and the Soviet Union and combating 'all falsehoods designed to misrepresent the peaceful aims of the Soviet people' were prominent amongst the proposed group's aims, according to a leaflet advertising its first meeting. Prospective attendees were invited to RSVP Joint-Secretaries Hilda Verlin and Margaret MacMacken at Verlin's address.[51] The leaflet was furnished to McQuaid by Denis McGrath, the priest within whose parish the meeting took place. McGrath recalled that after a Garda brought the leaflet to his attention, he called to see the restaurant's proprietor, a 'Swiss convert' named Mr Hess, who claimed he was unaware that the meeting was communist and had merely been told that a 'cultural meeting' had been arranged. The attendees, Hess told McGrath, were 'mixed'; while some were 'very well dressed', others were poor.[52]

In an early event by the society, it invited A. J. Hooper, a former British Army Major, to Dublin to speak about his visits to the Soviet Union.[53] The *Standard* asserted that Hooper had hastily finished the talk after questions were asked from the floor about 'religious liberty, the prison camps and the secret police'.[54] In November 1946 the society courted significant controversy by inviting Hewlett Johnson to address a meeting in Dublin's Mansion House. The writer and historian Ulick O'Connor, then a student, attended the meeting with a number of fellow students who led a walkout in protest at Johnson's claims about the Soviet Union. A number of other groups critical of 'the red Dean' showed up at the meeting, including members of various lay Catholic organisations and a group of individuals who unveiled swastikas. There was an altercation between the students and some of the IRA volunteers who were stewarding the meeting, amongst them Brendan Behan.[55] The *Standard*, whose journalists were reportedly denied entrance, described the society as an ill-disguised continuation of the CPI, and claimed the meeting had been attended by 'the fur-coat brigade' with few workers present.[56] A priest addressing the CYMS in Ringsend, Dublin, described the meeting as an example of the Communist International's alleged attempt to introduce communism to the

[51]Irish-Soviet Friendship Society leaflet (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/727). A subsequent *Sunday Independent* report listed Anne Peache as joining the new group's committee as Treasurer alongside Verlin and McMacken, with Seán Nolan and R. N. Tweedy listed amongst the group's ordinary committee members. Clipping, *Sunday Independent*, 9 Dec. 1945 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/730).

[52] Letter from Denis McGrath to McQuaid , 8 Dec. 1945 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/728). Given the deep antipathy towards the Soviet Union in Ireland, the group had difficulty in obtaining meeting-places in its early stages, and it eventually based itself in 37 Pembroke Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin. Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations*, p. 195.

[53] Ibid, pp. 192-193.

[54] It further claimed sales of the American Trotskyist paper the *Militant* by 'young men with Dublin accents', took place outside the meeting, observing dryly 'Uncle Joe would not have liked this'. *Standard*, 18 Jan. 1946.

[55] O'Connor asserts that neither he nor Behan were involved in the trouble, although they exchanged harsh words about the event afterwards. Ulick O'Connor, *Brendan Behan* (London, 1979), pp. 110-112. While O'Connor claims the event took place in January 1947, contemporary press reports attest it occurred in November 1946. *Standard*, 29 Nov. 1946. Two stewards were later convicted for assaulting one of the protestors. Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations*, p. 193.

[56] *Standard*, 29 Nov. 1946.

country, which the Irish people, mindful of the lack of religious liberty in the Eastern Bloc, would reject.[57] *Christus Rex*'s pseudonymous 'Vigilans' columnist, in the periodical's inaugural issue, vehemently criticised Johnson's account of life in Russia: 'either the Dean is too gullible for this world, or he thinks we are'.[58] Denis Fahey's *The rulers of Russia and the Russian farmers* accused Hooper of claiming there were no landlords in Russia 'to stir up memories in Irish minds and thus win sympathy for the Communist landlord state'[59], and asserted that Russian eyewitness accounts contradicted Johnson's statements.[60] The Knights also kept a close eye on the society, and had previously forwarded Browne a leaflet found in Galway which had been distributed by it.[61] The Rev Stanley Evans, who, like Johnston, was a Church of England clergyman active in Soviet friendship activity,[62] also addressed the Society in 1948, and the Knights' report to McQuaid that year dismissed Evans as 'a very low type of Protestant clergyman', claiming the talk had been attended by about 35 people including a number of coloured students, a Jew and several women.[63]

Hilda Verlin, née Alberry, was a prominent member of the society. Verlin was not, as Treacy erroneously asserts, the same person as Hilda Tweedy of the IHA.[64] According to a 1956 profile amongst McQuaid's papers, she was born in 1913 and was divorced from her husband, a major in the British Army. A stenographer, in 1953 she became editor of the *Irish Builder* magazine.[65] Verlin served as secretary of the society's Scottish counterpart in 1948, a fact noted by the Knights' report, which also drew upon the claim that Hilda Earley, the society's President, had met the wife of Britain's Soviet ambassador to question the society's Irishness.[66] When she visited the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Leo T. McCauley, in January 1949 to unsuccessfully receive a

[57] Ibid, 6 Dec. 1946. This ignored the fact the Communist International had been dispanded three years before. O'Connor, *Reds and the green*, p. 234.
[58] 'Vigilans', 'A dean visionary' in *Christus Rex*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1947), p. 49. In one sign of how Johnson became a particular bête noire for Irish Catholic journals in the era, it later mocked his claim that Hungary's elections 'were free and fair, and there were no abuses anywhere'. 'Vigilans', 'Elections in Hungary' in *Christus Rex*, i, no. 4 (Oct., 1947), p. 64.
[59] Denis Fahey, *The rulers of Russia and the Russian farmers* (Dublin, 1948), p. 29.
[60] Ibid, pp. 45-46.
[61] Letter from Lucey of the Galway Knights to Michael Browne, 19 Dec. 1945 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189). Browne was an enthusiastic supporter of lay Catholic monitoring of communism. Endorsing a proposal from a Galway-based Order of Malta member to set up an anti-communist group within the organisation in 1949, Browne noted that 'only the ordinary Catholic layman … will meet any crypto-communists. Under present conditions in Ireland such people would be careful to fight shy of the clergy, hence there is a very great need for investigation and defence'. Letter from Bishop Michael Browne to Conor O'Malley, 12 Apr. 1949 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189).
[62] Kirby, 'Ecclesiastical McCarthyism', p. 192.
[63] 'The background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[64] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 211. Treacy is not the only person to make this error. A letter in the CPI archive enclosing a memorandum on IWL policy on health and social welfare, simply signed 'Hilda' and addressed to 'Johnie' (likely Seán Nolan), is erroneously identified as having been written by Hilda Tweedy in the archive catalogue. Verlin is clearly the true author, however, given her work on drafting policy within the party, particularly policies pertaining to women. Letter from Hilda to 'Johnie', 2 Jan. 1952 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 19, item 18).
[65] Typed profile of Hilda Verlin, c. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/347).
[66] 'The background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).

passport valid for travel to the Soviet Union, McCauley noted that Verlin revealed that her Catholic parents were opposed her membership of the society. Verlin's assertion that she and all but a handful of the society's members were not communists is seemingly contradicted by the fact she and several other leading Irish-USSR Society figures were IWL members after the latter's formation.[67]

The Church remained attentive to Irish-USSR Friendship Society meetings in the 1950s, with both Alberry and Greene representing the body at the Scottish-USSR Society's Annual Congress in April 1951.[68] The CIB asserted in 1952 that the society was endeavouring 'to arouse interest' in Radio Moscow broadcasts to Irish listeners, but concluded they had made little impact.[69] Descriptions of the broadcasts from Radio Moscow's 'Listeners in Ireland' programme exist in McQuaid's archive.[70] A number of the Society's members were on a list of 104 names McQuaid gave to the Vigilance Committee in November 1956 for further investigation.[71] Apart from McQuaid's own attentiveness to the Society's activities, both Maria Duce and Fírinne were noted for protests against visits by Soviet officials to Ireland,[72] though such protests had little concrete impact on either side of the border.[73]

Another important outlet for Irish communists during Irish communism's post-war interregnum was the *Review*, a periodical jointly managed by Seán Nolan and R. N. Tweedy, 'who

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[67] Account by Leo T. McCauley of visit by Verlin, 25 Jan. 1949 (NAI, DFA, 5/340/12/86, 'Brennan, 8-11-50; visit Mrs Hilda Verlin to Russia'). As well as Verlin, Geoffrey Palmer and Seán Mulready were amongst the members of the Society who were involved in the IWL. Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations*, p. 194. Despite her failure to receive a passport, Verlin visited the Soviet Union in 1950 with a women's delegation from the Scottish-Soviet Society and British-Soviet Friendship Society, and her pamphlet *Approach Pattern* later related her visits to Moscow, Stalingrad and Yalta 'in a warm but instructive style'. Ibid, pp. 196-202.

[68] Report of Scottish-USSR Society Annual Congress, 22 Apr. 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/227).

[69] Catholic Information Bureau, fourth annual report, 1951 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').

[70] These include one on 21 February, 1952, which highlighted an IWL leaflet protesting the appointment of 'warmonger' Francis P. Matthews as US ambassador to Ireland that year. While a broadcast on 6 March was noted has having been jammed, subsequent programmes went ahead. They answered questions for Irish listeners on Soviet history and culture, outlining peat production in the USSR for an Athlone listener, and describing mother and child care in the Soviet Union for a Dublin woman - a question no doubt inspired by the recent Mother and Child controversy. The programme was also deeply critical of the Catholic Church, telling Irish listeners that 'the Vatican blesses the Americans in their occupation of European countries and in their campaign against civilians and prisoners of war in Korea'. 'Moscow Radio', transcripts of 21 Feb., 6. Mar., 20 Mar., 26 June 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/724-727) .

[71] 104 paper cards containing the names and addresses of suspected Communists (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/793).

[72] C. S. 'Todd' Andrews, a former anti-Treaty IRA volunteer who became a prominent civil servant in the decades after Fianna Fáil came to power in 1932, recalled in his memoir a humorous incident in this regard. As Chairman of semi-state peat company Bord na Móna, Andrews sought to build links with the body's Soviet counterpart, Glav-Torf, but faced embarrassment when Fírinne chose to protest a visit by Glav-Torf officials to Bord na Móna's offices in Pembroke Street, Dublin. Andrews dealt with the problem by pretending to the Soviet visitors that the protestors were a welcoming party. C. S. Andrews, *Man of no property* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 211-212.

[73] When Fírinne protested the visit of a number of Soviet visitors to Belfast in 1956, the RUC did not take the organisation seriously. It regarded both the visits of the Soviets to the city's Midland Hotel and Queens' University Belfast and Fírinne's counter-protests as being widely ignored by the public. Reports on Membership of Communist Party, report by Inspector General's Office, 13 Nov. 1956 (PRONI, HA, 32/1/938, membership of Communist Party; reports on British-Soviet Friendship Society).

shared communist pedigrees going back to the 1930s, and were the pre-eminent Dublin communists of the late 1940s'.[74] John Horgan has described the publication as 'a journal of opinion with links to the Irish Communist Party'. While linked to the milieu surrounding New Books, its 1945 establishment predated the IWL's formation by three years.[75] The U.S. legation in Dublin received information on the paper from a Fr James McLaughlin of Boyle, Co. Roscommon, a prolific anti-communist speaker whom the Connolly Association's *Irish Democrat* newspaper identified as the author of the *Roscommon Herald*'s PhD column in the 1940s and 1950s, charges McLaughlin allegedly did not deny.[76] McLaughlin identified Tweedy as the paper's main financial backer. It noted anxiously to Washington that, while the *Review*'s circulation was small, it illustrated how Ireland's communists were 'working undercover undaunted by the powerful elements which stand in their path, particularly the power of the Church, the discipline of the Army, and a police force which scrutines all undercover operations'.[77] While indeed run by the communist milieu in Dublin at the time, particularly reflecting its views on foreign policy[78] and featuring articles by foreign communists,[79] it also regularly featured articles by non-communists,[80] such as Helen Chenevix and Louie Bennett of the Irish Women Workers' Union (IWWU).[81]

In a 1948 article, Butler instanced the fact that he had never seen Stepinac's apologists criticised in Ireland 'except in a communist weekly which is not handled by newsagents' as a sign of

[74] Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 62.
[75] Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland, 1948-1950', p. 31.
[76] *Irish Democrat*, July 1950.
[77] Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland, 1948-1950', pp. 31-33. The CIA also believed the paper 'in general reflects the communist line', and it appeared 'to be financed by British or American sources'. 'Situation report Ireland, 1 Apr. 1949' (CIA, Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room , available at https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-01617A001700040001-8.pdf, accessed 11 Sept. 2017).
[78] For example, it regarded Czechoslovakia's communists taking full control of the country's government as positive, P. J. Carty declaring that 'there was no coup, communist or otherwise, in Czechoslovakia'. *Review*, Apr. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1127) . It condemned the Irish intervention in Italy's 1948 general election, a post-election editorial asserting that 'Italy's propertied classes may have won a trick with bluff and intimidation but this cannot quell the people'. Ibid, May 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1128). It also praised communist China, asserting just prior to Mao coming to power that 'the "Communists" of the People's Democratic Army represent the entire working class peasants and most of the small business men and intellectual classes'. Ibid, Jan. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1129).
[79] See, for example, an article by the famed Hollywood screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, who later attained prominence one of the 'Hollywood Ten', on the U.S. Screenwriters' Guild. *Review*, July 1946. CPGB Communist Party Historians Group member Christopher Hill, a noted English historian of the seventeenth century, also contributed an article on Cromwell and Ireland. Ibid. Sept. 1946.
[80] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 166.
[81] *Review*, Mar. 1946; ibid, Oct. 1946. Bennett was regarded as a communist fellow-traveller by the Knights. 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548). She did not share the *Review*'s broader politics, telling De Courcy Ireland she was 'bored of people holding up Russia as an example to us'. Letter from Louie Bennett to John De Courcy Ireland, 21 Aug. 1946 (UCDA, De Courcy Ireland Papers, P29a/V(140)). While it was not a communist body, the fact Bennett helped initiate the People's College – which, as Chapter Four will discuss, attracted much Catholic suspicion in the early Cold War years – also likely prompted suspicion of her. Rosemary Cullen Owens, *Louie Bennett* (Cork, 2001).

how one-sided Irish views were. This was likely a reference to the *Review*.[82] McQuaid took note of articles in the periodical which criticised Stepinac, the *Review* declaring in November 1946 that 'we do not subscribe to the idea that it is impossible for an ecclesiastical dignitary to commit a crime against his own nation'.[83] Another article the following January, which described the Dáil motion on Stepinac's jailing as doing 'this nation a disservice', compared the Yugoslav Archbishop with Archbishop Troy, the pro-British Archbishop of Dublin during the 1798 rebellion.[84] Speaking in UCG in November 1946, Bishop Browne criticised the *Review*, which he referred to indirectly as a 'pro-Russian journal appearing in Dublin', for highlighting Stepinac's meetings with German, Italian and Croat officials during the war while declining to mention Stepinac's post-war meetings with Tito's representatives.[85] The Knights' 1948 report described the *Review* as 'the official organ of the communists in Ireland'. Noting that the *Drogheda Argus*'s printers had previously canceled their contract to print the paper, they suggested that future pressure on the periodical's publishers would put it 'out of circulation', a suggestion which anticipates the difficulties the IWL's *Irish Workers' Voice* would later face.[86] Seán P. Mac Eoin also instanced the periodical's May 1946 assertion 'that socialists in the Ireland of today are reviled as potential thieves, murderers and church-burners', as an example of the 'intense hatred towards religion' of the 'underground Communists' in Ireland.[87]

Another important precursor to the IWL was the Cork Socialist Party. O'Riordan was pivotal in founding it in May 1945, along with others who had previously been in the Cork Labour Party's Liam Mellows branch. The party, whose committee consisted of James Doolan as Chairman, Jim Savage as Minutes Secretary and O'Riordan as Political Secretary, never succeeded in gaining an elected representative. However, its brief history saw modest electoral success nonetheless, and it arguably benefited from the immediate post-war 'reduction in traditional patterns of support for the major political parties' which Mac Dermott argues lay behind the contemporaneous rise of Clann na Poblachta.[88] O'Riordan only narrowly failed to join Cork Corporation in June 1945, a month after the party was founded, his 474 first preferences enabling him to outpoll National Labour's P. J. O'Brien.[89] The following June, O'Riordan put himself forward as a candidate in a by-election in the

[82] Butler, *Balkan essays*, p. 219.
[83] Clipping from *The Review*, Nov. 1946 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/800).
[84] Clipping from *The Review*, Jan. 1947(DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/801) .
[85] *Standard*, 22 Nov. 1946.
[86] 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[87] Mac Eoin, *Communism and Ireland*, p. 85.
[88] Mac Dermott, *Clann na Poblachta*, p. 27.
[89] Derry Kelleher, *Buried alive in Ireland: a story of a twentieth century inquisition* (Greystones, 2001), p. 114.

Cork Borough constituency, as Labour had decided not to stand.[90] He received 3,184 first-preferences, coming third behind FF and FG and outpolling iconic War of Independence figure Tom Barry.[91] His candidature attracted criticism from the *Standard*, which noted that 'he fought with the so-called International Brigades in Spain, but not against Nazism in the recent war'.[92] In an editorial, it subsequently emphasised O'Riordan's 1944 expulsion from Labour, challenging the Cork Socialist Party's members to clarify 'why these Cork Catholics call themselves socialists, in spite of the Pope's warning, and what exactly they mean by that – socialism'.[93] O'Riordan moved to Dublin shortly after his loss, getting a job with Córas Iompair Éireann (CIÉ) as a bus conductor.[94] The Cork Socialist Party soon encountered significant clerical opposition in its own right. It was explicitly condemned by Cork's Bishop Cohalan at a letter read at the opening of men's mission week on 16 March, 1947, where he warned that 'in this Cork Socialist Party there is now a real communist cell'.[95] Reading the letter to parishioners, John Murray, a Galway Redemptorist, added: 'See to it then, that no communist finds his place amongst you, that no follower of Red Russia dared to raise his voice preaching doctrines which our Church condemns'.[96] Echoing *Labour, nationality and religion*, the *Irish Democrat* rejected Cohalan's statement, arguing that 'every progressive cause in Ireland, from the United Irishmen to the International Brigade' had faced accusations from the hierarchy that it was communist.[97]

Cohalan's letter was highly damaging. In its wake, the Special Branch visited the workplaces of party members, one of whom, Bernie Kennedy, was also visited by the local parish priest. Savage, on behalf of the party, responded to these criticisms by asking the Bishop to receive a deputation from it. Cohalan's secretary, James Hurley, replied by requesting Savage's address and the addresses of others in the deputation.[98] Hurley later indicated that Cohalan would receive them after confirmations ended in May.[99] He ultimately never met with the party. Following the exchange of

[90] Fundraising letter entitled 'Dear Friend' from James Doolan, President, No. 1 Branch, ITGWU, Cork and Ed Linehan, late Chairman of Bus Workers' Section, Cork, undated but refers to O'Riordan's 1946 campaign (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 1, item 3).
[91] Quinn, *The making of an Irish communist leader*, pp. 30-31.
[92] *Standard*, 24 May 1946.
[93] Ibid, 14 June 1946.
[94] Annotated note from Jim Savage, c. Nov. 1981 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 1, item 2). Also contained in Cork City Library, Local Studies Department, 'James Savage/Cork Socialist Party' file. Córas Iompair Éireann is Ireland's state owned transport provider.
[95] Entry for 16 Mar. 1947 in 'Record of Irish ecclesiastical events for the year 1947' in *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1948, pp. 694-695.
[96] *Cork Examiner*, 17 Mar. 1947.
[97] *Irish Democrat*, Apr. 1947,
[98] Forwarding a copy of the note to O'Riordan several decades later, Savage recalled how 'diabolical these people were. All they wanted was information'. Copy of letter from Rev. James Hurley to Jim Savage, 25 Mar. 1947, with annotated note from Jim Savage, c. Nov. 1981 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 1, item 2).
[99] Copy of letter from Rev. James Hurley to Jim Savage, 17 Apr. 1947 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 1, item 2).

letters, Cork Socialist Party veteran Derry Kelleher later recalled that a picket was placed on Savage's home by local Catholic Actionists. Singing the hymn 'Faith of our fathers', they taunted Savage's mother by claiming 'a communist lives there and another lives further down near St Mary's Church', a reference to O'Riordan who had already moved to Dublin.[100] Cohalan's statement received significant attention. In response to an assertion by Seán MacBride on a visit to the United States that there was no communist party in Ireland, FF TD Patrick McGrath, who had defeated O'Riordan in the 1946 Cork by-election, raised in Dáil Éireann in 1949 Cohalan's condemnation of the Cork Socialist Party as a communist cell.[101]

The Promethean Society of Ireland (PSI), also contained many figures who later gained clerical attention for their IWL activities. A Marxist discussion society, it was founded by a number of TCD students, notably Roy Johnston and Paul O'Higgins, who became interested in Marxism during the war.[102] The PSI held its first meeting on 31 July 1945, with O'Higgins elected President, Stringer Secretary, and Johnston and Paddy Bond committee members.[103] In December 1945, the society recruited Justin Keating, who became a key member.[104] Keating, then a 17 year old pre-med student in UCD and a member of Labour's Rathfarnham branch, had followed a similar ideological trajectory to the PSI's founders. His parents had been active in support of the Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War.[105] The Knights' 1948 report on Irish communism described O'Higgins as the Society's Chair and Keating as his 'henchman'.[106] Johnston later noted that the Prometheans recruited 'mostly mature students with a British CP background',[107] and, in this context, the fact that up to a third of English-born students at TCD were Jewish was regarded by the Knights as worrying. The activities of Ygael Gluckstein, a TCD student and Palestine-born Jewish Trotskyist who came to Dublin in September 1947, were highlighted by the Knights.[108]

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[100] Kelleher, *Buried alive in Ireland,* p. 168.
[101] Patrick McGrath, , Dáil Éireann deb., cvi, no. 5, cols. 679-681 (14 Apr. 1949).
[102] Johnston, *Century of endeavour*, pp. 79-81. In an example of an early meeting, O'Higgins gave a presentation on 'The question of the Church in Ireland', where he described the Church as 'the biggest obstacle in Ireland's way forward towards improved conditions … her power needed to be destroyed'. Those present agreed with Johnston's observation that being openly anti-religious in Ireland was 'dangerous', and it was decided that propective recruits to the PSI would not have an overtly anti-religious line pushed on them from the outset. Promethean Society of Ireland minute book, 24 Sept. 1945 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 8, item 52).
[103] Promethean Society of Ireland minute book, entry, 31 July 1945 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 8, item 52).
[104] Promethean Society of Ireland minute book, 9 Dec. 1945 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 8, item 52).
[105] Barbara Hussey and Anna Kealy (eds), *Nothing is written in stone; the notebooks of Justin Keating* (Dublin, 2017), pp 45-47.
[106] 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[107] Johnston, *Century of endeavour*, p. 98.
[108] 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548); Tony Cliff, *A world to win: life of a revolutionary* (London, 2000), pp. 52-53. Gluckstein, better known by his pseudonym Tony Cliff, went on to be a major figure in British Trotskyism. He was the leading figure in the International Socialists, today the Socialist Workers' Party, until his death in 2000. Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, 'Introduction: the far left in Britain from 1956' in Evan Smith and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Against the grain: the British far left from 1956* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 15-16.

The PSI also attracted the sympathy of a number of older leftists who were regarded as suspect by the Church, such as Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, who was a figure regarding whom there was much anti-communist innuendo. Cahal Daly, a lecturer in Scholastic Philosophy in Queens' University and a future Primate of All-Ireland, reportedly regarded him as a 'Kremlin emissary' when Sheehy-Skeffington came to speak at the university.[109] However, Sheehy-Skeffington's recommendation that his audience should read *Darkness at noon* by Arthur Koestler, a story of a Bolshevik veteran's execution during Stalin's 1936-1938 show trials,[110] supports his wife's argument that he sought to open its members 'eyes about Stalin'.[111] Indeed, Sheehy-Skeffington was regarded by the CTSI as a Trotskyist, the body likely drawing on state intelligence in this regard.[112] Puirséil argues that Sheehy-Skeffington was not a Trotskyist, though he was willing to work with them as he shared their anti-Stalinism.[113] During his time in Dublin, Gluckstein was a close friend of Sheehy-Skeffington, for example, the two sharing similar criticisms of the Soviet Union's trajectory.[114]

The PSI's members were travelling in an opposite trajectory to that of Sheehy-Skeffington. Keating, who left the IWL in the 1960s and became prominent in the Labour Party, later recalled ashamedly how he dismissed *Darkness at noon* as 'capitalist propaganda' during his time in the PSI.[115] The fact that its members were encouraged to join the Irish-Soviet Friendship Society in December 1945 was indicative of how its members' politics was developing.[116] In September 1947, the PSI became a branch of the new Socialist Youth Movement, a forerunner of the IWL's youth wing.[117] Cyril Crean, a priest in the Archdiocese prominent in anti-communist activity, later linked the Socialist Youth Movement in a letter to McQuaid with Denis Walshe, who was the IWL's Secretary for a period after its founding.[118] Sheehy-Skeffington, meanwhile, subsequently left the PSI-influenced TCD Fabian Society over a decision to send solidarity greetings to a communist peace conference, sardonically observing that 'there is a tendency is this country for me to be considered a communist by virtually everybody except the communists'.[119] The TCD Fabians were

[109] Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff*, p. 139.
[110] Promethean Society of Ireland minute book, 9 Dec. 1945 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 8, item 52).
[111] Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff*, p. 129.
[112] Reports by CTSI on communist movement, c. 1940 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/266-275; KMA, Denis Fahey papers, Box 5; GDA, Michael Browne papers, B/1/47, B/12/189).
[113] Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 90.
[114] Cliff, *A world to win*, p. 54; Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff*, p. 101.
[115] Hussey and Kealy, *Nothing is written in stone*, p. 47.
[116] Promethean Society of Ireland minute book, 22 Dec. 1945 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 8, item 52).
[117] *Review*, Sept. 1947.
[118]Letter from Cyril P. Crean to John Charles McQuaid, 28 Nov. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/287). Crean was a former military chaplain in the British Army and was a D-Day veteran, but according to a former parishioner, the journalist John Brophy, even priests of Crean's stature 'could still be made quake in their boots when the Archbishop came'. Carty, *Hold firm*, p. 29.
[119] Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff*, pp. 144-145.

regarded by Peter Berry as being influenced by the PSI,[120] and Gabriel Diskin, an *Irish Press* journalist who regularly sent reports on communism to McQuaid in the late 1950s and early 1960s, told him in 1961 that Johnny 'Trotsky' Byrne, a corporation labourer, had criticised the Church at a Fabian meeting.[121]

As McKenzie has noted, the threat of anti-communism to 'vulnerable youth' was a key Cold War anti-communist trope,[122] and Catholic anti-communists paid particular attention to communist activity amongst Irish youth. McQuaid received a number of allegations in this regard, such as that concerning an English drama teacher in Belvedere College, Rogers, who was accused of being a communist,[123] and a fifteen year old Dubliner named Brady who attracted negative attention for giving a talk on workers' rights to fellow boys, and who was identified by McQuaid as being involved in a group called the Socialist Youth Club.[124] A number of documents amongst McQuaid's papers, likely authored by Cyril Crean, contain assessments of several youth groups in Dublin. The Peter Pan Club, formerly known as the Teenagers' Club, was not believed to be communist, though the Socialist Youth Movement had allegedly identified it as a suitable place to disseminate their propaganda,[125] while a group called the Voice of Youth was regarded as 'in accordance with Catholic teaching'.[126] Another body, the Progressive Youth Movement, had no obvious connection with left-wing groups, though some of its members had been spotted selling tickets for a raffle by the Democratic Youth Movement, a successor to the Socialist Youth Movement.[127]

Catholic anti-communism and the CPNI – an overview

Worries about the communist presence in Belfast were also of concern north of the border. While, as Andy Barr later recalled, 'it was easy to be a communist in the war years', the CPNI saw its

[120] 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/548).
[121] Letter from Gabriel Diskin to John Charles McQuaid, 8 Mar. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/384). Diskin was a devout Catholic and active anti-communist. While it has been frequently claimed that the Legion of Mary picketed the 1955 Yugoslavia match, in fact the only protest there was a lone one by Diskin. Finola Kennedy, *Frank Duff: a life story* (Dublin, 2011) pp. 6-7. Byrne was recalled by Gluckstein as the sole other Trotskyist in Dublin when he arrived in 1947. Cliff, *A world to win*, p. 53.
[122] McKenzie, 'The European Youth Campaign in Ireland', p. 428.
[123] Letter from J. Martin to Fr. Glennon, 19 July. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/277).
[124] Letter from James Kavanagh to McQuaid's secretary, 18 Nov. 1948, with attached handwritten note by McQuaid (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/278).
[125] Memorandum on the Peter Pan Club (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/789) .
[126] Memorandum on the Voice of Youth (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/792).
[127] Memorandum on the Progressive Youth Movement (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/791). A contemporary leaflet amongst McQuaid's papers from an unidentified anti-communist group, which urged its readers to 'squeeze these red pimples off the face of Dublin', took particular aim at the 'S(oviet)YM', who were allegedly 'guided from Trinity College and financed from God knows how far off'. The leaflet concluded by asserting 'the SYM at their meetings indulge in obscenity on Mary Immaculate Mother of God! Are you going to do nothing about it?' Leaflet, 'Catholics of Dublin and soldiers of Christ', dated 22 Feb. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/791).

membership and electoral support decline steeply during the early Cold War.[128] By 1949 its formal membership consisted of sixty members in each of its two Belfast branches and smaller groups in Derry and Coleraine.[129] The CPNI enjoyed little support amongst the Catholic working class in particular, something Milotte attributes to the fact that it ostensibly operated as if 'the Six Counties [were] an integral part of Britain'.[130] Byers notes that the *Irish Workers' Voice* was distributed in Belfast, despite Milotte claiming that this was not done as evidence of his contention,[131] and the CPNI never abandoned its formal commitment to a united Ireland, even if it did not view it as an immediate issue.[132] Milotte's argument here does not take into account the Catholic anti-communist mood which the CPNI faced. The religiosity of Belfast Catholics is emphasised by the large attendances, sometimes in the tens of thousands, at Redemptorist confraternity services at Clonard monastery in west Belfast in the 1940s and 1950s.[133] Alongside their critiques of Britain's National Health Service, which, as with the Mother and Child Scheme, they presented as being on a continuum with communist and Nazi policy,[134] the northern Bishops strongly condemned communist activity. Bishop Mageean declared in 1948 that 'it is not in Russia alone that God and the Divine Law are disregarded and the principles of democracy violated',[135] while Bishop Farren of Derry in 1950 warned that 'we can take it for granted that the agents of communism are active in our country. They are so anxious to secure members that they seem prepared to accept the most worthless members of our flock'.[136] Alongside the bishops, 'nationalist politicians, the *Irish News* and conservative organisations such as Maria Duce' also denounced northern communism.[137]

In this atmosphere, the CPNI attracted particular attention from Catholic anti-communists, perhaps because it was more explicit in its political identity than the reticent IWL. Two prominent Belfast communists, Betty Sinclair and William McCullough – who, like Barr, were from Protestant backgrounds – were brought to McQuaid's notice during the war. One document in his possession noted they ran the city's International Bookshop, and claimed, incorrectly, that they were married.[138]

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[128] Devine, 'An undiminished dream', pp. 99-102.
[129] Smylie, 'Irish communism', pp. 27-28.
[130] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 221.
[131] Byers, *Seán Murray*, pp. 169-170.
[132] Terry Cradden, 'The left in Northern Ireland and the national question: the "democratic alternative" in the 1940s' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 16 (1991), p. 40.
[133] Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster*, p. 470. The CTSI distributed 174,937 leaflets in the diocese of Down and Connor in 1957 alone, with many going to working class Catholic areas such as Ardoyne. Ibid, p. 450.
[134] Oliver Rafferty, *Catholicism in Ulster, 1603-1983: an interpretative history* (Dublin, 1994), p. 248.
[135] *Irish Press*, 9 Feb. 1948.
[136] *Irish Times*, 20 Feb. 1950.
[137] Byers, *Séan Murray*, p. 164.
[138] Notes on Communist activities, c. 1944 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/543B). While not married, Sinclair and McCullough were very close both politicallyand personally: 'For a period Sinclair hoped that she and McCullough would leave Belfast, but he would not leave his wife'. Smylie, 'Betty Sinclair', p. 124.

The *Standard* warned about the threat of Belfast communism, accusing Sinclair and McCullough in 1948 of 'cashing in' on the question of increased tram and bus fare passes in Belfast after their attempts to agitate on behalf of homeless families still living in military camps at the war's end were supposedly rebuffed.[139] The aforementioned document also emphasised the importance of the then Belfast-based Seán Murray, who had visited Dublin in November 1943 for an event marking the Soviet Union's 25th anniversary.[140] The war years marked the nadir of Murray's communist career, as Sinclair and McCullough elipsed him within the Belfast party. While Byers observes that it would be unhelpful to attribute Murray's isolation to his Catholic background, not least because of his well-known 'atheism and non-sectarianism', he does suggest that the former IRA volunteer Murray's instinctive left-republicanism isolated him from a party increasingly rooted in predominantly Protestant workplaces.[141] Gaining renewed prominence in the 1950s, he remained active in promoting cooperation between the CPNI and the IWL, highlighting the CPNI's lack of support from Belfast's Catholic working class as an enduring problem.[142] He remained on McQuaid's radar, and the Archbishop received details of Murray's meetings with leading IWL and CPGB figures throughout the 1950s.[143] Úna Byrne brought Murray's 1961 death to McQuaid's notice, and noted that 'three car loads' of communists from the Republic were among those who attended his funeral,[144] which, held in Belfast's Dundonald Cemetary, attracted three hundred people.[145]

The Catholic Information Bureau and the formation of the IWL, 1948-1951.

The CTSI's earlier anti-communist activities took a step forward in 1948, when the CIB was set up to 'have always available, information pertaining to movements or societies which may be subversive of religion or exercise an evil influence on the faith and morals of the people'.[146] While this task encompassed other priorities, such as monitoring proselytism, its primary purpose, as Cooney has noted, was to 'keep a close watch on any attempts to build a communist movement in Ireland'.[147] The Bureau was to be staffed and funded by the CTSI, though it was 'free to accept assistance from any other Catholic society or from individuals who may wish to assist the work'. It was overseen by the Episcopal Committee of the Irish Catholic Church, and was entrusted with

[139] *Standard*, 16 Jan. 1948.
[140] Notes on Communist activities, c. 1944 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/543B) .
[141] Byers, *Séan Murray*, pp 136-137.
[142] Ibid, p. 169.
[143] Weekly reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and kindred organisations, 8 Sept. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/176.); weekly reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and kindred organisations, 10 July 1956- 14 July 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/204).
[144] Report from Byrne to the Archdiocese, 1 June. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/466).
[145] Byers, *Séan Murray*, p. 164.
[146] Memorandum on Catholic Information Bureau (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[147] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 228.

reporting annually to it, and, with the Committee's discretion, distributing relevant information to the rank-and-file clergy. 'On all occasions', it was available to give information to any priest should they request it.[148] The Bureau's first report in September 1948 acknowledged that its initial work was 'unimpressive', as the CTSI was initially unable to provide it with an office as had been promised, meaning it had had to work with a 'temporary filing system and staff'. The Socialist Youth Movement was amongst a number of communist bodies it had provisionally begun to investigate, and it planned to establish contacts with similar Catholic bureaux abroad to pool information on communism.[149]

Its day-to-day direction was entrusted to the holder of the Professorship of Catholic Action in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, along with any other clergy the hierarchy felt could ably assist him.[150] This position had been occupied since its 1937 creation by Peter McKevitt, a priest of the Archdiocese of Armagh. McKevitt was a former student at the Russicum, a college founded in Rome for Russian Catholic exiles from communism, where he studied the history of Russian Bolshevism.[151] In 1944 McKevitt wrote *The plan of society*, an important contribution to the development of Catholic sociology in Ireland, which argued that Marxism inherently led to 'the rule of terrorism and compulsion and the ruthless suppression of religion'.[152] In October 1953, McKevitt was replaced in the position by Jeremiah Newman, who oversaw the Bureau until the final 1954 report.[153] Like McKevitt, Newman was involved in the Christus Rex Society and its eponymous journal, which would serve as an outlet of Catholic anti-communism.[154]

Important new developments in Irish communism would soon come to the attention of clerical observers. On 21 September 1948, the IWL was formed at a meeting at 133 Lower Baggot Street, with forty people, including Seán Nolan, Justin Keating, and the CPGB's C. Desmond Greaves, attending.[155] Its main instigators were members of the old CPI centred around New Books, as well as former Curragh internees and Prometheans.[156] D'Alton was forwarded a memo on the newly founded party by McKevitt, who predicted that he did not feel 'it would come to anything'. While the memo noted that 'the word communism was not mentioned' at the meeting, it was clearly

[148] Memorandum on Catholic Information Bureau (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[149] Bureau report from Bishop William McNeely, Raphoe and Bishop James Staunton, Ferns, to fellow members of the hierarchy, 29 Sept. 1948 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[150] Memorandum on Catholic Information Bureau (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[151] Brian Conway, 'Catholic sociology in Ireland in comparative perspective' in *The American sociologist*, xlii, no. 1 (Mar., 2011), pp 41-42.
[152] Peter McKevitt, *The plan of society* (Dublin, 1944), pp. 3-4.
[153] Murray and Feeney, *Church, state and social science in Ireland*, p. 69.
[154] Bryan Fanning, *The quest for modern Ireland: the battle for ideas, 1912-1986* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 114-115.
[155] Smylie, 'Irish Communism', pp. 71-72.
[156] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 217.

identified by the CIB as being communist, and Seán Mulready and Ned Stapleton were emphasised as being two communists who were particularly important in the creation of the new formation.[157] McQuaid also recieved a list of the IWL's first Executive Committee, on which both men served, with Nolan listed as its General Secretary. McQuaid also obtained the IWL's draft first constitution, which, avoiding the word communism, stated the body's goal was to lead a movement of the working class to achieve a socialist Ireland 'in which the means of production and exchange will be publicly owned'.[158] Smylie notes that 'the IWL's creative nomenclature was hardly sufficient to fool Ireland's Cold War Warriors, who quickly recognised the IWL as a communist party in all but name and treated it accordingly'.[159] The IWL was 'the local variant of the communist party', as a *Standard* editorial succinctly put it.[160]

The Holy Office's Decree Against Communism on 1 July 1949 reinforced the Church's anti-communism. William Conway, a future Archbishop of Armagh, outlined in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* the following year that the Decree clarified that those who had 'externally manifested acceptance of the materialist and anti-Christian principles of communism' incurred *ipso facto* excommunication. While Conway noted that the fact communist activity in Ireland was 'largely underground and shrouded in great secrecy' made it different to the situation on the continent, he concluded that there was 'no doubt' that the Decree applied to the 'inner group' of Irish communists, a reference to the IWL.[161] The Holy Office Decree was referred to annually by McQuaid in his Lenten regulations thereafter, the Archbishop intoning in 1950 that those who advocated 'the materialistic and anti-Christian doctrine of Communism or who defend or propagate such doctrine' would incur excommunication.[162]

This move by Rome occurred alongside further developments in Ireland regarding the Church's responses to communist activity. Following the May Day rally on behalf of Mindszenty and Stepinac, which had seen the widespread cooperation of Irish Catholic Action, a Mr Murphy and Ms Leonard visited Archbishop's House, indicating that, following a meeting of fifteen Catholic Action groups, an eight member committee had been formed to coordinate 'an united front of Catholic Action in Dublin and Diocese against communism'. It brought a number of proposed activities by the IWL, such as the invitation of Paul Robeson, an African-American singer and noted

[157] Letter from Peter McKevitt to John D'Alton, 1 Dec. 1948, with attached memo (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[158] Copy of IWL draft constitution which attached list of IWL committee members, 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/794).
[159] Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 72.
[160] *Standard*, 16 Mar. 1951.
[161] William Conway, 'The decree of the Holy Office on communism' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xvviv (Jan., 1950), pp. 58-65.
[162] Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950*, p. 68.

communist, to Dublin, and a youth camp in Portmarnock, Co. Dublin, run by a Czechoslovak communist, to McQuaid's attention. The Committee sought McQuaid's approval in order to boost its credibility with the Minister for Justice, which it intended to approach.[163] McQuaid promptly met with the UCD lecturer of logic and philosophy, Eamonn Feighin O'Doherty, and Cyril Crean. While instructing Crean to inform Murphy that he had 'left the group free, because I trusted them', McQuaid indicated his distaste for the 'united front' idea due to its public nature, stating that the Archdiocese's anti-communist efforts had hitherto been 'on the quiet' and that such a committee having a 'visible dependence on me' would leave McQuaid in a 'vulnerable' position. Instead, McQuaid proposed that Crean lead a group of priests in the Archdiocese, including O'Doherty and James Kavanagh, who would 'pool information, coordinate their own and other priests' activities in combat against communism, and keep in touch with me'.[164] In an early report, Crean furnished McQuaid with information on the George Bernard Shaw group of the Labour Party, of which Seán Nolan and his wife Margaret were allegedly members. The Nolans, Crean reminded McQuaid, 'run the New Book Shop'.[165] Kavanagh, meanwhile, was a priest with strong links to the trade union movement – his mother had been on the executive of the WUI.[166] Kavanagh was sent by McQuaid to the University of Oxford in 1945, graduating two years later with a Distinction in Economics and Political Science and gaining experience of Oxford's own Catholic Workers' College.[167] Amongst Kavanagh's early reports, he provided McQuaid in 1949 with information on a Dublin city councillor named Doyle, alleging that the Councillor had attended the Workers' College on Eccles Street in the 1930s, and remained an 'ardent communist' who was friendly with many crypto-communists.[168]

On the broader national level, the CIB remained disorganised during 1949, only setting up office accomodation in March of that year. By the year's end it had managed to tip off trade unions, the security services and individual priests with information on the communist movement.[169] It is perhaps revealing of the Bureau's disorganisation that Fr Sean O'Sullivan, who wrote to

[163] Typed note on visit of Murphy and Leonard to Archbishop's House, 24 Aug. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/674).
[164] Handwritten note by McQuaid on meeting with O'Doherty and Crean, 25 Aug. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/676).
[165] Letter from Crean to McQuaid's secretary, 10 June 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/783). A typed report by Crean on the Group noted that another member of the Group, Deborah Coleman, was 'the wife of a Russian Jew, and while some other members of the Group were 'innocuous', it was 'in close union with the Irish Workers' League'. Report on the George Bernard Shaw Group of the Labour Party (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/787).
[166] Jim Larkin, *In the footsteps of big Jim: a family autobiography* (Dublin, 1995), p. 151.
[167] Letter from L. O'Hea S.J., Catholic Workers' College, Oxford, to John Charles McQuaid, 7 July 1947 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/27/1).
[168] Letter from James Kavanagh to McQuaid's secretary, 10 June, 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/784.) This was likely a reference to Thomas Doyle, a Labour councillor close to the Larkins. Donal Nevin, *James Larkin: lion of the fold* (Dublin, 1998), p. 460.
[169] Catholic Information Bureau, Second Annual Report (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).

Archbishop's House in November 1949 to enquire whether the Holy Office's Decree applied to communists in his parish – 'actually, I was called out early one morning to anoint one of them but he was dead when I got to him' – directly approached the Archbishop rather than the CIB, for instance.[170] The Bureau's increased effectiveness was illustrated when in early 1950 it provided the hierarchy with a copy of the IWL's 'strictly confidential' constitution before it was officially released by the party.[171]

In February 1949, the IWL proposed the re-establishment of the party's previous periodical, the *Irish Workers' Voice*,[172] which first appeared the following May. Seán Nolan optimistically asserted in an early IWL executive meeting that the party had already 'attracted large numbers' of members.[173] The prevailing climate was considerably more inclement than this optimistic statement would suggest. The party had been forced to cease holding public meetings in March 1949, with both Nolan and O'Riordan citing the atmosphere surrounding the Mindszenty judgment as making the atmosphere unsafe for such meetings to be held.[174] In a stark example of this, later in the year IWL members were 'savagely beaten at a public meeting in O'Connell Street'.[175] A July article in the *Sunday Independent* regarding a cablegram of condolence the IWL sent to the central committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in response to the death of Georgi Dimitrov, its former leader,[176] was linked by the IWL to the decision of the paper's printer, Dann's Publishing Works of Longford town, to cease printing.[177] The firm's owner wrote to the *Independent* the following week stating that, 'after numerous requests', he would publish the paper no longer.[178] An IWL statement claimed specifically that a visit of a Catholic clergyman to Dann had prompted the decision. While the paper's production simply moved across the border to Bangor, Co. Down, a subsequent *Sunday Independent* article on 23 October reputedly caused the Bangor printer to similarly recoil from printing the paper, forcing production to move to Britain.[179]

Despite the paper's printing woes, it continued to appear, accusing the *Irish Catholic* in October 1949 of being a 'mouthpiece of anti-national, anti-labour opinion, using religion as a cloak',

[170] Letter from Fr Sean O'Sullivan, 7 Nov. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/795).
[171] Letter from Peter McKevitt to hierarchy affixing copy of constitution, 15 Feb. 1950 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[172] IWL executive committee minutes for 1949, meeting, 27 Feb (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 23).
[173] *Irish Workers' Voice*, May. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/802).
[174] IWL executive committee minutes for 1949, meeting, 27 Feb (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 23).
[175] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 219.
[176] Reprinted in *Irish Workers' Voice*, July. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1130).
[177] *Sunday Independent*, 17 July 1949.
[178] Ibid, 24 July 1949.
[179] Memorandum from the Irish Workers' League to the Irish Association of Civil Liberty (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 18). The *Sunday Independent* itself claimed its article was responsible for the communist newspaper's publication being moved to Dorset, England. *Sunday Independent*, 4 Dec. 1949.

and publishing a statement by the IWL's chairman, Denis Walshe, and its secretary, Seán Nolan, condemning the 'hooligan attacks' on IWL members the previous July.[180] In November 1949, it warned its 'enemies' that their 'lies, threats, provocations and misrepresentations will not prevail against us'.[181] The CIB's 1949 report noted cautiously that while the paper had appeared 'very irregularly' due to its difficulties, this did not 'necessarily mean that it has definitively ceased publication'.[182] A September 1950 fundraising letter from George Jeffares in McQuaid's possession noted that 'despite vicious misrepresentation in other papers, complete boycott by the distributors, and other forms of persecution', the paper had 'come out almost every month' since then.[183]

Meanwhile, the IWL's role in campus politics was another source of clerical concern. In the late 1940s, it was active in attempting to revive the Irish Students' Association (ISA), a precursor of the current Union of Students in Ireland.[184] The IWL's efforts in the universities were coordinated by its Student Council, a body chaired by O'Higgins. A 1950 document written by Fr Crean emphasised the importance of opposing its efforts to affiliate the ISA to the communist-controlled International Union of Students (IUS). Reliable Catholic students, he urged, should involve themselves in the ISA. TCD, where the IWL's student members met, was characterised by Crean as the centre of communist student activity, with only two IWL members, Justin Keating and Enda Lohan, noted as coming from UCD. Crean had managed to secure an informant, Owen McCarthy, inside the council, but found it difficult to use McCarthy's reports to counteract the IWL as it risked exposing him as an informant. A previous Catholic infiltrator, Murtagh, had been expelled. Crean hence asked McQuaid's permission for a 'certain number of reliable Catholics' to join the student council, who, if needs be, 'can take the blame instead of McCarthy and thus keep the flow of information going'. McQuaid recorded: 'I leave Fr Crean full freedom of movement, confident that he will do exactly what is correct and useful'.[185] Bishop Browne was sent a handwritten report on the IWL's students, which reassured him that attempts to 'affiliate Irish. Univ. Students to the Student Communist International' were confined to UCD and TCD, where its small membership was based, and would not impact UCG.[186]

The CIB's end of year report noted that O'Higgins, 'an English Protestant', had been successfully elected secretary of the ISA and was acting as Irish representative to the communist

[180] *Irish Workers' Voice*, Aug/Oct. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1131).
[181] *Irish Workers' Voice*, Nov. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1133).
[182] Catholic Information Bureau, second annual report, 1949 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[183] Appeal from George Jeffares, 23 Sept. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/814).
[184] Johnston, *Century of endeavour*, p. 98.
[185] Report by Crean, 27 Sept. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/785).
[186] Report on the IWL's student council (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189).

World Students' Labour Federation. The CIB was confident that O'Higgins would not be able to achieve much in his position, as the body's Catholics had been warned about his politics and had promised to do their best to contain him.[187] 1950 also saw a 'right-wing landslide' in TCD's student elections,[188] and the following year the CIB reported that O'Higgins had been deposed from the position by Catholic students in the ISA, who had been informed by the Bureau about O'Higgins' recent trip to a communist youth festival in Warsaw.[189] UCD's Deans of Residence separately informed the hierarchy that UCD's Student Representative Council had rejected the Warsaw invitation.[190] Internally, O'Higgins told fellow party members his defeat was down to 'witch-hunting from certain student elements', as well as government pressure and unspecified 'sectarian' mistakes on O'Higgins' part. He remained optimistic about the prospect of TCD joining the IUS, although the fact the IWL's Student Branch, which had between ten and twelve members, largely consisted of TCD students was seen as a problem.[191]

The Ballyfermot co-operative controversy

The Ballyfermot co-op controversy of the early 1950s was a key example of the Church's attempts to confront communist influence. In the post-war era, amidst continued endemic poverty in the capital, the government initiated intensive house-building programmes in the outskirts of Dublin, such as Rialto, Ballyfermot and Cabra, to attempt to alleviate the abysmal housing conditions of many families.[192] Due to poor planning, many of the new housing estates were 'remote from shops', including those in Ballyfermot.[193] One innovative response to the problem was the opening of a number of co-operative shops across Dublin. Consumer co-operatives had a tradition in Dublin dating back to the nineteenth century,[194] and their post-war revival was noted by *Christus Rex*'s columnist 'Vigilans', which asserted approvingly that their emergence was positive 'if only as a check on private profiteering on the one hand or [to] show up the limitations of public enterprise on the other'.[195] The movement was brought to McQuaid's attention in 1949, when Eamon Halpin, correspondence secretary of the North City Co-Operative Society (Dublin) Ltd, wrote to McQuaid appealing for permission to approach clerical managers of schools to hold public meetings on their

[187] Catholic Information Bureau, third annual report, 1950 (OFMLA, D'Alton papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau).
[188] Johnston, *Century of endeavour*, p. 99.
[189] Catholic Information Bureau, fourth annual report, 1951 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[190] Report of the Deans of Residence in the Constituent Colleges of the National University of Ireland and in Queens' University Belfast, 1950-1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XV/12/14).
[191] IWL executive committee minutes for 6 Dec. 1951 (DCLA, CPI collection, Box 6, item 2).
[192] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 497.
[193] Johnston, *Century of endeavour*, p. 124.
[194] Ibid, p. 28.
[195] 'Vigilans', 'Municipal co-op shop or private shop?' in *Christus Rex*, ix, no. 1 (Jan., 1950), pp. 80-82.

premises. Its officer board, which Halpin affixed, included some figures who had come under anti-communist suspicion in other contexts.[196] For instance, Labour Mayor John Breen, who served as co-op President, had courted controversy for his past membership of the CPI,[197] and was listed as being an 'active' communist on a 1948 list of suspected communists compiled for McQuaid by Thomas Counihan SJ.[198] Alongside Breen, Peadar Cowan, the controversial former Clann na Poblachta TD, had been described as close to the communist movement by the security services,[199] the CTSI,[200] and the *Standard*.[201] The CPI's own archive suggests that this had some basis,[202] and the Archdiocese of Dublin kept an eye on Cowan, who had been expelled from Clann na Poblachta in 1948 due to his opposition to the Marshall Plan.[203] Crean, while warning that 'the history of the co-op movement shows a constant tendency to fall into the hands of Socialist elements', concluded of the society's co-operatives in Harold's Cross, Drimnagh, Inchicore and Dolphin's Barn that he could 'find no evidence whatsover of any communist influence' within them.[204]

In 1949, the co-operative began running a shop allocated for Ballyfermot's new housing estates by the Corporation, with a committee mostly comprised of women. Joe Deasy, the co-op's chairperson, later asserted it had 'approximately seven hundred members' drawn predominantly from Ballyfermot. The shop, which sold groceries at a cheap price, thrived in an area with few facilities, and had no substantive competition, another participant recalled, apart from 'a few hucksters'.[205] Deasy was an IWL member who had previously been a Labour member of Dublin Corporation from 1945 to 1950. He was the son of Richard Deasy, a prominent Labour Party member, trade union activist and 'devoutly religious' Catholic who served on the ITUC's executive during the 1950s. The

[196] Letter from Halpin to McQuaid with affixed list of officer board, 7 May 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/785).
[197] Breen's CPI past was unsuccessfully used to block his appointment by FF when his fellow councillors elected him Mayor in 1948. 'Confidential report from Michael Gill, Director, Detective Branch, Garda Síochána, Dublin Castle, of a meeting of Dublin Corporation to elect a Lord Mayor, 29 June. 1948' (UCDA, MacEoin papers, P151/450). Despite his past, or perhaps to mollify voters that he no longer had communist sympathies, Breen led the large-scale Catholic protests against the imprisonments of Mindszenty and Stepinac in Dublin on May Day 1949. Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 146.
[198] List of suspected communists signed by Thomas Counihan, SJ, 12 May 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/276A).
[199] Noël Browne, *Against the tide* (Dublin, 1986), p. 249; Material on Captain Peadar Cowan, 1944-1947 (UCDA, MacEntee papers, P67/548); document, 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee papers, P67/548).
[200] In 1948, Bishop Browne received information from Frank O'Reilly on Cowan and past pro-Soviet statements he had made. According to O'Reilly, Cowan 'wants to "get there" and doesn't seem to mind what course he pursues to that end ... one cannot be sure whether or not he is a communist, or whether he is a tool of more designing powers.' (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/188, O'Reilly to Browne, 15 Jan. 1948).
[201] *Standard*, 30 Jan. 1948.
[202] In 1948, the IWL discussed inviting Cowan to a public event they were advertising, suggesting a degree of rapport (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 23).
[203] Peadar Cowan election leaflet from 1954 general election (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/306). For reference to Cowan's expulsion from Clann na Poblachta and opposition to the Marshall Plan, see Till Geiger, 'What does America hope to gain? Irish left-wing intellectuals and the Marshall Plan' in Till Geiger and Michael Kennedy (eds), *Ireland, Europe and the Marshall Plan* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 174-176.
[204] Report on the North City Co-Operative society (Dublin), Ltd (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/786).
[205] 'The Ballyfermot co-operative' (RTÉ, 2001).

younger Deasy's wife, Pat Hayden, had been a CPI member who was later involved in Labour's Crumlin branch.[206] A 1957 Vigilance Committee profile of Deasy asserted he had used his position on Dublin Corporation to help the communists access statistics relevant to issues they were researching, and had been a covert founder of the IWL in 1948.[207] While Deasy initially approved of Labour's decision to join the inter-party government, the anti-communist collections in Ireland during the 1948 Italian general election caused Deasy to experience a 'personal political crisis'. He considered resigning in 1949, but ultimately completed his full term as a councillor, declining to stand again. Deasy also later cited Labour's 'submission' to the hierarchy on the Mother and Child Scheme and the fact that elected figures such as himself and James Larkin Jr, who disagreed with the Cold War consensus regarding the Mindszenty and Stepinac cases, had had to 'keep their heads down' as influencing his own decision to leave the Corporation.[208] Other IWL members soon joined him in the co-op, like Geoffrey Palmer, who justified his lack of attendance at meetings of the IWL's executive committee by noting his involvement on the co-op's board.[209] While Deasy was not a formal member of the IWL when he became the co-op's chairman, his decision to join the party provoked considerable controversy in the climate of the era. Matters came to a head in September 1952 when speakers at a public co-op meeting he was chairing were 'barracked' by a number of people asking if there was communists on the committee. In response to a man, who, claiming he was 'speaking on behalf of the local clergy', pointedly enquired about the Chairman's membership of the IWL, Deasy declared that the political affiliations of members was 'irrelevant' to their work on the committee.[210]

McQuaid's archives further reveal the role of Canon Charles Troy, the parish priest of Ballyfermot, in leading opposition to the co-op. The broadcaster Joe Duffy, who grew up in Ballyfermot in the 1960s, recalled the Dublin community as being 'run in the very real sense of the word' by Troy, a 'big, gruff, red-faced, silver-haired Kerryman'. While acknowledging Troy's role in seeking to combat the negative image of the working-class Dublin suburb in the media, Duffy sardonically recalls Troy's attempts to 'have every family in Ballyfermot reciting the family rosary on our knees on the cold linoleum floors', and described him as having 'bullied people' into

[206] Kilmurray, 'Joe Deasy', pp. 112-114.
[207] Typed profile of Joseph Kevin Deasy (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/318).
[208] Kilmurray, 'Joe Deasy', pp. 116-117.
[209] When Seán McGee, also of the IWL's south branch, offered to withdraw from the co-op and concentrate on party activity, he was told by others there the idea was 'unwise', demonstrating the importance the IWL placed on the co-op. IWL executive committee minutes for 6 Nov. 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 2).
[210] 'The Ballyfermot co-operative' (RTÉ, 2001).

opposing the co-op.[211] Troy, a priest particularly noted for anti-communist statements,[212] identified committee members Deasy, Palmer, Timothy Graham and Mary Tuohy as communists. Another member of the committee, Mary Jones, was described as 'doubtful'.[213] Graham appeared on a list of 104 suspected communists compiled by the Archdiocese in Dublin in 1956, where he was described as an IWL member.[214] IWL friends of Graham later claimed that Graham was not a communist, 'or even particularly socialist'. He defended the IWL members' position on the committee, and this brought him under suspicion more broadly.[215] Troy also oversaw the distribution of an attached anti-communist leaflet which noted that Deasy had refused to answer the question put to him at the meeting where he had been challenged, and claimed that at least two members of the committee were 'active communists'. The leaflet further appealed to those 'who have become members in good faith to withdraw their support from this co-operative society as at present constituted'. Its statement that 'the Irish Workers' League is the official organisation of the Communist Party in this country', was first run past Richard Ryan, a young Dublin solicitor, and, later, a prominent FG figure.[216]

Substantive anti-communist pressure on the Ballyfermot co-op ensued. Paddy 'The Cope' Gallagher, a prominent figure in the co-operative movement in Donegal, refused to support the Ballyfermot activists after Peadar O'Donnell encouraged them to approach him for support.[217] Praising those who 'stood up in defence of Christian principles' by challenging Deasy at the September meeting, a statement read from the pulpit in the churches serving Ballyfermot on 5 October stated that, while the clergy did not not condemn the co-op movement more broadly, it was their 'duty' to urge Catholics to withdraw their support from 'any movement connected with the communistic party'.[218] Deasy's parents went to another church during the period to avoid hearing the sermons, and his sister later recalled the 'great anxiety in the family' the affair caused, though her father, who was active in the community, still believed that the co-op was doing much good

[211] Joe Duffy, *Just Joe: an autobiography* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 60-62. Troy's size left an abiding impression on many observers. Later recalling the popular rumour that he had assaulted Troy during the controversy, Deasy quipped: 'this would have been rather unwise on my part, considering the impressive physique of the man'. Kilmurray, 'Joe Deasy', p. 117. Donal Fallon has observed that 'Troy, a former Kerry footballer, was not to be messed with'. Fallon, 'A spectre is haunting Ballyfermot'.
[212] When Seán O'Casey's play *The drums of Father Ned* was later controversially performed at the 1958 Dublin Theatre Festival, Troy condemned the play as communist propaganda, arguing that the 'information conveyed to us at great length through the *Standard* should long ago have awakened us to the danger of the situation.' He further urged that the IWL be proscribed by the government. Statement by M. C. Troy, PP, Ballyfermot, c. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/574).
[213] Letter from Troy to Dr O'Connell, 15 Oct. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIV/12/2/1).
[214] 104 paper cards containing the names and addresses of suspected Communists (DDA, AB8/XXIII/793).
[215] 'The Ballyfermot co-operative' (RTÉ, 2001).
[216] Leaflet attached to item letter from Troy to Dr O'Connell, 15 Oct. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIV/12/2/1).
[217] Fallon, 'A spectre is haunting Ballyfermot'.
[218] Statement by M. C. Troy, PP, Ballyfermot, 6 Oct. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIV/12/1/2).

locally.[219] The Ballyfermot Tenants' Association passed a motion 'voicing indignation' at the IWL's activities.[220] Joseph Daly, Hon. Secretary of the Sarsfield Tenants Association, was not placated by the resignations of the four IWL members, and went on to demand its five Labour Party members reveal what branches they were members of,[221] a point Graham rejected as a matter purely between Labour and its members.[222] In the face of substantive criticism, Graham lauched a leaflet staunchly defending the co-op, which asked why other shops not observing 'union wages and conditions' and not giving customers 'a fair deal' were not being attacked.[223] The IWL's members ultimately decided to resign from the co-op. The decision was divisive internally, with party member George Jeffares, who was then in China, strongly disagreeing with such 'retreats' by the IWL on his return to Ireland, despite Deasy's insistance that 'no other course was feasible'.[224] Clerical pressure ultimately caused the co-op to collapse, Milotte noting that 'every possible avenue of advance seemed to have been closed to the communists'.[225] When McQuaid opened the Church of the Assumption in Ballyfermot in 1953, the *Standard* paid tribute to the Catholicism of the community, noting that the Sarsfield co-operative society had established itself as a new non-communist co-op in Ballyfermot.[226] Later recalling the controversy in 1955, Troy described the *Standard* as 'a loyal friend of the people of Ballyfermot'.[227]

Catholic opposition to Michael O'Riordan's electoral bids

During the 1950s, Michael O'Riordan continued to be a cause of concern for the Church. In August 1950, the IWL's Executive Committee 'tentatively' discussed O'Riordan standing in the next general election, and he began drafting a manifesto and finding premises from where to run an election campaign.[228] In response to his candidacy in the Dublin South-West constituency, McQuaid had a statement read out in parishes in the area, which Crean personally delivered to a number of priests.[229] It warned parishioners that 'by reason of its aims, principles, and teaching, and because of its constant associations with, and affiliations to, communists of other countries, Catholics are forbidden to join the Irish Workers' League'. The statement's added declaration that a Catholic who voted for O'Riordan 'is not willing to receive the sacraments' was crossed out by McQuaid and amended to

[219] 'The Ballyfermot co-operative' (RTÉ, 2001).
[220] *Sunday Independent*, 2 Nov. 1952.
[221] *Evening Herald*, 20 Dec. 1952
[222] Ibid, 29 Dec. 1952.
[223] Statement from Inchicore Co-Operative Society, on behalf of the committee of management, T. Graham, Secretary, 12 Nov. 1952 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 91).
[224] Deasy, 'George Jeffares', p. 12.
[225] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 219.
[226] *Standard*, 20 Mar. 1953.
[227] Ibid, 14 Jan. 1955.
[228] IWL executive committee minutes for 18 Aug. 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 5).
[229] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Dublin priests, 18 May 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/828).

state 'guilty of mortal sin'.[230] It was read to parishioners on 20 May, ten days before the election, though a mix-up in Mount Argus, a parish administered by the Passionist Order, meant it was not read there until 27 May.[231] O'Riordan attempted to obtain a copy of the statement, but was unable to.[232] The *Standard* was deeply critical of O'Riordan, and instanced the IWL's description of the Bishop's opposition to the Mother and Child Scheme as the victory of 'reactionary and vested interests' as an example of its anti-clericalism.[233] In an unlikely historical irony, amongst those who ignored McQuaid's statement and were 'prepared to run the risk of eternal damnation'[234] was a CIÉ colleague of his, Jimmy Martin – father of a successor of McQuaid's as Archbishop of Dublin, Diarmuid Martin.[235]

McQuaid's and the *Standard*'s interventions greatly harmed the IWL's chances, the party's official history recalling that it prevented the IWL from 'pursuing a normal election campaign'.[236] McQuaid's clerical condemnations of O'Riordan had some unintended consequences. Labour leader William Norton rang Archbishop's House in 1954 shortly before O'Riordan's second Dáil run, noting that a statement read from the pulpits denouncing the IWL had previously been interpreted by many parishioners as applying to the Labour candidate also. The matter was confused, Norton noted, by the fact that one of the candidates standing in the coming general election was Joe Deasy's father, Richard. Norton, describing Richard Deasy as a 'fine man' who was being unfairly linked with communism due to his son's politics, assured McQuaid that Deasy Sr and his wife had endeavoured to make their son promise he would not support O'Riordan in the forthcoming election. In Norton's view, the Labour Party were conciously trying to injure Labour's chances by again running O'Riordan.[237]

Noting that the last time he stood, 'an unscrupulous campaign of lies was let loose to frighten and terrorise people for voting for me', O'Riordan in 1954 urged the Dublin electorate to 'answer the lies and be true to the fighting conditions of the Dublin workers'.[238] Vigilance predicted in one of its very first reports that the 'very affable' O'Riordan was planning to hold protests across the city, 'even in Donnybrook', in response to a statement McQuaid instructed priests to read to their parishes

[230] Draft statement on O'Riordan's candidacy annotated by McQuaid (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/827); approved final statement on O'Riordan's candidacy, 19 May 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/831).
[231] Letter from Fr Christopher CP, Rector, Mount Argus, to John Charles McQuaid, 27 May. 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/830).
[232] 'Don't vote for the Red O'Riordan' (RTÉ, 1971).
[233] *Standard*, 18 May 1951.
[234] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 219.
[235] Seamus Martin, *Good times and bad, from the Coombe to the Kremlin: a memoir* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 20-21.
[236] Nolan, *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 33.
[237] Typed report of telephone call from William Norton, TD, 6 May 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/307).
[238] *Irish Workers' Voice*, May 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1164).

denouncing his candidacy.[239] McQuaid again had priests in Dublin South-West read a statement at Sunday mass, which reminded worshippers that, as the IWL was 'communist in its teaching, in its associations and in its propaganda', it was 'gravely wrong and strictly forbidden' for Catholics to vote for O'Riordan.[240] Indicating a greater degree of caution on McQuaid's part than in 1951, Troy approached Richard Ryan with the statement, and Ryan assured the Archbishop that he saw 'no legal objection' to it.[241] The *Standard* also came out firmly against O'Riordan's candidacy, infamously declaring in its front page headline that 'you can't vote for Red O'Riordan'. Emphasising that the story was particularly relevant to Catholics whose parishes were in the Dublin South-West constituency – notably Ballyfermot, where the paper reminded readers of the Co-Op controversy – the article was scathing towards O'Riordan, asserting that as 'a communist he must believe in the mass extermination of our clergy, in forced labour camps, in the complete absorption of the individual'. Echoing Norton's warning to McQuaid, it was cautious to emphasise that the article was not condemning any organisation except the IWL.[242]

O'Riordan ultimately recieved 375 votes, losing his deposit.[243] Despite the poor vote, the *Standard* urged against complacency, asserting that 'the number of Irish Workers' League election workers is distressingly large, and they work with a zeal which might best be described as fanatical', with a significant amount of money spent on election literature. It also accused O'Riordan's canvassers of 'mutilating' anti-O'Riordan posters the *Standard* had produced, and dismissed an O'Riordan newspaper advert which quoted a statement by Bernard Sheil, an Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, that 'in this day in age anti-communism is sometimes the scoundrel's first defence'. Noting that Sheil's statement was referring to Joseph McCarthy, it reminded readers that McCarthy had been praised by many other Catholic bishops, including the Bishop of Cork.[244] The *Standard*'s role in the controversy was another sign of the influence it enjoyed during the period. The party's official history noted that, as a result of its articles, 'comrades suffered many forms of victimisation ... Jobs were lost (at a time when unemployment was rife) while others suffered ostracisement'.[245] Indeed, the IWL's membership in his period declined from 102 members in June 1952 to 59 in October 1954.[246] Speaking in 1968, the dramatist Jim Fitzgerald, a young IWL member in the 1950s, noted

[239] Vigilance Committee report, 30 Apr. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/3).
[240] Election of 18 May 1954 – candidate Mr M. O'Riordan (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/822).
[241] Letter from Richard Ryan, solicitor, to McQuaid, 6 May, 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/821).
[242] *Standard*, 14 May 1954.
[243] *Irish Independent*, 20 May 1954.
[244] *Standard*, 21 May 1954.
[245] Nolan, *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 33.
[246] Connolly, 'The "red scare" in 1950s Dublin', p. 128.

that the paper's public naming of him and other communists during the 1950s rendered many of them unemployable.[247]

The Vigilance Committee

1954 was a year of transition regarding the Church's responses to Irish communism, as it witnessed the CIB's last report.[248] The same year, the Vigilance Committee was formed by Archbishop McQuaid. Like the Bureau, the Vigilance Committee sometimes dealt with matters aside from communism, such as the IRA,[249] immoral dancing,[250] Firínne,[251] the writings of Desmond Fennell, a young journalist and former member of Opus Dei,[252] and, bizarrely, L. Ron Hubbard, creator of Scientology, which was then a recently founded and little-known phenomenon.[253] Communism was the overwhelming focus of its investigations throughout its existence. Noting that the Committee's members would need 'pretty explicit' objects on which to focus, as 'secular Priests are rather literal in their reading of assignments from authority', an inaugural document outlining the Committee's aims described its primary focus as monitoring and counteracting the activities of the IWL, 'along with anti-Catholic activities, such as Liberalism'.[254] The Holy See was made aware of its establishment in McQuaid's 1957 Relatio Status report to Rome on affairs in the Archdiocese, which noted that 'The Archbishop has recently established a commission of priests who, being apt to deal with social affairs, keep guard over impious activity, expose hateful errors, and take action to ward them off by putting in place suitable means'.[255] A handwritten document on the Committee's work in the early 1960s identified 'communism' as the key subversive threat to the Church in Dublin, closely

[247] *The Rocky Road to Dublin*, dir. by Peter Lennon, 1968.
[248] Catholic Information Bureau, seventh annual report, 1954 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[249] Committee members Edmunt Kent, S.J. and Thomas Fehily both contributed to a lengthy report on the activities of Sinn Féin and the IRA, who were then involved in the 1956-62 'border campaign'. Vigilance Committee report, 28 Jan. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/26). The text of the report is contained in: Vigilance Committee report on the activities of Sinn Féin and the IRA (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/5).
[250] The teddy-boy youth subculture is repeatedly referenced in the Vigilance Committee's earliest reports. Cornelius Gallagher, a lay Catholic informant, furnished it in 1955 with an account of the Mambo Club Monday night dance at Dublin's Palm Court ballroom, which was regularly attended by 'teddy boys' and well as local girls. His account was highly critical, describing the attendees as coming from the 'cheaper end of society' and describing the dancing as '100% jiving'. 'Dance report', 15 May 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/17).
[251] See Vigilance Committee report, 25 Mar. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/30); Vigilance Committee report, 12 May 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/57).
[252] Vigilance Committee report, 12 May 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/58).
[253] In April 1956, the Committee noted that a Dr Morris had taken over from L. Ron Hubbard as the head of a Scientology 'college' in Dublin. It investigated 'the rumour that the College was somehow connected with abortion' . Vigilance Committee report, 8 Apr. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/21). The Committee eventually concluded of Scientology 'that at worst this is a money-making agency and is not a serious threat'. Vigilance Committee report, 11 Jan. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/45).
[254] 'Objects of the Vigilance Committee – Intelligence Work', c. 1955' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/8).
[255] Letter from O'Halloran to James Ardle McMahon, 27 Mar. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/31). Many thanks to Dr Jacopo Bisagni of NUI Galway's Classics Department for translating this sentence, which was originally in Ecclesiastical Latin.

followed by 'anti-clerical liberalism'. As both forms of subversion were 'largely an organised affair, the former strictly so', the Committee was needed as 'the eyes of the Church here, regarding with a steady vision the activity of subversion'.[256] The Committee initially was also tasked with monitoring print and radio appearances of figures perceived as hostile to the Catholic Church, particularly in regard to foreign policy – Owen Sheehy-Skeffington and the trade unionist Donal Nevin were specifically identified in this context – as well as identifying areas in the Archdiocese where cultural, educational or recreational Catholic organisations should be set up 'to provide for the needs of the people'. Proferring 'a more instructed Catholic outlook' to lobbies which were potentially influential over government policy was another initial purpose. Trade unionists, the legal profession, and the doctors' representative body, the Irish Medical Association – regarded as the most important, given the recent Mother and Child Scheme controversy – were all identified as important lobbies.[257] A typed note written the following year advised that the Committee focus on 'intelligence technique' primarily and treat all other tasks as secondary, as gathering intelligence would be a difficult skill to acquire 'unless and until all the members devote themselves solely to intelligence work'.[258] Hence, surveillance efforts against communist activity became the increasing focus of the Committee's activity. Helping to encourage lay Catholic infiltration of groups the IWL was believed to have encouraged its members to join was particularly emphasised as an important duty for the Committee. In doing so, the Committee would ensure that lay Catholic anti-communists would not have to deal directly with Archbishop's House, while guaranteeing that their activities would be overseen by priests trusted by and accountable to McQuaid. The previous efforts, led by Crean, to challenge the IWL's attempts to agitate within the ISA were cited as a model the Committee's members should follow in their work.[259]

The Committee was initially composed of four priests, Michael O'Halloran, James Kavanagh, Cyril Crean and Michael Clarke.[260] In its composition, it sought to demarcate its work according to 'a division of fields', as the early 1960s document put it. While some on the Committee had a particular interest in trade unions, others were more adept at discussing 'the cultural life of the city'. Committee members submitted reports on aspects of their particular area of expertise to the general Committee for discussion.[261] Given Kavanagh's prominence on the Committee, it is unsurprising that, with the exception of occasional meetings with McQuaid in Archbishop's House,

[256] Secret report on 'V' Committee, c. early 1960s (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/60).
[257] Letter outlining the Vigilance Committee's aims, 22 Mar. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1). For examples of the Vigilance Committee's early documents, see Cullen and Ó hÓgartaigh, *His Grace is displeased*, pp. 201-205.
[258] 'Objects of the Vigilance Committee – Intelligence Work', c. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/8).
[259] Letter outlining the Vigilance Committee's aims, 22 Mar. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1).
[260] 'Objects of the Vigilence Committee – intelligence work', c. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/8).
[261] Secret report on 'V' Committee, c. early 1960s (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/60).

its meetings took place in the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology (DICS).[262] Like the Catholic Workers' College, discussed in Chapter Four, the DICS evolved out of McQuaid's interest in setting up a Catholic education institute for workers, originally envisaged in the early 1940s as the abortive Catholic Workers' Institute.[263] The DICS was founded in 1950 on Kavanagh's suggestion in order to accommodate various lay Catholic study groups and to offer workers' courses grounded in Catholic sociology.[264] Initially situated in Gardiner Street and later moving to Eccles Street, it had a student body of over a thousand, with a sizeable amount being trade unionists.[265.] Its anti-communist ethos is illustrated by Kavanagh's *Manual of social ethic*s, which was later singled out by Derry Kelleher as a work which had a key influence over social thinking in Ireland in the 1950s to the exclusion of more radical ideas.[266] The book was 'compiled primarily to meet the needs of the many adults attending the course of the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology'.[267] The DICS' annual Social Studies Congresses were an important part of the institution until the mid-1960s, ticket sales being an important part of the DICS' income.[268]

In 1955, Father Thomas Fehily was also added to the Committee, as many problems encountered by trade union executives were 'referred to him in the first instance'. Fehily's appointment supplemented Crean's role, as he had previously dealt with trade union matters given his closeness to a number of trade union executives.[269] Crean, given his military experience, was appointed Head Chaplain of the Irish Army in 1955, after McQuaid requested that the previous Head Chaplain, John O'Regan, be withdrawn for pastoral duties.[270] This decision was likely taken with the Vigilance Committee in mind, and Crean's position as Head Chaplain proved particularly useful for its work, giving it direct access to army intelligence.[271] In February 1956, for example, Crean was tasked with obtaining an updated list of IWL members from Colonel Callaghan, head of Military Intelligence, as the previous one supplied by the Knights was deemed out of date.[272] In 1958, Crean told the Committee he had received information from Callaghan about T. A. Boyle, a former Garda who had informed the IWL's Seán Nolan about military intelligence's methods in surveilling

[262] See, for example, Vigilance Committee report, 24 Oct. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/16);Vigilance Committee report, 13 Feb. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/19).
[263] 'Catholic Workers' Institute', c. 1943 (DDA, AB8/XXII/24/1).
[264] Gaughan, *Alfred O'Rahilly, III, Part 1*, pp. 177-183.
[265] Brian Conway, 'Foreigners, faith and fatherland: the historical origins, development and present status of Irish sociology' in *Sociological Origins*, v, no. 1 (Fall, 2006), p. 16.
[266] Derry Kelleher, *Republicanism, Christianity and Marxism* (Greystones, 1970), p. 6.
[267] James Kavanagh, *Manual for social ethics* (Dublin, 1954), p. v.
[268] Murray and Feeney, *Church, state and social science in Ireland*, p. 60.
[269] Letter from O'Halloran to McQuaid, 24 Jan. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/4).
[270] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Seán MacEoin, 20 June. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XVIII/31/40/1).
[271] Crean held the position of head chaplain at an important time in the Irish army's history, with Irish soldiers deployed in a peacekeeping capacity in the Congo during his term. O'Sullivan, *Ireland, Africa and the end of empire*, p. 41.
[272] Vigilance Committee report, 13 Feb. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/19).

communists. The possibility of a Chaplain being appointed to An Garda Síochána was discussed at the meeting, and while the details of the discussion are not mentioned in the minutes, it is reasonable to assume that the possibility of strengthening the committee's relationship with the Gardaí by emulating Crean's closeness to military intelligence was a factor in this decision.[273] Later in the year he informed the Committee that military intelligence had no information on a man named Wyse, who had been a subject of discussion previously.[274]

It was initially foreseen that the committee would report to McQuaid at least twice a year and meet him in person at least once a year.[275] A subsequent copy of its guidelines was annotated by McQuaid stating he would prefer to meet them 'every month if possible'.[276] In its first year the committee encountered difficulty is completing the tasks assigned to them, O'Halloran telling McQuaid that the 'parochial problems' of its members as diocesan priests was distracting from its work.[277] The 1955 note urging the committee to focus on intelligence work was annotated by O'Halloran three years later with the observation 'Better action as well as thought!', suggesting continued frustration with the committee and its effectiveness.[278] McQuaid himself made his frustrations with the committee known in person at a November 1956 meeting in Archbishop's House, stating that 'it would be of little use to him unless it met regularly … it was his wish that the committee would meet once every fortnight and submit a monthly report'. When asked by O'Halloran about 'what he would like the committee to do', McQuaid, while stating that he wished to hear 'any information on any subject' the committee felt was relevant, revealed he had a list of 104 suspected communists whose activities he particularly wanted information on. Specifically, he asked the committee to ascertain the parishes in which the suspects lived, so local priests could be made aware of their presence locally in order 'to keep in contact with them as there comes a time in the lives of all of them when they break'.[279] McQuaid's advice was again implemented by the Committee two years later, when, after examining 'a list of names of known communists', it resolved to make local clergy in Dublin aware of those on the list in their parishes 'who were not Protestant'.[280] Those listed included Michael O'Riordan, who lived in St. Kevin's Parish, Harrington

[273] Vigilance Committee report, 24 Mar. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/54). The Committee had also earlier considered the question of introducing religious instruction as a mandatory part of Garda training. Vigilance Committee report, 10 Mar. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/50).
[274] Vigilance Committee report, 24 Nov. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/64).
[275] Letter outlining the Vigilance Committee's aims, 22 Mar. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1).
[276] 'Objects of the committee', 30 Apr. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/2).
[277] Letter from O'Halloran to McQuaid, 24 Jan. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/4).
[278] 'Objects of the Vigilence Committee – Intelligence Work', c. 1955, annotation by O'Halloran dated 29 Nov. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/8).
[279]Vigilance Committee report, 22 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/23).
[280] Vigilance Committee report, 24 Nov. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/64).

Street, Sam Nolan, who lived in Larkhill Parish, and Seán and Anne Nolan, who lived in Beechwood Avenue Parish.[281] By the 1960s, the Committee was meeting more regularly than it had at its outset, on the second Monday of the month.[282] It remained active till near the end of McQuaid's tenure as Archbishop, Deirdre McMahon noting that it proved 'more enduring' than the broader 'gradual easing of censorship which McQuaid was powerless to prevent'.[283]

Irish Catholic anti-communism and the IWL, 1956-1965

In the IWL, as in communist parties worldwide, some party members 'tried to break with the old Stalinist tradition and cultivate a more thoughtful atmosphere' in the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 speech.[284] Sam Nolan, acting as temporary party secretary in the absence of Michael O'Riordan, was noted by a Garda document as initially welcoming the Nagy government's reforms, for instance.[285] The IWL ultimately backed the Soviet intervention, and, in comparison to the CPGB, which lost 8,000 members in the ensuing fallout,[286] saw few to no defections for doing so, most party members remaining loyal to the Soviet Union.[287] Treacy observes that the paucity of the IWL's members contributed to the fact it was more cohesive in its attitude to the issue than the CPGB.[288] Following the Soviet invasion of Hungary, there was a significant Catholic anti-communist backlash against the IWL. On 8 November, 1956, in scenes reminiscent of, if not as extreme as, the anti-communist riots Dublin witnessed twenty-three years earlier, over a thousand Catholic actionists, primarily students, marched to New Books. While the crowd did not act on the chants of 'burn it down' which emanated from some of the protestors, a stone was thrown at the shop, damaging a window. Later in the evening, a protest took place outside the IWL's usual meeting place on Pembroke Road, where Catholic Actionists, holding placards saying 'Hungary today, Ireland tomorrow', forced the abandonment of an IWL meeting entitled 'working class strategy and tactics'. The rosary-reciting protestors on Pembroke Road were addressed by Úna Byrne, who warned the crowd that the premises were being used by communists 'for indoctrinating the youth of Dublin to Communist

[281] List of suspected communists (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/65).
[282] Secret report on 'V' Committee, c. early 1960s (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/60).
[283] McMahon, 'John Charles McQuaid', p. 367.
[284] Milotte, *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 226.
[285] Weekly reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and kindred organisations, 30 Oct. 1956 – 3 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/213).
[286] Smith and Worley, 'Introduction', p. 5. The Vigilance Committee was conscious of the disorientating effect of the Hungarian intervention on the CPGB, and asserted the IWL's greater focus on trade union work after November 1956 was influenced by the CPGB's similar line, which had been prompted by the resignation of CPGB intellectuals. Minutes of Vigilance Committee meeting, 29 Apr. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/32).
[287] Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 218.
[288] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 259. The later Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 had a more disorientating effect, and a number of members of the reunited Communist Party of Ireland, including George Jeffares and Joe Deasy, resigned from the party in 1975 over growing disillusionment with its continued pro-Soviet, orthodox Marxist stance. Deasy, 'George Jeffares', pp. 13-14.

ideals'. The Gardaí concluded that the IWL's members 'in Dublin are keeping out of sight through fear of personal violence'.[289] Elsewhere, in Cork, 200 students marched through the city holding a banner which equated events in Budapest with the burning of Cork city by British forces in 1920. The Hungary events were a long-term blow to the party, and a Garda report the following month noted that the IWL had decided to suspend general meetings 'until Russian action in Hungary had ceased to be front-page news' and had also halted sales of the *Irish Workers' Voice*. New Books also remained closed following the unrest outside it.[290] Despite this, Milotte asserts that the right-wing nature of the backlash helped solidify loyalties in the IWL, as 'the fact the reaction was so blatantly right-wing … convinced the waverers of the need to suppress their doubts'.[291]

Following these events, the clerical authorities maintained a close eye on Ireland's communist movement. One example of this was the attention they gave to communist involvement in unemployment protests, something more thoroughly discussed in Chapter Five. Another is the perceived closeness of communists to Noël Browne at this time, which soon came to their attention also. In October 1956, Taoiseach John A. Costello sent the Archbishop a confidential Garda report on Browne, who, after his exit from Clann na Poblachta, had become a FF TD after a period as an independent.[292] The report detailed a meeting which had occurred the previous month at the instigation of the trade unionist Matthew Merrigan to set up a new left-wing party. May Keating, mother of Justin Keating, was a prominent attendee. Ominously from McQuaid's perspective, Maureen Lee, a participant at the meeting, instanced the *Irish Times* journalist and former CPGB member Michael McInerney, IWL member Christy Clarke, 'and some other members of the Irish Workers' League' as people she would approach to take part.[293]

In *Against the tide*, Browne described Keating's role in the inchoate group as ensuring that its IWL members 'should not jeopardise my position as a politician in Leinster House' by making their presence publicly known. In phrases likely clouded by his later falling out with Keating and the IWL, Browne termed these members 'sleepers' and described their purpose as being 'to enter emergent and even competing left-wing groups … to cause a split in the new group and so eliminate it'. Ironically, while Browne knew from his time as a Cabinet Minister 'that nearly every active

[289] Weekly reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and kindred organisations, 6 Nov.–12 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/217).
[290] Weekly reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and kindred organisations, 2 Dec. 1956 – 8 Dec. 1956 (DDA/AB8/B/XXIII/220).
[291] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 227.
[292] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, p. 175. Based on information from an *Irish Press* staff member – likely Diskin – Byrne seperately sent McQuaid, via a Fr Diffney, a letter echoing the information Costello had forwarded. Letter from Byrne to Diffney, 6 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/418).
[293] 'Memorandum of recent meeting of new political group', Sept. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/215).

Communist group was either infiltrated by or was well known to the police'[294] he was now the target of state anti-communist surveillance himself, and by a former government colleague no less. Costello's forwarded document also noted that Donal Barrington and Mirian Hederman O'Brien, two members of the intellectual body Tuairim, had previously shown interest in Merrigan's circle but left as they felt the group's policy was 'doctrinaire socialism and not wide enough in scope',[295] and the meeting saw disagreement over how explicitly socialist the proposed new party should be. While Desmond Breathnach argued that the party should be 'liberal but pro-socialist', Jack McQuillan, an independent TD for Roscommon who had been close to Browne since their time in Clann na Poblachta, disagreed. Noting that 'his parish priest would be on his trail if he became publicly identified with socialism', he argued that he had been elected as a socialist TD in Roscommon without explicitly declaring himself a socialist.[296]

Merrigan, a prominent member of the British-based Amalgamated, Transport and General Workers' Union (ATGWU), in which Browne was also involved, was a central figure to the new group.[297] A Trotskyist, Merrigan was recruited into the Trotskyist Workers' International League in 1941 after meeting the Belfast-based Trotskyist Bob Armstrong, and sold copies of its paper, *Socialist Appeal*, in Dublin in the 1940s.[298] His anti-Stalinism was illustrated by a letter to the *Standard* in January 1955 criticising Peadar O'Donnell for allegedly hiding 'the totalitarian character of Russia' in his pronouncements about the Eastern Bloc.[299] Merrigan's Trotskyism was hardly less abhorrent in clerical eyes. McQuaid was informed by Michael Troy in 1955 that Merrigan was planning to run for Labour in the local elections in the area, but had been removed as a candidate after Troy indicated that he would denounce Merrigan openly had he stood. Troy added that Seán Dunne, the local Labour TD, had personally told him that Merrigan was a 'Trotskyite'.[300] Merrigan additionally came to Vigilance's attention due to the frequent letters he wrote to the papers, and it suspected that these letters were in fact written by Browne, as Merrigan was 'a man of no

[294] Browne, *Against the tide*, pp. 249-250.
[295] Barrington ultimately unsuccessfully ran for Fianna Fáil in the 1961 Seanad election. Tuairim's members would attain prominance in a wide array of political formations; future Fine Gael Taoiseach Garrett Fitzgerald was a member of the circle in his youth, as was the Limerick socialist politician Jim Kemmy. Hederman O'Brien, while not a communist, had 'flirted' with the ideology while a student in Rome in the early 1950s and read books on Marxism by the author Carew Hunt. Tomás Finn, *Tuairim, intellectual debate and policy formation: rethinking Ireland, 1954-1975* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 16-18.
[296] 'Memorandum of recent meeting of new political group', Sept. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/215).
[297] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, p. 188.
[298] Ciarán Crossey and James Monaghan, 'The origins of Trotskyism in Ireland' in *Revolutionary History*, vi, nos 2/3 (1996) pp. 25-26.
[299] *Standard*, 21 Jan. 1955.
[300] Dunne was himself a figure who had attracted significant anti-communist suspicion in his earlier career as a trade unionist, as Chapter Four shall discuss. Letter from Michael Troy to Chris Mangan, 8 June. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/308).

education'.[301] A profile of Merrigan amongst McQuaid's papers outlined in detail his Trotskyist past and trade union activities, and described his attitude – 'militant in outlook and believes in direct force' – as a 'source of continual worry' to the managers of Associated Chocolate and Confectionary, Co, Ltd, Inchicore, where he worked.[302]

Browne remained undecided about the proposed new party. A Garda report in 1956 indicated that 'informed sources are of opinion that Dr Browne intends backing out of Merrigan's group'.[303] Browne's relationship with his nominal party continued to worsen. Frank Clarke, a delegate from Greystones, launched a sustained attack on him at FF's November 1956 Ard Fheis, comparing him to 'that other famous socialist and doctor, Hewlett Johnston'.[304] Byrne noted that her cumann had written to De Valera reminding him that Clarke had spoken on behalf of his cumann.[305] Browne's membership of FF ended when the Dublin South-East organisation did not nominate him as a candidate in the 1957 general election, a decision not overturned by the party's National Executive.[306] Details of the National Executive decision reached McQuaid through Diskin,[307] and the Archdiocese took note of the *Manchester Guardian*'s report on the affair, which asserted that 'a group within the local party' had 'represented him as at best a rabid anti-clerical and scourge of the bishops and at worst as the advance guard of the Communists'.[308] Browne was successfully elected as a independent TD in Dublin South-East in the election, with the support of Merrigan's milieu, Brendan Behan, and students such as Owen Dudley Edwards and David Thornley. Dudley Edwards and Thornley were both leading members of the 1913 Club, which John Horgan, who joined it soon after its founding by Thornley, recalls as 'a kind of Irish equivalent of the Fabian Society'.[309] While Thornley was anti-communist, the IWL's Aidan Clarke was amongst the 1913 Club's diverse membership,[310] and a report of a meeting by the club on 14 March, 1958, likely by Byrne, claimed that 'various members of the Communist Party were in attendance'.[311] Vigilance speculated in February 1958 that it was part of the effort by Browne and McQuillan to form a new political party.[312] Byrne provided McQuaid with a leaflet the group circulated at a meeting the following

[301] Vigilance Committee report, 11 Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/27).
[302] Profile of Matthew Merrigan (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/309).
[303] Garda report on Communist party and Kindred Organisations, week ending 29 Oct. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/212).
[304] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, pp. 183-184.
[305] Letter from Úna Byrne to Fr. Diffney, 19 Dec.1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/419).
[306] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, pp. 185-186.
[307] Letter from Gabriel Diskin, 19 Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/350).
[308] Clipping, *Manchester Guardian*, 22 Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/224).
[309] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, p. 189. Finn, in his study of Tuairim – in which Thornley was also prominent - notes that the 1913 Club was one of Ireland's few think-tanks of significance, both in the era and subsequently. Finn, *Tuairim*, p. 48.
[310] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, p. 189.
[311] 'Copy of report' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/590).
[312] Vigilance Committee report, 24 Feb. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/49).

month which described its goals as 'the establishment in Ireland upon the basis of a planned economy of a welfare state' based upon Christianity.[313]

It was also decided to set up a committee to create a new left-wing paper, *The Plough*. John Horgan has characterised *The Plough* as having been 'in a sense been a stamping ground for Browne' during his period as an independent TD in the 1950s.[314] The paper had a print run of 3,000 copies according to Diskin, May Keating organising its publicity and circulation.[315] Browne's relationship with the paper soon faltered. In *Against the tide*, Browne recalled that the split related to the wider frissures which took place between him and the IWL, notably his falling out with May Keating.[316] Diskin reported in late 1957 that the 'reds' were 'disappointed' with Browne as he had told them bluntly that 'there was no political future for him if he was associated with communism'.[317] Byrne subsequently reported in early 1958 that the paper had been 'taken over' by the IWL to replace the *Irish Workers' Voice*. While of better quality than the latter, its circulation remained 'very poor'.[318] Kevin Nolan and Timothy Graham, the *Plough*'s Treasurer and Secretary respectively, were listed by Vigilance as being members of the IWL, while the fact its treasurer, Catherine Cranwell, was a mother-in-law of leading IWL figure Patrick Carmody was regarded as significant. The Connolly Association's C. Desmond Greaves and the *Irish Times* journalist Michael McInerney, current and former CPGB activists respectively, were the final members of *The Plough*'s board, and McInerney was described as still being close to the IWL.[319]

McQuaid remained attentive to *The Plough*'s output. Byrne informed him in 1960 that, after seeing a letter by Justin Keating to an unnamed IWL member, *The Plough* had sold 3,000 copies a month in April 1960 'through public houses and by sales in the streets'. She argued that the paper 'must be stopped' as it was now the 'official organ of the C.P. and USSR Society',[320] and asserted that Cathal MacLiam, a *Plough* editor, was a graduate of UCG whose position in a Finglas telephonic firm had been secured through the intervention of Bishop Browne. Nonetheless, she claimed, both MacLiam and his wife were active members of the IWL.[321] Records of the IWL's executive committee suggest that the party had a more detached relationship with the *Plough* than

[313] Copy of leaflet handed out at 1913 Club meeting, 13 Mar. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/431).
[314] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, p. 200.
[315] Letter from Gabriel Diskin, 18 Oct. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/363).
[316] Roy Johnston, an IWL *Plough* contributor, later characterised Browne as 'a "prima donna", doing things on his own initiative, and keeping his successive support committees in the dark'. Johnston, *Century of endeavour*, pp. 152-153.
[317] Letter from Gabriel Diskin, 18 Nov. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/365).
[318] Intelligence report from Úna Byrne, 7 Mar. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/429).
[319] 'Directors etc of *The Plough*' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/102). Crean subsequently informed Vigilance that neither Graham nor Clarke, another member of the board, were fulfilling their obligations of attending mass. Vigilance Committee report, 6 Apr. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/73).
[320] Intelligence report from Úna Byrne, c. May 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/884).
[321] Intelligence report from Úna Byrne, c. June 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/454).

Byrne suggested. While it was true that MacLiam was an IWL member – he attended, for example, a June 1958 meeting of its executive committee – [322] by 1959 he had become inactive and had not paid his membership dues, Roy Johnston writing to him to ascertain his relationship with the party.[323] In addition, an exploration of the executive committee's minutes throughout 1958 and 1959 record significant attention given to the output of the *IWL Bulletin* and *Socialist Review*, but only rare and incidental references to the *Plough*.[324] A later report from Byrne appeared to qualify her earlier claim, stating it was not the IWL's 'recognised organ'.[325] The journal did not appear in December 1960, something she asserted was due to 'lack of funds and customers', as Councillor Bugler and Anthony Mooney, two leading Dublin publicans she had warned about the periodical, had persuaded their fellow vintners not to allow it to be sold on their premises.[326]

The Plough again attracted McQuaid's attention in 1962, when it published an article criticising McQuaid's statement in that year's Lenten Pastoral that Catholics would be exposed to 'perversion' if they attended Trinity College. The anonymous author, who had been present when McQuaid read the pastoral, expressed the hope that 'Dublin's less sophisticated Catholics will realise that the Archbishop is alleging spiritual and not physical perversion', causing McQuaid to annotate: 'they have to stoop down to sexual levels'.[327] Kavanagh advised McQuaid not to worry about the article, as, while it was 'disrespectful', in his view it was liable to appeal only to a 'convinced crank'. Kavanagh also described *The Plough*'s circulation as 'infinitesimal', prompting McQuaid to annotate the letter: 'excellent'.[328] The paper continued appearing until 1965, 'a remarkable feat for a paper without party funding', in Puirséil's view.[329]

Browne's explorations regarding the setting up of a new political party culminated in the founding of the National Progressive Democrats in May 1958. Unlike its later Irish political namesake, the party was left-of-centre and broadly social democratic, and its founding statement, which McQuaid took note of, praised the work of semi-state companies and urged that new ones be founded in other spheres. Despite McQuillan's hopes that the proposed new party would attract an array of defectors from across the Oireachtas, he and Browne were the only members who joined.[330]

[322] IWL executive committee minutes for 1958, meeting, 12 June. 1958 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 5).
[323] IWL executive committee minutes for 1959, meeting, 13 July. 1959 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 5).
[324] IWL executive committee minutes for 1958-1959 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, items 4-6).
[325] Intelligence report from Úna Byrne, 7 Aug. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/455).
[326] Intelligence report from Úna Byrne , 30 Dec. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/458).
[327] Copy of *The Plough*, May/June 1962 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1356).
[328] Letter from James Kavanagh to James Ardle McMahon, 14 June 1962 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1357).
[329] Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 195.
[330] Clipping, *Irish Times*, 17 May. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/609).

The party was highlighted as a development in need of investigation by Vigilance. [331] Despite the party being the centre of a 'government-inspired "Red Smear"',[332] there is no evidence of any communist presence within the organisation.

In other spheres, the Archdiocese remained attentive to communist activity. The Papal Nuncio's Secretary, Monsignor Gerada, contacted the diocese in August 1958 regarding a claim by the British anti-communist propagandist Douglas Hyde that 'a surprisingly strong contingent from Ireland' attended the communist World Youth Festival the previous year, something 'which had been made much of in later Communist propaganda'.[333] McQuaid's secretary, James Ardle McMahon, assured the Nuncio that McQuaid had the communist threat 'very much under control', and had access to 'secret and confidential' sources on the communist movement. [334] McMahon contacted Hyde on McQuaid's behalf about the Irish attendees to the 1957 World Youth Festival in Moscow, who, Hyde replied, were mostly from the CPNI with only five from the south. Some of the northerners reportedly 'resented' being represented by the tricolour at a march at the Festival. The southern attendees included David and Anna Simms, who were nephew and niece of both Neil Goold-Verschoyle and George Simms, the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin.[335] The youth wings of both parties continued to meet, Byrne reporting in 1961 that members of the IWL's youth section were putting on a bus to attend a Socialist Youth Movement meeting in Belfast.[336] Later that year Byrne obtained a police document outlining an educational class in Bangor, Co. Down held by leading communists from both north and south. Byrne annotated: 'get at the youth is the policy of Mr. K and his ilk', an apparent reference to Justin Keating. The report ended up in Bishop Browne's possession, Byrne noting at the end of the document: 'would you pass this on to Galway. He came out strong last week'.[337] The Apostolic Nuncio Giuseppe Sensi later approached McQuaid in 1963 asking for information on Irish communism. McQuaid forwarded him a 'trustworthy' November 1959 article on Irish communism by the Methodist journalist Risteárd Ó Glaisne in *Focus*, an interdenominational Protestant magazine, noting that it was a subject 'about which one has to be very careful, for very inaccurate statements have been made about it, even recently'. McQuaid also forwarded a report from his own sources. Noting to Sensi that he was only mentioned once in the latter report, McQuaid emphasised that he did not want his 'own activities' mentioned 'in such a

[331] Vigilance Committee report, 2 June 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/59).
[332] Smylie, 'Irish communism', pp. 93-94.
[333] Memo to McQuaid, 18 Aug. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/511).
[334] Memo to McQuaid, 20 Aug. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/512).
[335] Letter from Fr McMahon to Douglas Hyde, 30 Sept. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/518).
[336] Report from Byrne to the Archdiocese, 1 June 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/466).
[337] Police document, weekend educational class in Bangor, Co. Down, 25 Nov. 1961 (GDA, Michael Broowne papers, file B/12/189).

document'.[338] Ó Glaisne's article, while emphasising that the labelling of all labour figures, socialists and Fabians as communists was 'a mistake too commonly made in Ireland', noted several contemporary aspects of Irish communism, such as the IWL's publication of the *Irish Socialist Review* and the continuing activities of New Books.[339]

Conclusion

The particularly powerful nature of the Catholic Church in Irish society is clearly an important reason why Irish communism remained marginal throughout the Cold War just as it had been prior to the conflict's emergence. Indeed, religion is arguably the decisive factor in this regard. While Catholic anti-communism was a force in other societies such as Italy in the period, the greater religiousity of Irish society and the fact Ireland's communist parties were weaker in comparative terms than their Italian counterpart suggests that Catholic anti-communism was a particularly potent force in Ireland. Unlike in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, there was no older socialist anti-clerical tradition Ireland's communists could situate themselves in, as we saw in the introduction. When asked in 2010 what motivated members of the IWL and CPNI to get involved in their respective parties from the 1940s to the 1960s, the veteran Belfast communist Seán Morrissey, a native of the Catholic Falls Road, responded by stating that 'I could tell you more quickly why they didn't join, and that's the influence of the Catholic Church'. Few people joined, Morrissey recalled, who were devout Catholics.[340]

Notwithstanding the weakness of the Irish communist movement, this chapter has illustrated how its presence in Ireland caused a great deal of concern for the Catholic hierarchy, clergy and press during the Cold War. Dermot Keogh has noted that 'despite its overwhelming minority status, the Catholic Church in the 1950s felt radically insecure'.[341] The formation of bodies such as the CIB and the Archdiocese of Dublin's Vigilance Committee are indicative of this, demonstrating that the communist movement was regarded with a seriousness disproportionate to its strength. This point is further underlined by specific interventions by John Charles McQuaid in particular. His response to Michael O'Riordan's candidacies in the 1951 and 1954 general elections and the case of the Ballyfermot co-operative are striking examples of Catholic attempts to hinder communist activity in the period, something also indicated by the activities of the *Standard* newspaper. While Peter Berry asserted in 1964 that 'it is the established practice … not to permit the police to disclose any police

[338] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Giuseppe Sensi, 19 Apr. 1963 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/648).
[339] Risteard Ó Glaisne, 'Communism in Ireland ' in *Focus*, ii, no. 11 (Nov., 1959), pp. 15-18 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/649).
[340] Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 201.
[341] Keogh, 'The role of the Catholic Church in the Republic of Ireland', p. 143.

information' on the communist movement,[342] it is clear that the Irish hierarchy received state intelligence on Irish communism for many years, with a sitting Taoiseach, John. A Costello, in one case personally giving information. Given the weakness of the communist movement in Ireland, it is unsurprising that Irish clerical attention focused to a large extent on the Irish abroad, and Chapter Three shall analyse the Connolly Association and Catholic concerns that the Irish migrants were vulnerable to communist propaganda

[342] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 287.

Chapter Three

‘A Marxist trap for exiles’: The Connolly Association and Catholic anti-communism in Britain and Ireland

Speaking to George A. Garrett, the United States ambassador to Ireland, on a visit by the diplomat to Archbishop’s House in Drumcondra, Dublin, on 22 January 1949, McQuaid, in contrast to some of his public and private statements we have already seen, was contemptuous of the strength of the communist movement in Ireland. In his subsequent report on the conversation to Washington, Garrett reported that McQuaid confidently asserted that the ‘humble people of this land were prepared to resist and fight any manifestations or encroachments’ of communism, pointing to the Irish response to the 1948 Italian elections. McQuaid identified one particular way through which the Irish communist movement could conceivably gain strength: though the Connolly Association in Britain.[1]

The political situation in Britain differed markedly to Ireland. In Ireland, FF, not Labour, enjoyed most support from the Irish Catholic working class, despite the latter’s ‘profoundly Christian’ language.[2] In Britain, paralleling the previously discussed situation in Australia, most Catholics of Irish origin who were working class voted Labour, despite it being notably more secular than its Irish counterpart. Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh has noted the impressive ‘list of notable Irish names (Irish-born or of Irish origin) in the van of trade union, working class political and radical movements from at least the second quarter of the nineteenth century’ in Britain,[3] while Delaney notes that ‘after 1945 the involvement of the Catholic Irish in the Labour Party was the principal form of Irish political activism in Britain’, with other groups like the Connolly Association gaining minimal support.[4] As prominent an observer as Benedict XVI has also observed that the British Labour Party ‘became the political party of the Catholics, who had never felt at home amongst either the Protestant conservatives or the liberals’. Benedict’s subsequent contention that ‘democratic

[1] Cronin, *Washington’s Irish policy, 1916-1986*, pp. 229-230.
[2] Niamh Puirséil,, ‘Catholic Stakhanovites? religion and the Irish Labour Party’ in Francis Devine, Fintan Lane and Niamh Puirséil (eds.), *Essays in Irish labour history: a festschrift for Elizabeth and John W. Boyle* (Dublin, 2008), p. 180
[3] Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, ‘A tangled legacy: the Irish “inheritance” of British labour’ in Laurence Marley (ed.), *The British Labour Party and twentieth-century Ireland: the cause of Ireland, the cause of labour* (Manchester, 2016), p. 26.
[4] Delaney, ‘Our island story?’, pp. 613-614.

socialism was and is close to Catholic doctrine'[5] did not chime with the English hierarchy's views at the time. While careful to emphasise that voting or joining Labour was not objectionable – the CPGB was the only party they regarded as anathema – the hierarchy and many members of the laity remained anxious about Labour, fearing that elements of the party were fellow-travellers to the communists.[6]

The Irish were also prominent in the CPGB from an early stage,[7] and, in Ireland itself, concerns about the vulnerability of Irish immigrants to recruitment by British communists was a frequent theme of clerical rhetoric. They reflected broader fears within the Irish Catholic Church, dating from the Victorian era, that, in Enda Delaney's words, the 'naive Irish newcomer' was vulnerable to losing his or her faith in the 'dangerous' environment of urban Britain'. In particular, the view that Irish Catholics in Britain were susceptible to 'coming under Communist influence' was a common one among Irish priests of the era, alongside wider fears about the Irish falling into lives of immorality.[8] These concerns re-emerged during the Second World War, with large numbers of Irish Catholic workers migrating to Britain to work in its war industries. [9] During the Emergency, it was speculated by many that the emigrant Irish would radically change Irish society on their predicted post-war return. While the Belfast poet John Hewitt believed that returning Irish people would bolster the support of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe, the wartime fascist party,[10] Alfred O'Rahilly's fear, expressed in a 1944 letter, that the return of 'a crowd of communised emigrants' from Britain would greatly strengthen Irish communism after the war's end was a more common one, and is echoed by many pronouncements by the Irish hierarchy in the Cold War era.[11] Lay Catholics also held such fears, as was expressed by the CTSI's *Handbook for the Catholic emigrant to England*. Written in the 1950s, the pamphlet described communism as being amongst a number of moral threats, alongside Protestantism and Freemasonry, which Irish Catholics would have to encounter and resist in Britain, and specifically warned against 'the Connolly Club' in this regard.[12]

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[5] Joseph Ratzinger and Marcello Pera, *Without roots: the west, relativism, Christianity, Islam* (New York, 2006), p. 72.
[6] Neil Riddell, 'The Catholic Church and the Labour Party, 1918-1931' in *Twentieth Century British History*, xiii, no. 2 (Jan., 1997), p. 171.
[7] Henry Pelling, *The British Communist Party: a historical profile* (2nd ed, London, 1975), p. 16.
[8] Delaney, *The Irish in post-war Britain*, pp 160-161. Also see Margaret H. Turnham, *Catholic faith and practice in England, 1779-1992: the role of revivalism and renewal* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2015), p. 126.
[9] Rafferty, *Violence, politics and Catholicism in Ireland*, p. 170.
[10] Clair Wills, *That neutral island: a cultural history of Ireland during World War Two* (London, 2008), p. 367.
[11] Gerard Madden, 'Catholic anti-communism from a Four Nations History Perspective', *Four Nations History Network*, 21 Mar. 2016, https://fournationshistory.wordpress.com/2016/03/21/catholic-anti-communism-from-a-four-nations-history-perspective/, accessed 18 Aug. 2017.
[12] Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, *Handbook for the Catholic emigrant to England* (Dublin, 1953), p. 20. (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 25, 'General Correspondence: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland'). Britain's non-Catholicism was frequently linked in Catholic polemics to its perceived susceptability to communism, Fr Desmond Mullan, an Irish priest

This chapter shall explore Catholic opposition to the Connolly Association. Firstly, it shall begin by examining early anxiety about the Connolly Clubs, as the Association was initially known, from the late 1930s onwards, before exploring Catholic opposition to the Connolly Association in the context of the broader anti-communism of the British Catholic Church and critical statements from the Irish hierarchy. The public dispute between Bishop Browne of Galway and the Connolly Association's *Irish Democrat* newspaper shall particularly be discussed here. It shall then discuss attempts by the CPGB and the Connolly Association to rebut these allegations, with Sean O'Casey a particular figure the CPGB's leadership turned to for advice in this regard. Moving on to explore the visits to Ireland by the prominent anti-communists Douglas Hyde and Hamish Fraser, it shall then explore how the Irish hierarchy, the Columban Order and the Legion of Mary liased to hinder the activities of the Connolly Association. Finally, it shall explore Irish Catholic responses to Britain's Trotskyist movement, and Catholic reponses to the visits to Ireland of George Thomson, a British communist with a keen interest in the Irish language.

The Connolly Association's early years

Contrary to Peter Berry's conviction that the organisation was founded in 1941,[13] the Connolly Clubs (later the Connolly Association, though opponents would continue to refer to it by its original title) were founded on 4 September, 1938, in the offices of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in Bloomsbury, London. Roddy Connolly, son of James Connolly, accepted the group's presidency, while its first Secretary was CPGB member Michael McInerney. Those behind its formation had been involved in a number of radical Irish groups in London, most notably *Irish Front*, a newspaper published by the London branch of the Republican Congress, a short-lived left-republican party formed in 1934. The paper continued to be published even after the Congress's dissolution, due to the efforts of Leslie Daiken, its Irish-Jewish editor. Daiken was amongst the first editorial board of the Association's newspaper, *Irish Freedom* (from January 1945, the *Irish Democrat*), which debuted in January 1939 and was initially edited by McInerney. Early contributors included the British Marxist historian T. A. Jackson, Seán O'Casey and Peadar O'Donnell. Membership was boosted with the return of Irishmen from the conflict in Spain, notably Bob Doyle and Ewart Milne.[14]

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based in the east of Scotland, attributing the strongly Calvinist ethos of his area to the active communist presence locally. Desmond Mullan, 'Remembering Scotland' in *The Furrow*, i, no. 1 (Feb., 1950), pp. 10-13.

[13] Document, 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee papers, P67/548).

[14] *Irish Freedom*, Feb. 1942; *Irish Democrat*, Jan. 1949, Greaves, *Reminiscences of the Connolly Association*, pp. 17-18; Katrina Goldstone, 'Leslie Daiken and Harry Kernoff' in John Cunningham and Emmet O'Connor (eds.), *Studies in Irish radical leadership: lives on the left* (Manchester, 2016), p. 201.

The Clubs were soon active in most of the main areas of Britain, and by early 1940 there were branches in areas including Wealdstone, Wellingborough, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Newcastle, Glasgow, Coatbridge and Portsmouth.[15] By 1941 it had founded additional branches in Bristol, Morecambe, Leigh and Gloucester, with 450 members including 160 in four London branches. While over a thousand members had joined during the year, half had returned to Ireland or moved to a part of Britain without a Connolly Club, diminishing its membership. *Irish Freedom* had a circulation of 11,000.[16] The same year, it gained a recruit who would become its most important member: Charles Desmond Greaves, a middle-class Birkenhead native and CPGB member of Ulster Protestant background. Greaves, who had sold the *Republican Congress* newspaper of the eponymous party in Irish areas of Liverpool in the 1930s, would become the Association's leading figure, immediately joining the Association's executive and the *Democrat*'s editorial board. He also headed its emigrants' advisory bureau, which gave everyday advice to Irish emigrants.[17] That it was seen as a more palatable way for the CPGB to reach the Irish community is revealed by a 1943 letter from Greaves to the Glasgow CPGB recommending that a planned meeting they were holding be held under Connolly Club auspices if possible, as Greaves felt it best that the party 'should not be in the forefront' when dealing with 'recent immigrants' from Ireland.[18]

The Connolly Association reflected the CPGB's shifting line on the Second World War, opposing British participation before the Soviet Union's entry in June 1941 but strongly supporting the Allied war effort thereafter, while still expressing criticism of partition.[19] Contrary to later accusations from Irish opponents, the Connolly Association did not call on Ireland to enter the war. Greaves at a 1942 meeting called on those present to 'give support to de Valera to preseve the neutrality of their country'.[20] On occasion *Irish Freedom* criticised the Irish government for being insufficiently 'anti-fascist', Greaves commenting that de Valera's failure to expel Axis diplomats, as demanded by the Allies, was 'deeply to be regretted' in 1944.[21] The paper sought to rally Irish Catholics in Britain behind the Soviet Union by portraying support for the country as a position a

[15] *Irish Freedom*, Feb. 1940.
[16] Metropolitan Police report on Connolly Clubs AGM, 21 Jan. 1942 (NAUK, KV2/3358, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[17] Coughlan, *C. Desmond Greaves*, pp. 3-4.
[18] Photostat letter from Greaves to Propaganda Department, CPGB Glasgow, 8 May 1943 (NAUK, KV2/3358, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[19] Greaves, *Reminiscences of the Connolly Association*, p. 18.
[20] Report by Metropolitan Police on Connolly Club meeting in Holborn Hall, London, 23 Dec. 1941 (NAUK, KV2/3358, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[21] *Irish Freedom*, Apr. 1944. Its criticisms of the wartime policies of de Valera's government contributed to its banning by Ireland's censor, Thomas Coyne, in March 1943, paralleling an earlier Northern Ireland ban. Coyne told Fianna Fáil Minister Frank Aiken, who oversaw censorship, that he believed *Irish Freedom* was subsidised by both the Soviet Union and Scotland Yard, which allegedly found it 'convenient to have politically-minded left-wing Irishmen grouped together in a single organisation whose activities can be easily supervised by the police'. Donal Ó Drisceoil, *Censorship in Ireland, 1939-1945: politics and society* (Cork, 1996), p. 197

devout Catholic could hold without contradicting their faith, drawing upon statements by Catholic clergy in Britain and the United States affirming this view.[22] Such arguments remained unconvincing to many Irish Catholics in Britain, hindering the Connolly Association's appeal.[23]

Given the prominence of CPGB members within it, the Connolly Association faced accusations it was communist from Britain's *Catholic Herald* immediately after its foundation.[24] *Irish Freedom* consequently claimed that Catholic clergy in Britain were contacting the police to harrass its sellers.[25] The *Standard* newspaper also criticised the Association during the war, in a prelude to many barbed attacks in the post-war period, quoting in 1943 a London priest who claimed communists were agitating amongst the London Irish even at social events organised for them by the Church. The article highlighted the *Democrat*'s alleged similarity to the Belfast communist periodical *Unity* and the fact it shared office space with the International Brigades' Association as evidence of its communism. Greaves explained the latter situation to the *Standard* by stating that 'several of their members were Irish ... we were in full sympathy with their aims even though we had nothing to do with their founding'. The *Standard*, predictably, was unconvinced, concluding by accusing the Connolly Association of spreading 'camouflaged communist propaganda'. [26]

Catholic anti-communism in Britain the early Cold War years

The previously surveyed anti-communism of the Irish Catholic Church was echoed in Britain. Paralleling other Christian denominations,[27] and influenced by Pope Pius XII's response to the compromised position of the Church in the Eastern Bloc, the post-war period saw the Catholic Church in Britain intensify its opposition to communism. Catholic anti-communism was deeply rooted in many parts of Britain, particularly in north-east England, where Dave Goodman, an International Brigader who worked in Middlesborough during and after the Second World War,

[22] *Irish Freedom*, Feb. 1943. Greaves, speaking in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, in 1943, 'spoke of the friendly relations which had always existed between Ireland and the USSR' Police note on meeting in Bull Ring, Birmingham, addressed by Greaves, 25 Apr. 1943 (NAUK, KV2/3358, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[23] One letter from a Lancashire *Irish Freedom* seller in 1943 described how its writer was finding sales 'difficult. Many Irish Catholics oppose aid to the Soviet Union until Ulster is given back, saying Britain and the USSR have no moral principles, being pagan countries, and that the British government are no better than the Nazis'. *Irish Freedom*, May. 1943.
[24] *Catholic Herald*, 10 Feb., 24 Feb., 3 Mar., 1939; *Catholic Herald*, 14 Feb. 1941, mentioned in Mo Moulton, *Ireland and the Irish in inter-war England* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 266.
[25] *Irish Freedom*, Jan. 1940, ibid, May. 1941.
[26] *Standard*, 17 Dec. 1943.
[27] For the anti-communism of the Church of England, see Kirby, 'Ecclesiastical McCarthyism', pp. 185-201. Motivated by developments such as the persecution of Protestants in China and Czechoslovakia, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was deeply hostile to communism in the post-war period, as its Special Commission on Communism, appointed in 1949, illustrated. The church retained its historic suspicion of the Catholic Church, claiming that communism was strongest in non-Protestant countries. E. W. McFarland and R. J. Johnston, 'The Church of Scotland's Special Commission on Communism, 1949-1954: tackling "Christianity's most serious competetor"' in *Contemporary British History*, xxiii, no. 3 (2009), pp 337-361.

recalled it as being 'a problem for the left'.[28] Twenty-four thousand people applied for tickets to a meeting protesting Mindszenty's jailing in London's Albert Hall in the late 1940s. A similar meeting had earlier been held to protest Stepinac's treatment.[29] Tito's later state visit to Britain in 1953 was a particular source of anger amongst British Catholics. Charles Petrie, a prominent British Catholic, told listeners to Radio Éireann in 1953 that 'as a communist, Marshal Tito persecutes the Church of Christ and her ministers at every opportunity'.[30] The anti-communism of British Catholicism took in a domestic as well as an international sphere, and in 1948 Cardinal Bernard Griffin of Westminster reaffirmed that Catholics were free to vote for any political party but the CPGB.[31] As historians of the CPGB Morgan Cohen and Flinn have noted, the party 'depended disproportionately on groups falling outside what has been constructed as a core "English" or loyalist British, majority of the population', and this cemented the view amongst the party's enemies that it was 'something alien, "artificial" and extraneous to British society'.[32] This was reflected in British Catholic portrayals of the CPGB, who were worried about the ideology's appeal to Catholic immigrants in Britain. The fear that "coloured workers" were susceptible to recruitment by the communist movement was a frequent theme of pastoral letters by the English and Welsh Catholic hierarchy of the period, for example. It is unsurprising that this anxiety extended to the Irish Catholic community in Britain also, given over 50,000 people from the Republic of Ireland moved to Britain every year in the 1950s.[33]

The increasingly vocal anti-communism of the Catholic Church in Britain and internationally was of concern to the CPGB in the post-war period. While asserting that 'no-one has the right to quarrel with Catholics for their religious beliefs', CPGB member Olive Parsons warned in *Communist Review*, a party journal, in January 1947 that a markedly anti-communist political Catholicism was increasingly exerting influence in Britain, instancing its perceived increase in influence over British foreign policy and its sponsoring of lay Catholic anti-communist groups in the trade unions as examples.[34] Keating notes that Catholic groups like ACTU enjoyed the silent gratitude of successive British governments and trade union leaderships for their anti-communist interventions in the unions, though they were hindered by an absence of the sustained episcopal interest Santamaria's 'Movement' enjoyed as well as the apathy of many Catholic trade unionists.[35]

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[28] Tom Sibley, 'Anti-communism: studies of its impact on the UK Labour movement in the early years (1945-1950) of the Cold War' (PhD, University of Keele, 2008), p. 39.
[29] Keating, 'Roman Catholics, Christian Democracy and the British labour movement, 1910-60', p. 239.
[30] Charles Petrie, 'Marshall Tito and the west' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* lxxix, no. 2 (Feb., 1953), p. 133.
[31] Aspden, *Fortress Church*, pp. 273-275.
[32] Kevin Morgan, Gidon Cohen and Andrew Flinn, *Communists and British society, 1920-1991* (London, 1997), p. 185.
[33] Aspden, *Fortress Church*, pp. 273-275.
[34] Olive Parsons, 'Catholics in politics and trade unions' in *Communist Review* (Jan., 1947), pp. 21-24 (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/IND/POLL/9/15).
[35] Keating, 'Roman Catholics, Christian Democracy and the British labour movement, 1910-60', pp. 310-312.

One study of Catholics in the London labour movement cited by her 'found Irish workers to be no more anti-Communist than their English counterparts, despite the extreme anti-Communism of their upbringing'.[36] Despite this, Catholic anti-communism remained a potentially potent force. The failure of CPGB MP Willie Gallacher, himself of Irish Catholic background, to retain his seat in Scotland's West Fife constituency in Britain's 1950 General Election – a major blow to the party, which also lost its sole other seat – was widely perceived as being caused by local opposition to Gallacher from Catholic clergy and laity. Gallacher commentated afterwards that he was 'defeated before polling began, the Catholics concentrated against me'.[37] Prior to the loss, the RUC noted that the Scottish CPGB had invited Betty Sinclair to campaign with them, as the Irish vote was seen as important in a number of Glasgow constituencies by the party.[38] O'Riordan, on a visit to the CPGB's 1951 Scottish Party Congress, was asked if the IWL could help 'Scots comrades in work amongst Catholics' – a request which ignored the fact that the the IWL itself had had little success in overcoming the challenge of Catholic anti-communism.[39]

Warnings from British anti-communists regarding the CPGB often featured in the Irish Catholic press. In an article entitled 'Communist organisations in Britain', John Brown, a British writer, informed readers of the *Rosary* in 1952 that while the CPGB's parliamentary success had receded, it still had the potential to wreak 'chaos and confusion' through its alleged heavy penetration of both Britain's civil service and trade unions, 'half of the trade union branches in Britain' supposedly having been infiltrated. Brown accused his fellow countrymen of docility on the matter, claiming that 'various voluntary bodies are doing what they can to arouse the public, but the Britisher has a history of melodrama and is inclined to treat rumours of spies and sabotage as exaggerations, just as he treated Hitler's speeches as jokes until the bombs came down'. [40]

The Connolly Association, the Irish Catholic hierarchy and the two states in Ireland

Echoing its wartime rhetoric, the *Standard* continued its opposition to the Connolly Association in the post-war years, noting in August 1947 the declaration of Bob Walsh, editor of Britain's *Catholic Worker*, that the Connolly Association was 'a Marxist trap for exiles'.[41] The Knights stated in 1948 that 'the social ties of the Clubs have a considerable appeal to emigrant Irishmen', and identified it as 'a centre for propagating the doctrines of Marx and Connolly among the working class'. 'It would

[36] Ibid, p. 363.
[37] Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow ,an uneasy peace: religious tension in modern Scotland* (Manchester, 1987), p. 230.
[38] RUC report on Sinclair, 29 Dec. 1949 (NAUK, KV2/2506, 'Betty Sinclair'),
[39] Executive Committee minutes, 6 Dec. 1951 (DCLA, CPI collection, Box 6, item 2). The Connolly Association itself continually failed to build a strong presence in Scotland. Greaves later attributed this to the fact it 'understood England but we did not understand Scotland'. Greaves, *Reminiscences of the Connolly Association*, p. 27.
[40] John Brown, 'Communist organisations in Britain' in *Irish Rosary*, lvi, nos 1-2 (Jan/Feb., 1952), pp. 9-13.
[41] *Standard*, 1 Aug. 1947.

have certain sinister reprecussions on us at home', the Knights continued, 'were any large-scale repatriation of these workers to take place'.[42] The CIB was also attentive to the Association, and noted in its first annual report that it had contacted Catholic trade unionists in Britain for information about it.[43]

These concerns were reflected at the top of the Irish hierarchy. Episcopal critics included Bishop Patrick O'Neill of Limerick, who asserted in a pastoral letter in 1948 that while 'many will doubtless think that in all this noise [about communism] there is nothing but an empty scare … it is well-known that our workers in Great Britain have been subjected to powerful propaganda to induce them to join Clubs under Communist control or direction. When these return home, if they do, it is scarcely to be hoped that they will be altogether free from the evil influences brought to bear on them'.[44] In an address at University College Galway in November 1948, which received widespread attention in the Irish press, Bishop Browne drew attention to a statement by the British Trade Union Congress condemning CPGB influence within the trade union movement which listed both the Connolly Association and *Irish Democrat* as 'subsidiary organisations' of the CPGB. He claimed that 'it is a fact that well-known communists are connected with this Association as founders and members of the Executive; it is also established that members of these clubs soon cease to go to the sacraments and to Mass'. Browne identified the *Irish Democrat* as having 'as its main object to infect Irish workers with the Communist Party-Line'. Accusing it of hijacking James Connolly's name – Browne asserting that the Easter Rising leader was a loyal Catholic – he cited its opposition to the Marshall Plan, its alleged opposition to Irish neutrality during the war, and its criticism of the Irish hierarchy's fundraising intervention in the 1948 Italian general election as examples of its communist sympathies.[45]

While the *Democrat* devoted a single sentence to Bishop O'Neill of Limerick's condemnation of the Association, merely noting his statement dispassionately,[46] a full page was set aside to respond to Bishop Browne's similar denunciation the following November. This decision was taken largely at the instigation of Pat Dooley. Greaves later claimed he felt the decision was a bad idea, but that Dooley had convinced the *Democrat*'s editorial board to outvote him on the matter.[47] In the article, headed 'My Lord Bishop', the paper emphatically insisted it had consistently

[42] 'The background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[43] Catholic Information Bureau first annual report, 1948 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).
[44] *Limerick Leader*, 9 Feb. 1948.
[45] *Irish Independent*, 9 Nov. 1948; *Cork Examiner*, 10 Nov. 1948; *Connacht Tribune*, 13 Nov. 1948.
[46] *Irish Democrat*, Mar. 1948.
[47] Greaves, *Reminiscences of the Connolly Association*, pp. 24-25.

supported Irish neutrality, and dismissed as disingenuous Browne's criticism of the Association's choice of name, noting that Connolly had had to write *Labour, nationality and religion* to rebuff clerical condemnations of socialism in his own era. It also queried Browne's criticism of the Association's opposition to the Marshall Plan, noting that the racist intimidation of the Ku Klux Klan and the anti-trade union Taft-Hartley Act both existed in the United States.[48] While Browne felt there was 'very little in it worth answering on first thoughts',[49] he was encouraged to write a reply to the letter by Peadar O'Curry of the *Standard*, who felt a short draft Browne forwarded to him was 'brilliant. These boys do not like to be pinned down'.[50] The letter prompted a remarkable direct exchange between the *Democrat* and Browne. When Browne wrote a letter to the *Democrat* repeating his earlier criticisms, the paper published it alongside a lengthy rebuttal from its Editorial Board which curtly informed Browne and his fellow clergy that 'the pulpit is not the place for politics'.[51] A subsequent letter by Browne compared the Church's contemporary opposition to communism to its opposition to charity-based Protestant proselytising efforts in Ireland in the nineteenth century, and stated that while the Church opposed unfettered capitalism, the free market system was 'infinitely superior to communism', while possessing 'defects'.[52] The *Democrat* declined to print a letter from Browne a second time, as Browne had asked that the letter be 'published at once, and threatened if this was not done to publish it elsewhere in the press', a reference to the *Standard*.[53] O'Curry also forwarded documents on the Connolly Association compiled by Bob Walsh to Browne, which gave a summation of the group's history.[54]

Browne's condemnations of the Connolly Association was lauded by some in the Irish community in Britain. One letter-writer from Blaby, Leicestershire, claimed that they had previously been invited to take part in a drama event organised by the Association, but left after the rehearsals took place in a room with a portrait of Stalin. The letter-writer lamented that the Irish government had not forthrightly condemned the 'vile' organisation.[55] Another writer from Walthamstow, London, styling themselves 'an Irish Catholic', claimed that many younger Irish people in Britain were ignorant of the Association's true politics, and asked Browne to urge Cardinal Griffin to have a

[48] *Irish Democrat*, Dec. 1948.
[49] Letter from Michael Browne to Peadar O'Curry, 13 Dec. 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189).
[50] Letter from Peadar O'Curry to Michael Browne, 30 Dec. 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189).
[51] *Irish Democrat*, Mar. 1949.
[52] Letter from Michael Browne to the *Irish Democrat*, 2 Mar. 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/191).
[53] *Irish Democrat*, May 1949.
[54] Letter from Peadar O'Curry to Michael Browne affixing Jan. azand Feb. issues of 'Fighting Facts' bulletin, 2 Mar. 1949 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189).
[55] Letter to Michael Browne from person with illegible signature, 12 Mar. 1949 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/191).

pastoral letter read in churches in England and Wales condemning it.[56] Browne also received criticism in the letter pages of the *Irish Democrat*. Stanley Cooke, a Belfast Presbyterian, stated Browne's energies would be better directed focusing on poverty in the west of Ireland,[57] while a M. Hanrahan from Yorkshire accused Browne of making 'fantastic statements' without any evidence to support them.[58] Browne's claim that 'socialist beliefs were incompatible with Catholic faith' in his exchanges with the *Democrat* were later deployed in CPGB attempts to refute Catholic anti-communism in Britain, notably against the Scottish Catholic Tory Colm Brogan. Gallacher, in a pamphlet challenging Brogan's arguments published by the CPGB's Scottish Committee in 1949, claimed that 'the Bishop of Galway is much more frank than you or other anti-communist Catholics in this country, and, when you are prepared to accept your politics from the Vatican State … you should be the last man to indulge in a nonsensical sneer about "orders from Moscow"'.[59] Pollitt used the quote from Gallacher's pamphlet mentioning Browne in 1951 at a Cambridge Union debate with Brogan on the motion 'the time has come to ban the Communist Party'. The motion was heavily defeated, Pollitt subsequently telling Gallacher that Browne's statement that one could not be a Catholic and a socialist had helped convince Labour Party supporters to oppose the motion.[60]

Others in the Irish hierarchy remained condemnatory of the Connolly Association. Noting that many from the parish had emigrated to Britain and the United States, Bishop Neil Farren of Derry warned in 1956 that 'It is not uncommon in big works in parts of England for men to set out to befriend the Irish in the hope of getting them to join organisations that are communistic and unChristian … their technique is that they encourage the young Irishman to be frivolous and spendthrift so that when it comes to the time of paying his union fees he has not the money at hand and the English friend pays them for him'.[61] Cardinal John D'Alton of Armagh declared the same year in a pastoral dedicated exclusively to the issue of communism that Irish communists 'are quick … to trade on names which are revered in the ranks of Irish labour. We know how the Clubs in Britain, established ostensibly to honour the memory of James Connolly, are used for the dissemination of communist doctrine among our emigrants'.[62] D'Alton's comments were dismissed by Pat Kilroy, Hon. Sec. of the Connolly Association's Manchester branch, who asserted that the prominent coverage the *Manchester Guardian* and the BBC gave to D'Alton's pastoral would not

[56] Letter from 'an Irish Catholic' to Michael Browne, 26 June. 1950 (GDA, Michael Browne papers, folder B/12/189).
[57] *Irish Democrat*, Apr. 1949.
[58] Ibid, May 1949.
[59] William Gallacher, *Mr. Brogan opens wide his mouth* (Glasgow, 1949), p. 12.
[60] Letter from Harry Pollitt to Willie Gallacher, 25 Apr. 1951 (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/CENT/INT/46/01).
[61] *Irish Press*, 23 Apr. 1956.
[62] Ibid, 13 Feb. 1956.

hurt the Association's support but only increase the number of people who had heard of it.[63] Bishop Cornelius Lucey of Cork hailed D'Alton's statement, assuring him privately that 'I notice in today's *Irish Times* that the Connolly men have issued a statement on your reference to them in the Pastoral. The most interesting thing in that statement is that they didn't deny their association with Communists or even that they were Communists'.[64] The Cork ecclesiastic was himself a vocal and frequent critic of the Connolly Association. In 1951, while cautioning that there was 'a regrettable tendency here to call people communists who were not really communists at all' and claiming that the number of communists in the country was 'negligible', he warned that 'communism may be forced upon us from outside'. Singling out the Connolly Association and *Irish Democrat*, he warned that 'they were only Irish and democratic in name. Their real allegiance was to Moscow, their real aim Communist dictatorship in England and here and their real interest not to remedy grievances but to make discontent and revolution'.[65] In 1959, at a sermon in Ballincollig, Co. Cork, he warned the congregation to avoid both the 'Trotskyites and Connolly Clubs', claiming that while in Ireland 'we have no communists in public life, though we have our few crypto-communists and fellow travellers, it is otherwise in England, where so many of our emigrants go'. Asserting that many members of the CPGB were of Irish ancestry and expressed support for the ending of partition, Lucey alleged that their concern for Ireland as an oppressed small nation was disingenuous, as they did not condemn the Soviet invasion of Hungary or the Chinese invasion of Tibet.[66]

The Connolly Association was also a concern for the Irish state. James Dillon repeatedly pressed subsequent Irish governments to condemn the Connolly Association for its communist links in Dáil Éireann, and his addresses to meetings of the AOH commonly included denunciations of the Connolly Association and the *Irish Democrat*.[67] Speaking in the Dáil in 3 June 1947, he noted that Pat Dooley had been a CPGB member, and that Arthur Horner, a leading CPGB figure, had addressed a Connolly Association meeting. Dillon was particularly concerned that the Association's condemnations of partition could win it support.[68] De Valera refused to definitively condemn the Connolly Association as communist when Dillon raised the matter again in the Dáil the following month: 'I would probably say they are. That would be my impression. But I do not want to say that

[63] Letter from Bishop Lucey to Cardinal D'Alton, undated, in response to D'Alton's 1956 statement (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 23, 'Connolly Association').
[64] Letter from Bishop Lucey to Cardinal D'Alton, 13 Feb. 1956 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 23, 'Connolly Association').
[65] *Irish Press*, 31 May 1951.
[66] *Irish Independent*, 21 Apr. 1959.
[67] For examples from Hibernian rallies, see *Donegal News*, 8 May 1948; *Irish Press*, 16 Aug. 1955; *Irish Independent*, 2 July 1956; *Cork Examiner*, 29 Apr. 1957.
[68] James Dillon, Dáil Éireann deb., cvi, no. 19, cols. 2332-3 (20 June. 1947). Also see Manning, *James Dillon*, p. 217.

here, definitely, until I have satisfied myself that they are'.[69] While de Valera's refusal to state categorically that the Connolly Association was communist did not confidently rule the idea out, the *Irish Democrat* trumpeted the Dáil exchange. Pat Clancy, the Connolly Association's secretary, asserted that: 'Mr de Valera's refusal to condemn the Connolly Association, as requested by Mr. Dillon, was a rebuff to these enemies of the Irish people'.[70] However, writing thirty years later, Greaves recalled the Dáil exchange as 'a grim presage' of the later anti-communist pressure the Association had to endure.[71]

Subsequent Irish governments felt more assured in replying in the affirmative when asked to condemn the Connolly Association in the Dáil. In 1954, FG backbencher Sir Anthony Esmonde tabled a question to his party colleague, Minister for External Affairs Liam Cosgrave, asking whether he was aware the Connolly Association was communist.[72] A handwritten report forwarded to Cosgrave by a Department of External Affairs official in response to the query asserted that, while Ireland's ambassador to Britain, Frederick Boland, had issued 'no definite statement' that the Association were communist, it had been condemned as such by the *Standard*, members of the Irish hierarchy, and Dillon, who was now FG Minister for Agriculture. While advising Cosgrave to label the Association as being communist-controlled, the reply queried whether it was in Cosgrave's remit to condemn an organisation 'functioning in a foreign country'.[73] A typed memorandum informed Cosgrave that the Department held a file of newspaper clippings detailing condemnations of the Association by Browne and Lucey. The reply noted Dooley's and Greaves's memberships of the CPGB, and advised Cosgrave to regard the *Democrat*'s claim it had a circulation of 24,000 copies as greatly exaggerated.[74] In his ultimate response, Cosgrave advised Esmonde that 'it would appear that the Clubs referred to by the Deputy are Communist controlled. As the Deputy is no doubt aware, certain Irish Catholic bishops have, from time to time, warned young people taking up employment in Britain against joining the Connolly Clubs'. Cosgrave went on to endorse the hierarchy's condemnations.[75]

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[69] James Dillon, Dáil Éireann deb., cvii, no. 7, cols. 787-91 (3 July. 1947).
[70] *Irish Democrat*, Aug. 1947.
[71] Greaves, *Reminiscences of the Connolly Association*, p. 19.
[72] Copy of parliamentary question tabled by Anthony C Esmonde, with draft response (NAI, DFA, 5/340/12/179, 'Esmonde, 10-11-54, Connolly Clubs').
[73] Handwritten note to Cosgrave from official, 9 Nov. 1954 (NAI, DFA, 5/340/12/179, 'Esmonde, 10-11-54, Connolly Clubs').
[74] Note for Minister's information (NAI, DFA, 5/340/12/179, 'Esmonde, 10-11-54, Connolly Clubs'). For file of cuttings detailing episcopal condemnation of the Connolly Association, see NAI, JUS/8/958, 'Connolly Association: press cuttings'.
[75] Liam Cosgrave, Dáil Éireann deb., cxlvii, no. 4, col. 454-6 (10 Nov., 1954).

Cosgrave's FF successor as Minister for External Affairs, Frank Aiken, was similarly condemnatory when Esmonde again asked the government in 1958 to 'bring the dangers of joining those Clubs to the notice of Irish nationals in England, particularly in the London area'.[76] Noting that Aiken was already 'well acquainted' with the Connolly Association's activities, a draft note advised that Esmonde's query had been largely covered in Cosgrave's 1954 response. It noted that the *Democrat*'s circulation had 'fallen substantially' since 1950, and now was 9,000 'at the maximum', compared with a possible height of 20,000 a few years earlier.[77] In his response, Aiken asserted that the 'great majority of Irish men and women resident in England refuse to have anything to do' with the Association, and identified Irish government support for non-communist Irish anti-partition and cultural organisations as the best means of stemming its growth.[78] Unsurprisingly, given its republican socialism, Northern Ireland's government also opposed the Connolly Association. When the Anglican Bishop of Manchester wrote to Northern Ireland Prime Minister Basil Brooke in 1961 regarding a handbill issued by the Connolly Association which claimed that an Official Unionist Party candidate had attacked rival unionist candidates by alleging they had hired Catholics,[79] Brooke noted that 'the Connolly Association is an organisation which is suspected in Great Britain on Communist activities and has been condemned by all shades of political and Church opinion, north and south'.[80]

Connolly Association and CPGB responses to Irish anti-communism

While the predominantly working class nature of the Irish Catholic community in Britain and a shared opposition to the partition of Ireland meant they were a seemingly natural constituency for the CPGB to recruit from, the Catholicism of the Irish meant that they were instead arguably the most reliably anti-communist element of the working class in Britain, even if some exceptions to the rule existed. The phenomenon of Irish migrants in Britain being radicalised and joining the CPGB was genuine, but confined to a very small subset of the Irish in Britain. For the CPGB, the Connolly Association proved a useful gateway to the Irish in Britain, providing, in Morgan, Cohen and Flinn's words 'a vehicle for socialist republicanism under communist direction'.[81] Patrick Smylie endorses this viewpoint, arguing that the envisioning of 'CA integration within British communism while

[76] Copy of parliamentary question tabled by Anthony C Esmonde, with draft response (NAI, DFA, 5/340/12/179/1, 'Esmonde, 27-2-58, Connolly Clubs').
[77] 'Esmonde, 27-2-58, Connolly Clubs', note sent to Aiken by official, 26 Feb. 1958 (NAI, DFA, 5/340/12/179/1).
[78] Frank Aiken, Dáil Éireann deb., clxv, no. 6, col. 917-9 (27 Feb. 1958).
[79] Letter from the Bishop of Manchester to the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Basil Brooke, 14 June 1961 (PRONI, HA/32/1/1366A, 'Connolly Association').
[80] Letter from the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland Basil Brooke to the Bishop of Manchester, 21 June 1961 (PRONI, HA/32/1/1366A, 'Connolly Association').
[81] Morgan, Cohen and Flinn, *Communists and British Society*, pp. 196-202.

leaving scope for distinction between the two is closer to reality than bipolar disputes about the exertion or complete absence of CPGB domination suggest'.[82] This is supported by a 1953 report by the CPGB's International Department submitted to its Political Committee, which asserted both that the majority of the membership was non-communist, and that the Association and the *Democrat* were the party's best means of conducting 'broad work' amongst the Irish community in Britain.[83] Special Branch identified Greaves as central to the CPGB's influence within the Association, noting in 1951 that he had been 'made responsible for party work' within it.[84]

Indeed, rather than the Connolly Association being entirely subservient to the CPGB, relations between Irish members of the CPGB and Connolly Association activists were sometimes tense. Many, including Brian Behan, felt that the Association should be wound down, and the fact that some Connolly Association members insisted on selling the *Irish Workers' Voice* instead of the *Daily Worker* prompted brawls between Connolly Association and CPGB members.[85] George Matthews, a leading CPGB member, emphasised to Greaves in 1951 that the Association 'was not the British branch of the Irish party' and hence was not bound to follow IWL policy.[86] There were tensions even between CPGB members within the Connolly Association. The IWL's Neil Goold-Verschoyle, who moved to Britain in the 1950s, claimed in 1956 that Greaves was personally profiting from sales of the *Irish Democrat*, claims which prompted Greaves to attempt to have Goold-Verschoyle expelled from the Association.[87]

In order to deal with the challenge of Catholic anti-communism, CPGB leader Harry Pollitt and the party's Political Committee sought in 1948 the advice of local CPGB districts and prominent figures associated with the party on the issue, many of whom were Irish or of Irish ancestry. Indicating he was 'seriously concerned at the rise of Roman Catholic political activity everywhere, and particularly in this country', he asked Seán O'Casey, a regular *Irish Democrat* contributor, for advice on formulating a response which would 'not alienate Roman Catholics, but rather make them see the danger of what their own leaders are doing'.[88] O'Casey urged the CPGB to take a combative stance, warning that any attempt by the CPGB to push back against Catholic anti-communism would be 'impossible' without 'alienating' some Catholics.[89] After the exchange, O'Casey was privately withering of what he saw as the CPGB's failure to appreciate the potency of Catholic anti-

[82] Smylie, 'Irish communism', p. 113.
[83] 'The Situation in Ireland, 30/4/'53' (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/CENT/PC/02/File 14).
[84] Note on Greaves, 28 Aug. 1952 (NAUK, KV2/3360, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[85] Smylie, 'The CPGB, the Connolly Association and Irish communism', p. 9.
[86] Transcript of MI5 recording, 18 Oct. 1951 (NAUK, KV2/3360, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[87] Copy of Special Branch report, 16 Oct. 1956 (NAUK, KV2/3362, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[88] Letter from Harry Pollitt to Seán O'Casey, 26 Apr. 1948 (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/IND/POLL/9/15).
[89] Letter from Seán O'Casey to Harry Pollitt, 26 Apr. 1948 (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/IND/POLL/9/15).

communism and what he perceived as its timid attitude to the Church, complaining to friend Jack Daly that: 'The fear of giving offence to "Catholic workers" is an obsession with them … Harry evidently thinks he knows more about Catholicism than he does. They should have a special library dealing with the Vatican & all its works & pomps'.[90] O'Casey viewed *Labour, nationality and religion* as being of limited use, subsequently telling Pollitt that 'Connolly really didn't understand the C. Faith, either in theory or practice, and he wrote always under the shadow of clerical domination'. O'Casey further argued that attempts by the Church to sanitise Connolly had made his writings redundant, claiming that 'if any worker quoted Connolly to a cleric' he would be sympathetically told that Connolly's 'more extreme views that he might have held, had been repented of, and forgiven' before his death.[91]

Pollitt also consulted leading Connolly Association figures, notably Greaves, who had become editor of the *Irish Democrat* in January 1948 in order to reverse the paper's fortunes at a time when its sales were slumping from a wartime height.[92] Greaves counselled that the CPGB not see the Catholic community in Britain as a 'homogenous reactionary mass', and should instead 'rally the democratic forces within the Catholics'. Noting that the most obvious divide amongst British Catholics was that of class, Greaves further asserted that the division between English and Irish Catholics was also important. While acknowledging that neither community was a homogenous block, Greaves suggested that British Catholics were 'in the main better off', while the Irish Catholic community in Britain, which he estimated as roughly 800,000 strong, or representing a quarter of the Catholic population, were more likely to be split off as a 'democratic reserve', given the existence of an 'unsolved national problem' amongst them. Greaves further subdivided the Irish community in Britain into the 'new Irish and 'old Irish'. The 'new Irish' consisted of 400,000 migrants who had come to Britain since 1924. Of these, Greaves identified the 200,000 who had come since 1945 as 'less bitterly nationalistic and more open to progressive ideas than the older ones. The *Irish Democrat* circulates almost exclusively amongst these newer sections of the "new" Irish. Irish affairs are very much alive to them and they have a direct influence on Irish politics by going backwards and forwards between the 2 countries'. In contrast, Greaves defined the 'old Irish' as those who emigrated prior to 1924. These, while mostly voting Labour, were more conservative and, 'beyond a vague embittered nationalism', had 'little Irish left about them' expect their Catholicism. Hence, Greaves claimed that the Anti-Partition League's strength in Britain was 'largely a consequence' of its clerical support.

[90] David Krause, (ed.) *The letters of Seán O'Casey, 1942-54, vol. II* (New York, 1980), pp. 520-521.
[91] Ibid, p. 541.
[92] Coughlan, *C. Desmond Greaves*, p. 6.

In contrast to O'Casey, Greaves suggested that the CPGB publish *Labour, nationality and religion*, arguing that it would win much sympathy amongst Catholics by simultaneously defending the right of Catholics to practice their religion while denying the clergy's right to interfere in politics, a strategy that would underpin his perspective in coming years. Noting the case of a Corkman who was denounced by a priest as a socialist, he suggested that ordinary Catholics write to the local Bishop in protest, noting that 'many Irish Catholics were disgusted by the collecting of £40,000 to go to Italy while people are living in penury and one wrote us a letter'. Catholics, he urged, should be openly invited to join the CPGB, identifying campaigns surrounding peace and nuclear disarmament as areas where communists could find common ground with Catholic organisations. He concluded by recommending that the CPGB publish a brief statement rebutting Catholic arguments against communism: 'We might even distribute it at church doors after mass. The thing to remember is that those who attend mass are often in mental conflict with it. Many of them hate the restriction, the mental slavery and mumbo-jumbo and will take no notice of a priest who says "don't buy it"'. Greaves added that 'the approach of our sellers must be VERY modest and friendly', illustrating his caution in responding to Catholic anti-communist allegations.[93]

Pat Devine, a prominent CPGB and Connolly Association member also approached by Pollitt, urged the CPGB to ensure that Catholic anti-communist clerics from the Pope down 'be exposed and denounced in our press and by our speakers'. Alongside this, he emphasised that instances of cooperation between the Church and communist governments in Eastern Europe's 'new democracies' be highlighted. Devine also advocated that the Church's alleged attempts to claim ownership of Connolly's name be challenged, urging them to publish extracts from the Irish Catholic press in 1916 'showing how they called for Jim Connolly's life.'[94] These debates influenced the editorial policy of the *Democrat*, which serialised *Labour, nationality and religion* over several issues in 1949.[95]

The activities of Douglas Hyde and Hamish Fraser

In Britain, lay Catholics, too, were aware of the perceived threat the Connolly Association posed. Douglas Hyde, a former news editor at the CPGB's *Daily Worker* whose conversion to Catholicism in 1948 made him an internationally known anti-communist propagandist, was a prominent English lay Catholic opponent of the Connolly Association. Hyde, who was born in 1911 and reared in a Methodist, 'liberal-nonconformist' background near Bristol, was no relation of his better known Irish

[93] Letter from C. Desmond Greaves to Harry Pollitt, 28 Apr. 1948 (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/IND/POLL/9/15).
[94] Letter from Pat Devine to Harry Pollitt, undated (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/IND/POLL/9/15).
[95] For examples, see *Irish Democrat*, June 1949; Nov. 1949.

namesake Douglas Hyde, the Gaelic Revivalist and first President of the Irish Free State. Despite his background, his life saw him embrace in turn the 'two great anathemas of the nonconformist conscience – communism and Roman Catholicism'. An interest in Indian nationalism – he had once considered becoming a Methodist missionary there – led him to join the CPGB in 1928, and for almost two decades he was a committed member. As Kevin Morgan has observed, 'it was just the issues that first drew him to communism – war, notably, and state oppression – that also provided the basis for his later revulsion from it'. When tasked by the *Daily Worker*, whose staff he joined in 1940, to write a series of articles in 1943 on the supposed 'fascist' sympathies of *The Weekly*, a journal associated with the English Catholic intellectuals G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, Hyde, who had a fascination with medieval art, instead found himself attracted to the publication's Catholic aesthetic. He also came to admire Catholic social teaching, and disillusionment with Soviet foreign policy in Europe triggered his break with the CPGB and conversion to Catholicism.[96]

Shortly after his conversion, Hyde commenced his period as an anti-communist campaigner. He soon authored a pamphlet, *Communism from the inside*, which, arguing that the Catholic Church was 'the only possible alternative to Communism', warned that communists could come to power in Britain 'just as it happened in Eastern Europe'.[97] The most significant of Hyde's works was 1950's *I believed*, an account of his journey from communism to Catholicism.[98] The book – which reputedly sold 3,000 copies a day on release – was 'framed explicitly as part-continuation part-repost' to 1949's *The god that failed*, a collection of essays by six former communists from Britain, continental Europe and the USA which gained significant attention in the early Cold War.[99] *I believed* was part of a broader tradition of ex-communist memoirs in the post-war era typified by *The God that failed*; as the foreword to the latter book's 2001 edition notes, 'the trajectory from Depression-era communist to postwar anti-communist was a common, even "banal", one'. Many of these former communists were given 'a newfound Cassandra role' after their political transition, as they were seen as being 'uniquely placed' to make a contribution to the struggle against communism, given their past.[100] Hyde differed from other former communists like Arthur Koestler in his embrace of

[96] Kevin Morgan, 'Douglas Hyde – campaigner and journalist', in Keith Gildart and David Howell (eds), *Dictionary of Labour Biography, xiii* (London, 2010), pp. 162-166.
[97] Douglas Hyde, *Communism from the inside* (London, 1948), pp. 3-6.
[98] Douglas Hyde, *I believed* : *the autobiography of a former British communist* (London, 1950).
[99] Gidon Cohen, 'Political religion and British communism,' in *Twentieth Century Communism*, no. 2 (2010), pp. 199-200.
[100] R. H. S. Crossman (ed.) *The God that failed* (New York, 2001), p. xxiv.

Catholicism, a point highlighted by the title of *I believed*'s twenty-fourth chapter, 'The God that did not fail', an 'explicit intertextual reference' to the acclaimed book.[101]

In writing *I believed*, Hyde was likely influenced by Louis Budenz, a partly Irish-American communist who returned to his childhood faith in 1945 and promptly published *This is my story*, an autobiographical account of his communist activities and subsequent Catholic reversion, which was soon published in Ireland. The book claimed that while the Communist Party USA tended to view Irish-Americans as 'hopelessly committed to reaction and superstition' – as party leader William Z. Foster, himself Irish-American, allegedly claimed to Budenz – it nonetheless frequently referred to figures like Connolly and Fintan Lalor in its rhetoric. Its attempts to recruit amongst the Irish community were confined to cooperating with the Kerry-born New York trade union leader Mike Quill,[102] though the Archdiocese of New York was swiftly alerted by the CIB of attempts to set up an American Connolly Association in 1953.[103]

Indicative of the early attention Hyde received in Ireland is Peter McKevitt's hope that his early work *The answer to communism*, which highlighted alleged communist infiltration of the trade union and anti-war movements, would 'circulate among all classes of the community'.[104] In a July 1949 article, Hyde claimed in the *Catholic Herald* that several leading British communists had visited Ireland in recent months. Hyde argued that the only people who showed an interest in Irish people coming to Britain were 'the members of the crypto-Communist Connolly Association selling their papers outside the church or cathedral. And all too often, too, their first friends are made in Communist circles as a consequence'.[105] His departure and anti-communist campaigning was taken seriously by leading communists, Devine warning Pollitt that the CPGB should not underestimate Hyde's impact.[106]

In the 1950s Hyde built links with Irish Columban priests sent to Britain to minister amongst the Irish community. The order's Irish head, Timothy Connolly, wrote to him in 1955 to praise a *Catholic Herald* column Hyde had written criticising the Connolly Association. Hyde noted in response that he felt it important that the communist nature of the Connolly Association be repeatedly emphasised, claiming that the *Irish Democrat* was being sold outside many churches in

[101] Jean-Christophe Murat, 'From the Kremlin to the Vatican: going over twice in Douglas Hyde's *I believed, the autobiography of a former British communist* (1950)', *E-rea*, viii, no. 2 (2011), http://erea.revues.org/1538, accessed 21 Feb. 2017.
[102] Louis F. Budenz, *This is my story* (Dublin, 1947), pp. 215-219.
[103] Catholic Information Bureau, sixth annual report, 1951 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[104] Peter McKevitt, 'The answer to communism – Douglas Hyde' in *Christus Rex*, iii, no. 3 (July, 1949), pp. 82-83.
[105] Syndicated by *Tuam Herald*, 15 July 1949; 22 July 1949.
[106] Letter from Pat Devine to Harry Pollitt, undated (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/IND/POLL/9/15).

Britain with permission granted by parish priests ignorant of its politics. Hyde agreed to meet with Aedan McGrath, a prominent Columban in Britain, alongside other Columban priests sent by McQuaid to London in 1955 to discuss their efforts to combat communism, offering to help McGrath combat the Connolly Association 'some more through my column if we can work out some kind of campaign'.[107]

Hyde also frequently visited Ireland on his lecture tours, and the presence of Irish Catholics in the communist movement in Britain was a recurring theme of his talks. Indicative of this is Hyde's February 1956 speaking tour of Northern Ireland, during which he met Cardinal D'Alton in Armagh.[108] Hyde gave a lecture on 'Why men become communists' in the Parochial Hall in Armagh on the culmination of the tour. Hyde commenced the talk by dramatically claiming that 'at almost exactly the precise time that I am speaking to you here' a meeting was taking place in Marx House, the CPGB's London headquarters. The meeting, Hyde continued, consisted of 'all those communists who are working among Irish workers in Britain, and it is unique because it is intended as a prelude to the biggest campaign the Party has yet organised to convert Irish workers in Britain to communism. The Connolly Association is being represented there'. Hyde argued that the proposed drive came about because the CPGB anticipated that if a large scale recession took place in Britain 'large numbers of Irish workers would then be returning to Ireland. The party wishes to ensure that among them will be a high proportion of Communists'. The meeting was prominently reported in Ireland's newspapers the following day.[109] Addressing a 'full house attendance' in Crescent College, a Jesuit secondary school in Limerick City, a year later, Hyde warned that 'it required courage to be a good Catholic in England as the climate of opinion was different there'. He painted lapsed Catholics as being susceptible to communist recruitment, as 'anybody who lost their religion was living in a vacuum and the self-consciousness within him sought a faith'. Having previously mentioned that 'the average age of a communist party member in Britain … was under 28 years', Hyde warned, in response to an audience question on the Connolly Association, that 'any Irish boys and girls going to Britain should beware of the Connolly Association. The name of Connolly … was revered in Ireland, but over in Britain it was used in a different context'. The meeting concluded with the city's mayor, Ald. G. E. Russell, proposing a vote of thanks.[110]

[107] Letter from Douglas Hyde to Timothy Connolly, 9 Aug. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/743).
[108] *Irish Times*, 18 Feb. 1956.
[109] *Irish Independent*, 20 Feb. 1956. Also see *Cork Examiner*, 20 Feb. 1956, *Irish Press*, 20 Feb. 1956, *Irish Times*, 20 Feb. 1956.
[110] *Limerick Leader*, 11 Feb. 1957.

Hyde also regularly spoke at the DICS. He was amongst the speakers at its second Social Studies Congress, held from Monday 18 June to Monday 25 June 1956, which was themed as 'The new world order – the answer to communism'. Declaring that the congress was but a part of the Church's broader challenge to communism, McQuaid told delegates that they were engaged in a combat of ideas with the ideology, and must endeavour of assess its basic doctrines.[111] From Tuesday 1 to Friday 4 January, 1963, the DICS held a 'red week', organised by Hyde, which consisted of 'a special series of lectures on the theory and practice of communism for teachers and educators'. Its reading list consisted chiefly of articles by Hyde, alongside Pope Pius XI's *Divini Redemptoris* and other writers such as Milovan Djilas, a former member of Tito's government who had split with the communist leader and become a prominent Yugoslav dissident, and Ignace Lepp, a French-Estonian ex-communist who became a priest after converting to Catholicism,[112] and, like Hyde, wrote a propagandistic memoir detailing his experiences.[113] The *Irish Times*, which reported on each day of the lectures, highlighted Fehily's claim that 'it was essential that every assessment' of the strength of Irish communism 'be verified before making it public' as communists had allegedly used higher estimates of their strength to gain publicity.[114]

In the Catholic press, Hyde focused on the threat communism posed to Irish Catholic migrants. Writing in the *Catholic Herald* in 1958, he asserted that communists were hoping that a British recession would send communised Irishmen in Britain home to Ireland, declaring that he envisaged that 'overnight the party will be established in every part of the country and communism will be taken by Ireland's own sons and daughters to every town and village'.[115] In a 1959 article in *The Furrow*, Hyde observed that Catholic anti-communism in Britain 'inevitably takes on an Irish character', claiming that a quarter of the CPGB's Executive Committee 'are either lapsed Catholics or are people who, with Irish names, may be assumed to have Irish antecedents of some sort'. In Hyde's view, Irish communist recruits did not always join the CPGB due to a 'moral problem', dismissing the idea held by 'some priests' that 'when a man joins the Communist Party there must of necessity be a woman – maybe in the shape of a bad marriage – somewhere in the picture'. While noting that many Irishmen became communists through contact with CPGB members in strikes, Hyde identified the CPGB's unequivocal opposition to partition as the main appeal of the party to

[111] *Irish Independent*, 11 June and 25 June 1956, quoted in Connolly, 'The "red scare" in 1950s Dublin', p. 16.
[112] Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology, "Red Week", January 1st-4th, 1963',
'https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2012/03/13/dublin-institute-of-catholic-sociology-red-week-january-1st-4th-1963/, accessed 8 Sept. 2017.
[113] Ignace Lepp, *Itinéraire de Karl Marx à Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1955).
[114] *Irish Times*, 2 Jan. 3 Jan. 4 Jan. 5 Jan. 1963.
[115] *Catholic Herald*, 4 July 1958. Many thanks to my friend, Dr. Maggie Scull of King's College London, for forwarding me this reference.

Irishmen, noting that 'its un-British character is used as a stick with which to beat it. This may turn many Englishmen against it but it tends only to recommend it to a nationalistic Irishman'. Hyde emphasised that the Connolly Association was the pathway for many Catholics to join the CPGB, noting that the *Irish Democrat*'s emphasis on partition and its 'relatively mild' criticisms of the Church, which 'probably go no further – although they may have a different content – than criticisms which he himself was making before he left Ireland', largely appealed to prospective recruits. Hyde warned that there should not be an overemphasis on the Connolly Association as a pathway of recruitment into the CPGB, noting that many Irish people joined the CPGB directly.[116]

Apart from Hyde, other converts from communism to Catholicism also gained attention in Ireland, including Tom Keep, a London dockworker and former CPGB member who was received into the Church by McQuaid in 1955.[117] Hamish Fraser, a Scottish International Brigade veteran and CPGB member who left the Party in 1945 and, in 1948, became an outspoken Catholic opponent of communism and supporter of Franco, was another noted example.[118] Fraser's articles soon appeared in Irish religious periodicals. In 1949 he claimed in the *Rosary* that communists had gained a strong foothold in British trade unionism, partly through 'Catholic sloth' within trade unions and partly because the CPGB, whose inter-war activism had focused on the unemployed, gained a foothold in the factories when large numbers of its members volunteered for war work after 1941.[119] Writing in the Maynooth Catholic lay organisation Vexilla Regis's journal in 1951, he claimed that 'the first allegiance of the ordinary Catholic working man in Britain is not the Church but the Labour Party, to vote against which is considered almost a mortal sin'. 'The tragedy of British Catholicism', he noted, was that 'the pristine vigour of the Irish immigrants has been sapped by the enervating secular climate of twentieth century Britain'.[120] In his main work, *Fatal Star* – a disjointed and more tendentious version of *I believed* – he identified the work of the Irish Legion of Mary as influencing his conviction, heavily emphasised in the book's later chapters, that Marian devotion was the most effective answer to communism.[121] The *Rosary* warmly welcomed the book's focus on Marianism and praise of the Legion, but was cooler about Fraser's assertion that British Catholics were not sufficiently 'pulling their weight' to challenge communism within trade unions, noting that while

[116] Douglas Hyde, 'Why Irishmen become communists' in *The Furrow*, x, no. 6 (June, 1959), pp. 367-370.
[117] *Standard*, 8 July 1955.
[118] Gallagher, *Glasgow, the uneasy peace*, p. 230.
[119] Hamish Fraser, 'Communism from within' in *Irish Rosary*, liii, nos. 9-10 (Sept/Oct., 1949), pp. 267-270. The *Rosary* misprinted Hamish's first name as Stanish, but the article is clearly from Hamish Fraser, given the references to the author's communist past in Scotland in the 1930s.
[120] Hamish Fraser, 'Where is Britain going?' in *Vexilla Regis*, i, no. 1 (1951), pp. 77-79, available at *Lux Occulta*, 16 Jan. 2011, https://lxoa.wordpress.com/2011/01/16/vexilla-regis-maynooth-laymens-annual-1951/, accessed 13 Sept. 2017.
[121] Hamish Fraser, *Fatal Star* (Glasgow, 1954), pp. 176-177.

there was 'some truth' to Fraser's claims, many Catholics would chafe at hearing criticism from a recent convert.[122]

Fraser was also an occasional contributor to *Christus Rex*, writing articles on communism predominantly drawn on his own experiences in the CPGB and the International Brigades,[123] and was a regular visitor to Ireland. Speaking at a meeting of Vexilla Regis in 1952, he asserted that communism was a 'Messianic religion', which, in Britain, was particularly attractive in winning the allegiance of Jews and 'apostate Catholics'. Identifying ignorance and indifference as the primary reason which lead to Catholics becoming communists, Fraser argued that the initiation of a 'virile Catholic apostate' involving workers, priests and intellectuals could potentially lead to communism becoming as 'irrelevant and as much forgotten as the Aryan heresy today'.[124] Fraser also told attendees at a Maria Duce conference in the Mansion House in October 1952 that Ireland had the 'terrifying' responsibility, due to its Catholicism, 'in becoming the instrument for the salvation of the Western world if she was to save herself'. Fahey, who was present, led attendees in reciting the rosary at the meeting's outset.[125] In 1956, Fraser told an audience in St Columba's Hall, Derry, that the 'Connolly Clubs in Britain existed for the express purpose of seducing Irishmen from the faith, and involving them in the Communist Party', though he felt that they had had little success outside London.[126]

McQuaid, the Columbans and the Legion of Mary

The need for Catholic Action work amongst the Irish community in Britain was an increasing concern within the Church in the post-war era, and was often tied to the need to combat the Connolly Association. Drawing upon an article by Fr Eugene Hopkins of Britain's Young Catholic Workers, which asserted that the Connolly Association, while 'not so great now', had the potential to recruit amongst Irish workers in the post-war era, *Christus Rex*'s 'Vigilans' columnist, a frequent critic of the Connolly Association,[127] asked in 1948 if the Church 'was doing as much as we can do for our workers in England'. It highlighted the need amongst Irish workers in Britain for 'decent lodgings at a reasonable charge' as an issue priests should take action on.[128] *Christus Rex* subsequently

[122] E. M. H., '*Fatal Star* by Hamish Fraser' in *Irish Rosary*, lx, nos 1-2 (Jan/Feb., 1956), pp. 63-64.
[123] Hamish Fraser, 'Social democracy, unemployment and communism' in *Christus Rex*, xiii, no. 1 (Jan., 1954), pp. 30-39; ibid; 'The Spanish Civil in ibid, x, no. 2 (Apr., 1956), pp. 140-143.
[124] *Irish Independent*, 10 Mar. 1952.
[125] Clipping of *Irish Independent*, 27 Oct. 1952 (NAI, DFA, 5/380/10, 'Maria Duce organisation').
[126] *Irish Press*, 11 Apr. 1956.
[127] See, for instance, 'Vigilans', 'Our socialist contemporary' in *Christus Rex*, i, no. 4 (Oct., 1947), pp. 62-63.
[128] 'Vigilans', 'Connolly Clubs' in *Christus Rex* ii, no. 1 (Jan., 1948), pp. 68-69.

published an expanded version of Hopkins' article, the priest emphasising that the Irish Catholic community in Britain was the responsibility of the Catholic Church in both countries.[129]

The condition of the Irish Catholic community in Britain – particularly as it became clear that members of the Irish community were not returning home after the war – and the presence of communism in Ireland were two leading anxieties for McQuaid in the era, and they also saw much overlap. During the post-war period, a number of Irish priests and lay Catholic activists in Britain reported directly to McQuaid, who took a leading role, in cooperation with bishops on both sides of the Irish Sea, in organising missions amongst the Irish community in Britain. [130] In this, he turned to the Legion of Mary. The Legion had been active in China, and it was no coincidence McQuaid selected Aedan McGrath, a member of the Columban Order who had been imprisoned by China's communist government for promoting the organisation, to head the Legion's efforts amongst Britain's Irish community. Writing to Cardinal Griffin in 1955, McQuaid noted that 'because of his extraordinary knowledge of the communist technique, Father McGrath could counter the activity of the Connolly Clubs. These agencies are, in considerable part, responsible for alienating our people from the clergy and are working, we know specifically, on city and town emigrants to prepare them for agitation in England, and when occasion will demand in Ireland'.[131] Griffin promptly praised Griffin in a pastoral letter, appealing to 'our English families to show hospitality and friendship to our Irish brethren'.[132] Confronting the perceived threat of communism became a leading focus of the Columbans in their work amongst the Irish community there. This was reflected by Patrick O'Connor who, on a rare return visit to Ireland, emphasised that communism was a threat in Ireland just as it was in Asia. Noting the visits of CPGB figures to Ireland, O'Connor asserted that communist attempts at 'the conquest of Ireland' would come through Britain.[133]

Communism joined other perceived moral threats, notably alcoholism, as a theme of reports sent back to Dublin by its Legionnaires in Britain. A young Legionnaire, Hubert Daly, sent a report to Duff in 1954 reporting that he had met a Brother Coyle, an Irish priest ministering at Highgate hospital in London, 'who was not unacquainted with activities of Irishmen in the Communist Party here: I may even be able to contact a few of these through him'. Coyle warned that the prospect of members of the Connolly Clubs infiltrating the Irish Anti-Partition League was a particular

[129] Eugene Hopkins, 'Irish workers in England' in *Christus Rex*, ii, no. 2 (Apr., 1948), pp. 17-24.
[130] Delaney, *The Irish in post-war Britain*, pp. 137-141.
[131] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Cardinal Bernard Griffin, 22 Jan. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXI/79/32/38).
[132] O'Shea, *The Irish chaplaincy scheme in Britain*, p. 15.
[133] *Irish Independent*, 17 Nov. 1956.

danger.[134] Daly went on to attend meetings of the Association in Hyde Park, noting after a conversation with some of its members that 'in spite of their plea that the movement is not Communist-inspired, it is quite evident that these Irishmen are communists'.[135] According to a 1956 report by Fr John Casey, an Irish priest active with the Legion in London, 'as all types of people seem now to be aware of its evils', meetings held by the Legion on the subject would now go straight to discussing 'the answer to communism'.[136] Such work amongst the Irish community in Britain had some success in consigning the Connolly Association and the *Democrat* to the margins, even if some imbued the Church's influence unevenly.[137]

Contemporaneously, the Connolly Association was an abiding concern of the Vigilance Committee throughout its existence. Of a surviving list of thirty-eight communists in McQuaid's papers compiled in the late fifties, at least twenty-one were members of the Connolly Association. Greaves, Patrick Clancy, Pat Devine and General Secretary Éamon Lyons were amongst the most notable figures mentioned.[138] It also tracked visits to Ireland of individual Connolly Association activists like Lyons, who was alleged to have spoken at a public meeting in Abbey Street after returning from Britain to Dublin in December 1957. Lyons' mother was a devout Catholic, the report noted.[139] The leading source of information on the Association was the *Irish Democrat*, which the Archdiocese collected and forwarded to certain priests entrusted with monitoring 'subversive literature' such as Committee member Michael Clarke, who was forwarded copies of the *Democrat* from 1961 onwards.[140]

These copies of the *Democrat* were also drawn upon for polemical attacks on the Association by Columban priest Michael O'Neill. O'Neill had had a long standing interest in the *Democrat*, and had encouraged FF TD Patrick Cummins to write to Frank Aiken on his behalf in late 1958 asking for information on the organisation.[141] Aiken responded simply by pointing Cummins to his previous

[134]Letter from Hubert Daly to Frank Duff, 25 July. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXI/79/32/11) . For examples from Daly's reports of matters of sexual immorality, and broader examples of McQuaid's contacts in Britain, see Diarmaid Ferriter, *Occasions of sin: sex and society in modern Ireland* (London, 2009), pp. 278-284.
[135] Letter from Hubert Daly to Frank Duff, 5 Aug. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXI/79/32/12).
[136] Report by Fr John Casey, Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXI/79/32/12).
[137] Speaking in his memoirs, Connolly Association member Dónall Mac Amhlaigh recalled an incident where he and a fellow Connolly Association member were attempting to sell the *Irish Democrat*. In response, an elderly Irishman snapped at Mac Amhlaigh's friend, 'clear off with your oul' paper, the Church doesn't approve of it.' Mac Amhlaigh's friend wryly commented to him after the encounter, 'just how mixed-up can Irishmen get?', noting the irony that the *News of the World*, a paper frequently condemned by the Irish clergy for its perceived immorality, was sticking out of the man's pocket. Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, pp. 10-11.
[138] Entries of Connolly Association members (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/738).
[139] Vigilance Committee, minutes of meeting, 9 Feb. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/70).
[140] Note to McQuaid, 10 Nov. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/764).
[141] Letter from Patrick Cummins to Frank Aiken, 12 Jan. 1959 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/227 pt. ii, 'The Connolly Clubs in England').

parliamentary question on the matter.[142] When O'Neill indicated in 1960 he wished to write an article on the Connolly Association's communist links for the Columban journal *Pagan Missions*, McQuaid's secretary, emphasising 'the need for security consciousness', instructed O'Neill that he should 'quote only published sources' rather than the Church's own anti-communist reports, and forwarded him copies of the *Democrat* and the IWL's periodical, the *Irish Workers' Voice*.[143] After O'Neill had called to the Department of External Affairs earlier in the year, Con Cremin had advised him that the National Library of Ireland held copies of the *Democrat* and the *Irish Workers' Voice*.[144] The Archdiocese evidently preferred that O'Neill refer to them when writing material on the Connolly Association. It compiled anti-communist criticisms of the Connolly Association from reports in secular newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph,* which noted in November 1961 opposition to the Connolly Association from lay Catholic activists within Britain's trade unions.[145]

Secular anti-communist bodies such as Britain's Industrial Relations Information Service (IRIS), were also drawn upon by the Archdiocese for information. IRIS produced printed material revealing CPGB and Trotskyist activity, particularly within the trade unions. Publications by the group, such as *The Communist solar system,* were praised by Britain's *Catholic Worker*,[146] and the publication is also in McQuaid's papers.[147] According to the group's secretary and managing director, Charles Sonnex, IRIS's interest in the Connolly Association was prompted by an enquiry into the body by an Irish priest. Ambassador McCann suggested to Dublin that this was O'Neill, as the embassy was aware he was in London researching an article on the Association for the *Furrow*. A 1958 IRIS newsletter quoting a 1954 issue of *Soviet Orbit* which claimed that the Connolly Association was 'the "de facto" communist group in this country' was also taken note of by the Archdiocese.[148]

In 1960, McQuaid received a note from his secretary which claimed, based on the *Democrat*'s August 1960 issue, that the Connolly Association had hired Anthony Coughlan as a full-time organiser, reportedly a sign it was becoming 'more organised'. The note recommended that O'Neill and Edward McElroy, another Columban priest in Britain, be contacted along with McGrath 'to do something to counter this campaign', McQuaid urging that McElroy be contacted for his

[142] Letter from Frank Aiken to Patrick Cummins TD, 28 Jan. 1959 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/227 pt. ii, 'The Connolly Clubs in England').
[143] Note to McQuaid, 28 Nov. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/98).
[144] Letter from Con Cremin to Michael O'Neill, 9 Jan. 1960 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/227 pt. ii, 'The Connolly Clubs in England').
[145] Clipping from the *Daily Telegraph*, 11 Oct. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/767).
[146] Keating, 'Roman Catholics, Christian Democracy and the British labour movement, 1910-60', p. 240.
[147] IRIS, *The communist solar system* (London, 1957) (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1061).
[148] *IRIS newsletter*, 3 June 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/70). The newsletter also garnered the attention of the *Sunday Independent*, which highlighted it as 'a warning to Irish emigrants to Britain'. *Sunday Independent*, 8 June 1958.

assessment.[149] McElroy assured McQuaid that the Connolly Association's strength should not be exaggerated and that the Columbans in Britain were closely monitoring the situation: 'It is quite true that they remain very active, and it is also true that their activities have pepped up a little – not all that much'.[150] Throughout this period, Coughlan was a figure singled out for surveillance. Úna Byrne forwarded a picture of Coughlan obtained from the *Irish Democrat* to the Archbishop, identifying him as 'a member of the C.P. Sub-editor *Daily Worker* and *Irish Democrat.* Prime mover in Connolly Clubs'.[151] She regularly noted Coughlan's visits to leftists in Ireland, such as Roy Johnston and Justin Keating.[152] On a later occasion in 1961, Byrne claimed, Coughlan met with Keating, Michael O'Leary of the ITGWU, a Mr Igoe, Staff Officer of TCD, Ann Simms, a nuclear disarmament activist who had allegedly studied in Moscow, and George Jeffares and Séan Nolan of the IWL.[153] Byrne later reported that Coughlan was returning to Dublin, and had obtained a post in TCD through Igoe.[154] McQuaid subsequently wrote to Bishop Lucey of Cork asking for information on Coughlan, a graduate of University College Cork and a native of the city, noting he was now active in Dublin in the 1913 Club and in nuclear disarmament activism.[155] Lucey was evidently already aware of Coughlan, remarking in 1961 that the Association 'has as its whole-time organiser a Cork man'. Lucey warned that Coughlan was not the only Cork man prominent in the Association.[156]

The extent of McQuaid's anti-communist surveillance was underlined when Greaves, while researching a short pamphlet on Liam Mellows, the noted opponent of the Anglo-Irish Treaty who was executed by the Irish Free State during the Civil War, wrote to Seamus O'Kelly of Dublin in 1955 exploring whether they could share information. Mellows was a persistent interest of Greaves and his research culmininated in his 1971 biography, which, while dated, is still the leading work of the leader of the Easter Rising in Galway.[157] There had long been an anxiety on the part of Catholic anti-communists regarding communists invoking the legacy of dead Irish patriots, most notably Connolly. Mac Eoin had asserted that there was an 'attempt to defile the memory of these dead patriots by people who, to put it bluntly, are traitors in the service of a foreign power'.[158] He later instanced Mellows as an example as a republican figure whose legacy was allegedly being

[149] Note to McQuaid (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/762).
[150] Letter from Edward McEnroy to McQuaid's Secretary, 10 Oct. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/763).
[151] Undated note from Byrne to McQuaid's secretary (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/481).
[152] Undated note from Byrne to McQuaid's secretary (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/454).
[153] Note from Byrne to McQuaid's secretary, dated 6 Sept.1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/469).
[154] Undated note from Byrne to McQuaid's secretary (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/468.)
[155] Letter from Archbishop McQuaid to Bishop Lucey, 1 Nov. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/329).
[156] *Cork Examiner*, 17 Apr. 1961.
[157] C. Desmond Greaves, *Liam Mellows and the Irish revolution* (London, 1971).
[158] Mac Eoin, *Communism and Ireland*, p. 9.

exploited.[159] O'Kelly, who had been commissioned to write a book on Mellows, immediately forwarded the letter to McQuaid.[160] Warning McQuaid that 'this communist organisation is attempting to use the names of various Irish patriots of the past to make contact with Irish exiles in England, and, by this means, to draw them into the communist net', O'Kelly assured McQuaid that he had replied to Greaves promising he would 'do his best to expose any attempts by Communists to use the names of those who took part in the Irish independence movement as propaganda for Communism'. O'Kelly pointed to Greaves' previous pamphlet, *Father Michael O'Flanagan, republican priest*, as an example of what he feared Greaves' Mellows work had in store. The pamphlet, which O'Kelly claimed exploited 'some of the unfortunate statements of the late Fr O'Flanagan', asserted that the radical priest would echo the Connolly Association in opposing western imperialism and supporting nuclear disarmament. Annotating the document, McQuaid indicated that his secretary reply by thanking O'Kelly for 'his determination to unmask and withstand communism. Add that [Archbishop] has already warned against this type of "patriotism"'.[161]

Britain's Trotskyist movement and Irish Catholic anti-communism

The British Trotskyist movement was also of concern to the clergy, due to it possessing a number of high profile Irish figures. The leading figure of British Trotskyism in these years was Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League (SLL), a Galwayman.[162] Originally known as 'The Club', under Healy the SLL became 'the main Trotskyist group in Britain, with the others being relegated to discussion groups and journals'.[163] The SLL was an uneasy 'union of pre-war Trotskyites, recruits from the Labour Party and ex-CPGB members who had moved towards Trotskyism after Hungary'.[164] Most of its CPGB recruits, not coming from a Trotskyist background, left after a few years.[165] The most senior of the defectors was Brian Behan, who had become a member of the CPGB's Executive Committee. In a manner reminiscent of Hyde's *I believed*, Behan's autobiography, *With breast expanded*, tells of his increasing disillusionment with the CPGB over issues such as the 1948 split between Tito and Stalin, allegations of vote-rigging within the CPGB-dominated Electrical Trades' Union of which he was a member, and the party's failure to condemn the conviction of Dr Edith

[159] Ibid, p. 36.
[160] Undated letter from C Desmond Greaves to Seamus O'Kelly (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/740).
[161] Letter from Seamus O'Kelly to McQuaid, 11 Feb. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/741); C. Desmond Greaves, *Father Michael O'Flanagan, republican priest: the story of his life with extracts from his speeches* (Ripley, England, 1954).
[162] John Cunningham, 'The Militant Tendency comes to Ireland, c. 1969-1989', in Laurence Marley (ed.), *The British Labour Party and twentieth-century Ireland: the cause of Ireland, the cause of labour* (Manchester, 2016), p. 198.
[163] Smith and Worley, 'Introduction', p. 4.
[164] Keith Laybourne, *Marxism in Britain: descent, decline and re-emergence, 1945- c. 2000* (London, 2015), p. 70.
[165] Smith and Worley, 'Introduction', p. 5.

Bone, a *Daily Worker* journalist imprisoned for several years in Hungary after she was accused of spying by its communist government. Unlike Hyde, Behan remained a revolutionary socialist sceptical of Catholicism, and Cardinal Mindszenty's support for the Hungarian revolution briefly led him to waver in opposing the invasion, as he saw it as a sign that the 'hand of the Papacy' was behind Hungary's revolution. Ultimately he deplored what he described as the intervention of 'the guns and tanks of state capitalism' in Hungary, and left the CPGB.[166]

The prominence of Healy, Behan, and a number of other Irish people within the SLL, alongside its 'obvious attempt to attract support for Communist – albeit Trotskyist – policies from amongst the Irish workers in this country' caused Ambassador Hugh McCann to bring it to the attention of the Department of External Affairs in January 1959. While claiming that he had 'no information' on the relationship between the Connolly Association and the SLL, McCann surmised that 'the two bodies should be in opposition since the Connolly Association is strongly infiltrated by orthodox Communists'.[167] McCann's guess that the SLL had a tense relationship with the Association and Ireland's 'orthodox communists' more broadly was an astute, if obvious, one. While he did not refer specifically to the SLL, Greaves's dismissive 1957 claim there was 'a kind of pseudo-left' then existent in Britain, 'consisting of confused ex-communists, disaffected labour people looking for an alternative, and general political stirrers up of trouble', had groups like it in mind.[168] The contempt was mutual. Behan vehemently criticised his former IWL comrades in the *Newsletter*'s September 1959 issue, claiming that on a recent Irish visit he had received several enquiries of interest from young people about joining the SLL, which had 'a great opportunity and responsibility to help in the training of hundreds of young Irish socialists'.[169] Pat O'Donovan, another Irish member, specifically condemned the Connolly Association and the *Irish Democrat* two months later as 'a sordid Stalinist set-up operating Stalinist policies, and directly controlled by the Communist Party' from its headquarters.[170]

The SLL soon attracted attention from the Catholic clergy. Byrne informed McQuaid in December 1959 of its existence, indicating that she planned to find more information on it both through her 'contacts in Birmingham' and 'a grand lad in Fianna Fáil' working with CIÉ in

[166] Brian Behan, *With breast expanded* (London, 1964), pp. 146-152.
[167] Letter from Hugh McCann to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 5 Jan. 1959 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/227/1, 'The Newsletter (Irish Contributions to) New (Workers Party) formed by Brian Behan and others').
[168] Letter from C. Desmond Greaves to John Gollan, 27 Oct. 1957 (NAUK, KV2/3362, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[169] Letter from Hugh McCann to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 16 Sept. 1959, enclosing copy of the *Newsletter*, 12 Sept. 1959 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/227/1, 'The Newsletter (Irish Contributions to) New (Workers Party) formed by Brian Behan and others').
[170] Letter from Hugh McCann to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 9 Nov. 1959, enclosing copy of the *Newsletter*, 7 Nov. 1959 (NAI, DFA, 5/305/227/1, 'The Newsletter (Irish Contributions to) New (Workers Party) formed by Brian Behan and others').

London.[171] O'Neill wrote to Thomas Fehily in 1960 claiming that SLL activists led by O'Donovan had been expelled from the Connolly Association after a failed attempt to take it over, and had set up a rival Irish Workers' Union, which they reportedly conceived 'as a front for recruiting for their organisation, just as the British Communist Party has used the Connolly Association'. The Irish Workers' Union's 'key man', Michael Callinan, had reportedly promised to 'keep out Communists and Trotskyites'. An informant of O'Neill's in London reported that he could not 'be certain whether his statement is really true or just a bluff.' O'Neill recommended that judgement on the IWU be reserved 'until we get a little more information', McQuaid annotating the letter by noting approvingly: 'very true.'[172] O'Neill subsequently wrote an article on the SLL for *Hibernia*. Describing them as 'Britain's out of step communists', it warned that the SLL 'make no secret of their intention to foster internal strife', asserting that its alleged attempt to seize control of the Connolly Association showed that it was 'competing' with the CPGB for the support of Irish Catholic workers.[173]

The SLL's dysfunctional culture under the volatile and dictatorial Healy militated against its success. Behan was expelled by the SLL at Healy's instigation after requesting that its assets be brought under the control of the party as a whole rather than just Healy and a few allies. The meeting ended with Behan being assaulted by a number of his fellow Irishman's supporters. Unsurprisingly, this left Behan with a highly negative view of the party, and his autobiography speaks witheringly of the British Trotskyist groups of the post-war years, characterising them as 'fanatical little groups who waited to net the stranded fish' of disillusioned CPGB members, while possessing 'all the vices of the Communist Party and none of its virtues'.[174] The Vigilance Committee, drawing upon an *Irish Press* article by Behan detailing his CPGB resignation, observed some years after his expulsion from the SLL that he 'appeared to favour an approach to Trotskyite philosophy'.[175]

George Thomson and Irish Catholic anti-communism

A Londoner, George Thomson, long-time Chair of Greek at Birmingham University and a committed CPGB member, was also a figure of concern to McQuaid. In common with Greaves, Thomson was an Englishman of Ulster Protestant background who retained an interest in Ireland throughout his life. A Classicist, Thomson was fluent in Irish and had a particular engagement with Kerry's Blasket Islands. On his first visit in 1923 he met the future Irish language writer Muiris Ó

[171] Letter from Úna Byrne to McQuaid, 11 Dec. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/926).
[172] Letter from Michael O'Neill to Thomas Fehily, 8 Feb. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/627) .
[173] Clipping from *Hibernia*, Mar. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/627) .
[174] Behan, *With breast expanded*, pp 169-171.
[175] Vigilance Committee, minutes of meeting, 22 Sept. 1963 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/122).

Súilleabháin, and was pivotal in encouraging Ó Súilleabháin to publish the noted Irish language work, *Fiche bliain ag fás*, which Thomson co-translated into English.[176] After periods in the Classics departments of UCG and Cambridge, Thomson moved to Birmingham University in the mid-1930s. He joined the CPGB around this period. Later connecting his relationship with the Blasket Islands to his politicisation, he thanked the islanders in 1941 in the foreword of his book *Aeschylus and Athens* for showing him 'what it is like to live in a pre-capitalist society'.[177] Associating with Marxist scholars in both Britain and the Eastern Bloc, he travelled to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and China,[178] and both he and his wife remained committed communists until their final years. He taught Marxism classes in Birmingham, involving himself in the CPGB's cultural work, its China Policy Study Group and the periodical *Marxism Today*.[179]

Thomson's Irish visits prompted interest from Irish anti-communists. Byrne warned the Archbishop on 30 December 1953 that 'all the planes and ports were being watched yesterday as Thomson was coming over and had an appointment with [Irish communist] Seán Mulreavy and the rest of the mob'. Byrne informed McQuaid she had received word that Thomson had arrived in Ireland and travelled to Galway on that morning's train, and indicated she had warned Browne about his visit.[180] The meeting prompted the attention of the *Standard*, and the fact that Owen Sheehy-Skeffington had chaired a 1947 address by Thomson to the PSI on Marxism and Poetry was used to link Sheehy-Skeffington to communism.[181] A report compiled by Joe O'Hegarty of Clann na hEireann on a communist meeting Thomson addressed in Pembroke Road, Dublin, subsequently sent by Byrne to McQuaid, illustrated the importance Thomson placed in the language, the Professor arguing that the '20,000 Gaelic speakers in Ireland would be the special care of a progressive movement'.[182] A January 1957 report on Thomson compiled by the Vigilance Committee's Fr Kent noted that he had a reputation amongst Irish speakers in Birmingham of being 'a decent Englishman' and 'a benefactor of the Gaeltacht people', who, the report pointedly remarked, had no Irish-speaking priest to minister to them in the city. Thomson had been blocked from joining the Birmingham branch of the Gaelic League, the leading Irish language revivalist body, due to his politics. The report accused Thomson of recruiting Ó Súilleabháin's son into the communist movement, after being expelled from Scoil Éanna in Galway City for 'propagating communism'

[176] George Thomson and Tim Enright, *Island home: the Blasket heritage* (Dingle, Co. Kerry, 1988), pp. 123-124.
[177] Ibid, pp. 134-136.
[178] Maggie Burns, *George Thomson in Birmingham and the Blaskets* (Birmingham, 2000), pp. 12-13.
[179] Thomson and Enright, *Island home*, pp. 139-140.
[180] Letter from Úna Byrne to Fr Martin, 30 Dec. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/395).
[181] Sheehy-Skeffington MS, p. 348.
[182] 'Meeting at 37 Pembroke Road on 5 January, 1954' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/396).

amongst students. He was now reportedly doing a degree in Birmingham.[183] Ó Glaisne noted that Thomson's memory was 'yet fragrant amongst Blasket people as one of the nicest visitors they ever had'.[184] Another Irishman exposed to communism by Thomson was Luke Kelly, later of the folk group The Dubliners, who attended his Marxism classes while living in Birmingham.[185]

The Connolly Association's emphasis on cultural work more broadly was noted with suspicion by the authorities. An American soldier got into trouble in 1953 for participating in the Irish Players, a drama group sponsored by the Connolly Association. The US embassy noted that Greaves' speeches at Connolly Association meetings had frequently been mentioned in the *Daily Worker*.[186] They were advised that Greaves was 'the most conspicuous Irish communist in this country', and that he and Elsie Tinney, who was also mentioned in relation to the Players by the embassy, were both members of the CPGB's Irish sub-committee.[187] Seosamh Mac Guidir, President of the London branch of the Gaelic League, the leading Irish language revivalist body, later claimed in April 1959 that 'members of the Communist Party or fellow travellers' had attempted to infiltrate the organisation, and that 'physical strength has had to be used to keep these elements at bay. Let us be warned about, and on our guard against, those who dare to try to come into our midst in the clothing of sheep and in the name of an Irish patriot'.[188]

Conclusion

Echoing the broader anti-communism of Catholicism in the era, and paralleling the fear conveyed by the English and Welsh hierarchy that immigrant workers were particularly vulnerable to recruitment by the communist movement, concerns that the Irish in Britain were susceptible to being infected by communism were repeatedly expressed by the Irish hierarchy in the post-war years, both publicly and privately. As the rhetoric of the Church increasingly became a practical barrier to the CPGB and its activities, Catholic anti-communism, and the need to rebut it, became a matter of acute importance to its leadership, and the Irish community was a major focus of that discussion. For Catholic clergy on both islands, the Irish in Britain were a group seen as at risk of falling into a life of immorality, and, amidst the broader atmosphere of the Cold War, communism, in the image of the Connolly Association, was seen as being in a prime position to exploit the perceived vulnerability of

[183] Vigilance Committee, minutes of meeting, 28 Jan. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/26). The report mentioned in the minutes is located at DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/346, typed report on Professor George Thomson.
[184] Ó Glaisne, 'Communism in Ireland ', pp. 17-18.
[185] Angela Boran, *Irish music abroad: diasporic sounds in Birmingham* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 89.
[186] Extract of American Embassy letter, 12 Feb. 1953. (NAUK, KV2/3360, 'C. Desmond Greaves').
[187] Extract of reply to Connolly Association, 30 March, 1953 (NAUK, KV2/3360).
[188] *Cork Examiner*, 21 Apr. 1959. Fr Kent of the Vigilance Committee promptly picked up the remarks, erroneously attributing them as being said at a London GAA meeting. Vigilance Committee meeting, 27 Apr. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/77) .

Irish immigrants in this regard. More broadly, communism was not just regarded as a political ideology antagonistic to the Church, but as an immoral virus which threatened to infect the Irish in Britain, and, by extension, potentially the Irish at home. This fed into broader insecurities within the Church about the moral condition of the Irish in Britain in relation to alcoholism, sexual immorality and other issues – a concern particularly acute during the early Cold War, as Ireland's economic woes contributed to large-scale emigration to Britain, particularly in the 1950s. The concerns the Connolly Association prompted also illustrate the fear amongst Irish Catholic anti-communists that both the historical memory of James Connolly and enduring grievances over the partition of Ireland could be used by communists to win support amongst the Irish.

Chapter Four

‘A shop steward is as remote as a Baluba tribesman’: Trade unionism, Cold War anti-communism, and the Irish Catholic Church

‘And what I had never seen before: the Papal flag flew, alone, on the headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union, where the Citizens’ Army had flown its plough and five stars, in former times’. This description by McQuaid to Rome of the demonstration in Dublin on May Day 1949 protesting the imprisonments of Stepinac and Mindszenty conveys how impressed he was with the participation of Irish trade unions in the display.[1] As Emmet O’Connor notes, the Cold War helped herald an ‘unprecedented degree of hegemony’ on the part of Catholicism within the Irish trade union movement,[2] and the demonstration is indicative of how Ireland’s trade unions were not exempt from the broader Catholic Cold War mood. While the WUI’s general executive initially rejected an invitation to participate in the demonstration, stating that it was ‘doubtful whether it would be possible to carry out the necessary arrangements to permit the members to participate as an organised body’,[3] Puirséil notes that ‘there was a popular compulsion to take part in such demonstrations’ and it eventually participated. As one observer recalled, James Larkin Jr, himself a former communist, ‘daren’t do otherwise. It would smash the union if they were seen not to be wholly part of this. They would lose all their members’.[4] Indeed, the Church’s influence in trade unionism in the period is illustrated by McQuaid’s high-profile presence in 1947 at James Larkin Sr’s deathbed and funeral mass, Cooney memorably describing Larkin as McQuaid’s ‘most treasured conversion’.[5] It is also evinced by the important role of individual members of the hierarchy in mediating in industrial disputes. McQuaid alone, a contemporary account noted, helped settle disputes involving ‘teachers, transport workers, dockers, gas workers ... on occasion he has had as

[1] Letter from McQuaid to J. B. Montini, Papal Secretary of State, 2 May 1949 (DDA, AB8/XVI/I/3/40). As Devine notes, McQuaid made an error; the Irish Citizen Army’s flag had seven stars, not five. Devine, *Organising History*, p. 443.
[2] O’Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*, p. 175.
[3] Devine, *Organising history*, p. 393.
[4] Puirseíl, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 146.
[5] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 211.

many as twenty delegates with him at Archbishop's House until midnight'.[6] And yet, despite these examples, the 'infiltration theories' O'Connor identifies as a common trope of Irish anti-communism in the era[7] extended to the Church's attitude to Ireland's trade union movement, as an examination of Catholic archives reveals.

This chapter shall discuss Catholic concerns about allegations of infiltration by communists of the Irish trade union movement. It shall begin by contextualising the broader situation Ireland's trade unions faced in the post-war years, and the Church's responses to these developments. The Irish trade union movement in the period was marked by deep divisions, both between its most prominent leaders and between British and Irish-based unions. The Irish hierarchy was divided in its responses to these developments. While D'Alton favoured Ireland's trade unions affiliating with the Christian International, a global Catholic trade union federation, McQuaid feared that such a move could divide Ireland's already splintered trade union movement further. These years also saw the emergence of Catholic workers' education, specifically tailored for trade unionists, as an important focus of Catholic activity, and this chapter shall explore how this tied into contemporary Catholic concerns about communist infiltration of Irish trade unions.

The broader situation having been contextualised, the chapter shall then move on to discuss specific case studies of trade unions which came under clerical suspicion due to the presence, real and perceived, of communists within them. Members of the CPNI and IWL tried persistently to gain elected office within their unions in these years. While the CPNI enjoyed a great degree of success in doing so, enjoying influence on Belfast Trades Council, Michael O'Riordan had less success in gaining office in the ITGWU, where he was active in its busworkers' branch. Catholic attempts to respond to these efforts by the communists shall be highlighted. The chapter shall then discuss three prominent trade union leaders of the era, Desmond Branigan of the Marine, Port and General Workers' Union (MPGWU), Seán Dunne of the Federation of Rural Workers (FRW) and John Swift of the Irish Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers' Amalgamated Union. While not members of the IWL, they were regarded as suspect by the Church because they were perceived, with varying degrees of justification, as being communist fellow travellers. The case of the NUJ will also be discussed. The fact a high profile member of the NUJ in Britain, George Allen Hutt, was a communist caused controversy in Ireland, as did the fact that some of its members in Ireland were alleged to have had communist backgrounds or sympathies.

[6] Burke-Savage, 'The Church in Dublin', pp. 314-315.
[7] O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*, p. 175.

The post-war situation of Irish trade unionism

The Irish trade union movement grew markedly in the years after 1945. In the south, the founding of the Labour Court in 1946, the introduction of joint agreements on wage levels under the national pay rounds and the rise in industrial employment immediately after the war all contributed to a rise in union membership. While trade union membership was 172,000 in 1945, by 1950 it stood at 285,000, growth stabilising in the economically abysmal 1950s. There was also a rise in strikes, with unofficial industrial actions and disputes on issues beyond wage questions, such as working conditions or dismissals, becoming more frequent.[8] In Northern Ireland a similar spurt occurred, membership increasing from 114,000 in 1941 to 200,000 by 1953. While strike activity there had declined somewhat by the early 1950s, it remained well above the rest of the UK.[9]

The movement's influence was severely hampered by continuing divisions within Irish trade unionism, notably the existence from 1944 of two rival trade union congresses, the ITUC and its splinter, the ITGWU-dominated Congress of Irish Unions (CIU). The split within the trade union movement had been caused by a motion at the ITUC's 1944 conference regretting the previous decision of the union's executive to decline an invitation to an international trade union conference organised by the British Trade Union Congress on post-war reconstruction, which was passed. When two delegates were appointed to attend the London conference, fifteen Irish-based unions, protesting the allegedly disproportionate influence of trade unions with their headquarters in Britain within the ITUC, withdrew from the body to join the newly-founded CIU. While the split hardly impinged on Northern Ireland, where the ITGWU's 2,500 defectors were dwarfed by the ITUC's 70,000-plus membership, it had a major impact on the south, where the CIU's 75,000 strong defectors slightly outnumbered the ITUC's remaining membership of 72,000. Many prominent Irish-based unions remained with the British-based unions within the ITUC, such as James Larkin's WUI, John Swift's Bakers' Union, and Louie Bennett's IWWU. While they agreed with ITGWU leader William O'Brien on the issue, they were alienated by his approach, and the historic emnity between the WUI and the ITGWU endured.[10] The CIU has generally been seen by scholars as the Congress identified more closely with Catholic anti-communism, a fact magnified by its hostility to British trade unions and its weakness in the Protestant north,[11] though, as we have seen, unions like the WUI were also

[8] O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*, pp. 170-173; McCarthy, *Trade unions in Ireland*, pp. 304-305.
[9] O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*, pp. 204-209.
[10] Ibid, pp. 167-168; McCarthy, *Trade unions in Ireland*, pp. 304-305.
[11] Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition*, p. 116; O'Connor, *A labour history of Ireland*, p. 166.

influenced by the prevailing mood of Catholic Ireland. Increasing dialogue from 1956 onwards eventually reunited the two congresses in 1959 as the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU).[12]

The CIU's adamant belief in the necessity of Irish-based trade unions aligned with the views of FF, Lemass assuring a CIU delegation shortly before its first conference that 'not only would they be recognised by the government, but also they would be regarded as the most representative body'.[13] It also aligned with that of the Commission of Vocational Organisation, which declared in a 1941 report that Irish trade unions being headquartered in Britain was 'extremely dangerous'.[14] Members of the hierarchy and clergy endorsed these viewpoints also, like Bishop Browne, who declared to the CIU's 1946 annual conference that 'the Irish people should have a Congress which would be unmistakeably Irish and not subject to any alliances or extraneous influences',[15] and Father Athanasius, a Franciscan, who questioned what 'trade unionists of an alien land' knew of 'our Catholic ideals' in an address to Limerick's branch of the Distributive Workers' Union, a CIU affiliate, in 1950.[16] The alleged influence of communists within British-based trade unions was a frequent argument deployed by the CIU and other supporters of the necessity of Irish-based unions, Mac Eoin in 1948 arguing that, as there was allegedly 'grave danger of British labour falling under communist control', Irish affilitation with British trade unions was 'dangerous' as it gave communists a pathway to influence Irish unions.[17]

Such characterisations of British-based Irish unions in the era as dominated by alien influence is questionable, and smacks of caricature. Cradden demonstrated that the Irish branches of British-based unions exercised more autonomy than the domineering O'Brien allowed the ITGWU's individual branches to wield. He also noted that nationalist and anti-communist appeals to defect to Irish-based unions had little appeal to Irish members of British-based unions such as the ATGWU, as 'the only test which most members applied was whether they were receiving, at the workface, the servicing of their economic interests which they had come to expect …the grander, strategic, decisions of their unions were a matter of indifference'.[18] This was a reality acknowledged by McQuaid, who noted astutely if somewhat condescendingly to the Papal Nuncio, Giuseppe Sensi, in 1963 that 'The men will not change focus from the unions which have protected them and their fathers and their grandfathers. It needs a long preparation to change anything with people of their

[12] Donal Nevin, 'Decades of dissention and divisions, 1923-1959' in Donal Nevin (ed.), *Trade union century* (Dublin, 1994), p. 96.
[13] Kieran Allen, *Fianna Fáil and Irish labour* (London, 1997), p. 82.
[14] Morrissey, *William O'Brien*, pp. 315-316.
[15] *Irish Independent*, 4 July 1946.
[16] *Standard*, 31 Mar. 1950.
[17] Mac Eoin, *Communism and Ireland*, p. 54.
[18] Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition*, pp. 120-121.

background and education'.[19] Hence, while some anti-communist observers concluded that communist infiltration of British-based unions meant that 'surely the time has come for Irish workers to demand that all British-based unions should go', as 'Veritas', a *Limerick Leader* columnist, warned in 1949 in response to the appointment of the Belfast communist William McCullough as secretary of the No. 1 branch of the National Union of Railwaymen,[20] a more pragmatic approach was taken by McQuaid, as the question of the Christian International indicates.

The Christian International and Ireland

In considering how to further instil a Catholic ethos in the trade union movement, a key tactical division arose between two of the Irish Catholic hierarchy's most important members in the post-war era. The matter of contention was whether Irish unions should affiliate to the Conféderation internationale des syndicats Chrétiens, known in English as the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) or simply the Christian International. The Christian International, based in Utrecht, was founded in 1920 as the first international federation of Catholic trade unions. It was led in its early years by Jos Serrarens, previously head of Holland's Catholic trade unions.[21] While there was interest in continental Catholic trade unions in Ireland in the inter-war period,[22] with sympathetic articles in the clerical press,[23] the Christian International had no Irish affiliates.

The most prominent advocate of affiliation was D'Alton. In a widely reported 1948 Lenten Pastoral, he presented the Christian International as both a bulwark against communist infiltration and a cure to the 'dissentions' within the Irish trade union movement.[24] Encouraged, Serrarens wrote a letter of thanks to D'Alton, and indicated that he had received some recent indications that the CIU was considering affiliation to the Christian International**.** He further advised that he felt the ITUC, which he viewed as being regarded as 'the most representative organisation by the Government', was more unlikely to affiliate, noting it was already a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).[25] McQuaid's opposition seriously undermined the potential for affiliation by either the ITUC or CIU. McQuaid disliked D'Alton's proposal as he feared that 'some workers might be labelled as Christian and non-Christian' if a religious element was added to Irish trade unionism, as

[19] Letter from John Charles McQuaid to Dr Sensi, Papal Nuncio, 26 Apr. 1963 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/652).
[20] *Limerick Leader* 23 July, 1949.
[21] Paul Misner, *Catholic labor movements in Europe: social thought and action, 1914-1965* (Washington DC, 2015), pp. 40-43.
[22] Serrarens, for example, was a prominent speaker at the CTSI's 1928 conference. Curtis, *A challenge to democracy*, p. 61.
[23] See, for instance, Lambert McKenna, S.J., 'The Catholic trade unions of Holland' in *The Irish Monthly*, lii, no. 607 (Jan., 1924), pp. 11-19.
[24] *Irish Independent*, 9 Feb. 1948.
[25] Letter from P. J. S. Serrarens to D'Alton, 21 May 1948 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 26, 'International Federation of Catholic Trade Unions- Brussels').

Kavanagh later recalled.[26] In correspondence to Leo Crawford, the CIU's Secretary, McQuaid clarified that while did not oppose affiliation 'in principle' it would be 'inadvisable, now at this juncture' for Irish trade unions to affiliate to the Christian International, as a resultant split 'among the Catholic trade unionists, who in the vast majority are practicing Catholics, would be a very grave misfortune'.[27] This difference between McQuaid and D'Alton was perhaps caused by the differing trade union contexts on both sides of the border, with the split between the ITUC and the CIU affecting the trade union movement in Northern Ireland, where D'Alton was based, far less than Dublin and the rest of the island. Despite his opposition, the CIU voted in 1949 to join the Christian International on the grounds that the body opposed 'communistic doctrines', but ultimately decided not to implement the decision. While the public reason cited was that this was due to the prohibitive membership costs,[28] the fact that McQuaid had privately conveyed his opposition to the CIU's leadership was no doubt a factor.

The prospect of the ITUC affiliating to the Christian International also arose when, amidst much CIU schadenfreude, the ITUC leadership decided to withdraw from the WFTU when it split over its opposition to the Marshall Plan.[29] Despite the withdrawal, the ITUC remained hesitant about joining the Christian International, despite support from some of its members. Crean, who was chaplain to the Bakers' Union, had previously had to intervene on McQuaid's behalf to ensure that its Dublin No. 2 branch withdrew a motion proposing affiliation to the Christian International as 'while His Grace Dr D'Alton's recommendations were addressed to his own Diocese, Your Grace's directions concern trade unionists in this Diocese'.[30] At the ITUC's congress in 1949, a motion proposing affiliation to the Christian International was heavily rejected by 110 votes to 14, while a motion endorsing the Executive's decision for the congress to remain unaffiliated passed unanimously. In opposing the motion, J. T. O'Farrell of the Railway Clerks' Association, representing the executive, was careful to emphasise that support for Christian International affiliation was not universal amongst the Church hierarchy. Revealingly, he did not quote McQuaid, who kept his disagreement with D'Alton behind closed doors,[31] but rather the late Cardinal Hinsley

[26] James Kavanagh, 'Social activist' in *Studies: An Irish quarterly review*, lxxxvii, no. 348, (Winter, 1998), p. 376.
[27] Draft reply from McQuaid's secretary to Leo Crawford, handwritten by Archbishop, 16 Mar. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/23/4/4).
[28] Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition*, p. 117.
[29] Ibid, pp. 159-160.
[30] Letter from Crean to McQuaid, 6 Mar. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/23/1/3).
[31] When directing Rev Eamon Feichin O'Doherty, a member of an ITGWU sub-committee dealing with Catholic social teaching, to oppose affiliation to the Christian International, McQuaid urged him to 'take every precaution to prevent even the appearance of contradiction between me, as Archbishop responsible for this diocese, and the Archbishop of Armagh, who made the suggestion of affiliation in a pastoral directed only to his own diocese'. Letter from McQuaid to O'Doherty, 4 Mar. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/23/3).

of Westminster, who had previously told British Catholic trade unionists interested in the Christian International that they could 'use their influence … far more effectively' by organising alongside co-workers of other faiths within secular trade unions, rather than 'if they just isolated themselves' in a Christian union.[32]

Hence, while Henry Patterson's assertion that Catholic anti-communism was not 'uncritically accepted by all elements in Catholic Ireland' is correct, his specific citing of the ITUC's failure to affiliate to the Christian International as an example in this regard ignores that the Church itself was conflicted on the issue.[33] Despite the persistent failures of the attempts by the Christian International to gain an Irish affiliate, D'Alton's support for it remained unchanged. Auguste Vanistendael, Serrarens's successor as the International's General Secretary, did not meet D'Alton during a 1955 visit to Ireland, but wrote to him the following month conveying his thanks for his continued support for the Christian International.[34] McQuaid met with Vanistendael during his visit and withheld his views on the Christian International from him, judging by an enthusiastic 1955 letter sent to the Archbishop after meeting with him. Vanistendael informed McQuaid that the Christian International's high affiliation fees and the fact that Irish trade unions were 'not used very much to international contact' were the main barriers to their affiliation to the Christian International, evidently oblivious that McQuaid's own opposition was also a major factor.[35]

'Oh Jesus, more fucking encyclicals'*:* The Catholic Church, workers' education and anti-communism

There was also an increased interest in workers' education in post-war Ireland, which manifested itself in two camps. The first, which was by some distance the weaker of the two, was leftist and secular in orientation, and was represented by the People's College Adult Education Association, founded in 1948 by the Education Committee of the ITUC. The People's College was the first serious effort since the 1920s by the Irish trade union movement to provide an educational organisation for workers.[36] It became a long-lasting feature of Irish trade unionism; amongst the courses offered by 1951 were archaeology, economics, film appreciation, literature, music and visual arts, with classes ranging in size from 14 to 51.[37] Despite this, the People's College struggled. In addition to its inability to find a permanent premises, constant financial difficulties, and opposition

[32] Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition*, p. 117.
[33] Patterson, *Ireland since 1939*, pp. 96-97.
[34] Letter from Auguste Vanistendael to John D'Alton, 5 Nov. 1954 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 26, 'International Federation of Catholic Trade Unions- Brussels').
[35] Letter from Auguste Vanistendael to John Charles McQuaid, 26 July 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/23/10).
[36] Ruaidhrí Roberts, *The story of the People's College* (Dublin, 1986), p. 1.
[37] Ibid, pp. 41-42.

by the CIU, effectively confining affiliated trade unions to members of the ITUC despite its formal independence from the body, it faced frequent allegations that it was linked to communism in its early years, the *Standard* accusing it of 'introducing an alien philosophy prejudicial to the Irish Catholic way of life'.[38] A 1949 article in *Christus Rex* by Rev James Bastible of UCC similarly condemned the 'so-called "neutral" workers' college in Dublin'.[39] According to Ruaidhrí Roberts, a leading People's College figure, 'the title People's College was considered by many as conclusive evidence of a close association with the Iron Curtain with which the Cold War was then being waged'.[40] Its lack of overt piety heightened this suspicion, a delegate claiming at the ITUC's Conference in 1954 that 'Irish workers are frightened of the trade union movement's education schemes unless they are assured beforehand that the education has Christian as well as trade union principles'.[41] Despite these pressures, the College continued to survive. According to the official history of the College authored by Roberts, this was down to its lecturers and students being 'bitterly determined that it was going to carry on'. The 'virulence of the opposition', the history noted, arguably served to deepen the determination of those involved to continue in their work and studies.[42]

The second camp was predominantly represented by the Irish Jesuit Province's founding of the Catholic Workers' College (CWC) in Ranelagh, Dublin, in 1951. Its emergence echoed earlier trends abroad. Influenced by both *Rerum Novarum* and the success of the Workers' Educational Association's Ruskin Hall, an Oxford-based institution which provided political education for trade unionists, the English Jesuits had in 1922 founded Plater College. Also based in Oxford, Plater College offered trade unionists courses grounded in Catholic social teaching,[43] The enthusiasm surrounding its foundation was noted in Ireland, and Alfred O'Rahilly called for a similar body to be set up in Dublin as early as the CTSI's 1923 conference.[44] Contemporaneously, O'Rahilly was crucial in persuading the initially reluctant Michael Tierney, President of UCD, to set up a workers' education course in the university run by Coyne and Edmond Kent, a recently ordained Jesuit priest.

[38] Declan Byrne, 'Placing the Catholic Workers' College 1951 to 1958 in its historical context' (BA thesis, National College of Industrial Relations, Mar. 1989), p. 68.
[39] James Bastible, 'Modern trade unionism in the light of Catholic principles' in *Christus Rex*, iii, no. 1 (Jan., 1949), p. 18.
[40] Roberts, *The story of the People's College*, p. 17.
[41] Byrne, 'Placing the Catholic Workers' College 1951 to 1958 in its historical context' , p. 69.
[42] Roberts, *The story of the People's College*, p. 21.
[43] Limond, 'The Jesuits, Mary and Joseph', pp. 321-322. Plater College faced 'benighted indifference and occasional hostility' from many English Catholics, Joe Kirwan, its principal in the 1960s, recalling one Lancashire lay Catholic convinced it was a socialist body. Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic progressives in England after Vatican II*, (South Bend, Indiana, 2013), pp. 49-50.
[44] Curtis, *A challenge to democracy*, p. 70.

Aspects of the UCD course fed into the CWC's emergence.[45] The importance of the Cold War ideological climate in these developments was highlighted when O'Rahilly forwarded Jesuit Provincial Tom Byrne a letter he had received from Alex Bolster, a security guard at W.D & H.O. Wills Tobacco Company in Dublin and a WUI member. The WUI was a union 'of which many of us are exceedingly suspicious', O'Rahilly pointedly added.[46] Bolster had enquired about setting up educational courses in the company 'in view of the international ideological context and the possible repercussions here in Ireland … I shall not shirk the task of safeguarding the vital interests of my co-workers, approximately 1,200'.[47] O'Rahilly's suspicion of the WUI, and the ITUC more broadly, was likely caused by the fact several figures within it were rumoured to have communist sympathies. ITUC research officer Donal Nevin, according to a profile amongst McQuaid's papers, was a contributor to the *Review* under the name Donal Nunan and was an active member of the IWL.[48] James Larkin Jr, the union's head, was accused of being a communist sympathiser by the *Standard* in 1948, alongside fellow Labour candidates and trade unionists George Pollock, Seán Dunne and Roddy Connolly, and Clann na Poblachta's Peadar Cowan.[49] Fr Aloysius, a Capuchin who had heard Larkin Sr's last confession and administered the last rites to James Connolly,[50] had previously had a discussion with Larkin Jr about his lack of attendance as mass which he was 'very pleased' with, suggesting McQuaid was holding out for Larkin Jr to reconcile himself with Catholicism as his father had.[51]

O'Rahilly took the initiative and set up Catholic courses for trade unionists in UCC in the late 1940s. Unsurprisingly, these courses were underpinned by a strongly anti-communist ethos, and Douglas Hyde addressed students of the classes. Similar courses were set up across Ireland, and Hyde also addressed ones in Limerick and Waterford.[52] Speaking during a meeting proposing that one such course be set up in Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, Fr O'Connor, a local priest, stated in 1949 that 'it would be a mistake to think they were launched chiefly against communism', displaying a concern that they would be seen are purely reactive, rather than valuable in their own right. Nonetheless, he further noted that 'undoubtedly the course, as against such an evil, was invaluable'.[53] Elsewhere, in Belfast a Catholic Workers' College had existed since 1938, and was revived in October 1949 after falling into abeyance during the war. Bishop Mageean urged those present at a

[45] Gaughan, *Alfred O'Rahilly III, part 1*, pp. 177-183.
[46] Letter from Alfred O'Rahilly to Tom Byrne, 21 Sept. 1948 (IJA/CIR/21).
[47] Letter from Alex Bolster to Alfred O'Rahilly, 21 Sept. 1948 (IJA/CIR/21).
[48] Typed profile of Donal Nevin (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/341).
[49] *Standard*, 30. Jan. 1948.
[50] O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, p. 316.
[51] Letter from Fr Aloysius to John Charles McQuaid, 19 June 1947 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/28/1).
[52] Gaughan, *Alfred O'Rahilly III, part 1*, p. 189.
[53] *Meath Chronicle*, 26 Nov. 1949.

meeting reviving the college to 'be as enthusiastic as those who have dedicated their lives to Communism … That is exactly the end in view – to fit you to take key positions in the unions and to influence policy in the unions'. Cahal Daly also assured those present that 'the Church had girded itself for the conflict' to ensure communism did not make inroads amongst the working class.[54]

There was as yet no Catholic Workers' College in Dublin. McQuaid had acknowledged the omission in the early 1940s though his early attempts to set up a Catholic Workers' Institute, and, in this context, he was forwarded a leaflet outlining the activities of Plater College in 1943.[55] Calls for the establishment of a CWC in the capital were made with increasing regularity in the letters pages of the *Standard* in the immediate post-war era.[56] This was motivated, in part, by a concern about the potential emergence of non-Catholic forms of workers' education in the capital, a fact heightened when the People's College did appear. Even before its emergence, Bishop Browne warned that the ethos of Ireland's future trade union leaders 'was going to be one thing or another, Catholic or socialist. There is an abundance of leftist literature, and we shall soon see the revival of leftist workers' colleges'. Noting *Quadragesimo anno*'s observation that it was the clergy's duty 'to train fittingly these lay apostles amongst workingmen and amongst employers', Browne queried 'are we forgetting this duty in Ireland?'[57] The CWC arose from the a determination that the trade union leadership's ethos would be unshakeably Catholic. As Thomas Morrissey S.J., a former Director of the CWC's successor, the National College of Industrial Relations, later recalled, 'an awareness of the threat, both internal and external, posed by Soviet communism' was one of the key motivating factors behind its formation.[58]

The task in this regard fell to the Jesuits. The order's 1946 Annual Congress in Rome had decreed that each Province internationally found a 'social centre' to convey Catholic social teaching. Consequently, the Irish Province formed a three man committee consisting of Fathers Edward Coyne, Joseph Canavan and Thomas Counihan, which in 1948 took the decision of establishing the CWC.[59] A report the group wrote afterwards, while acknowledging that communists had not infiltrated Irish trade unionism 'to a marked degree', claimed that the alleged fact that several Irish trade unionists had communist sympathies necessitated the formation of such a centre in Dublin. John Swift, James Larkin Jr and Roddy Connolly were described as 'crypto-communists', while

[54] *Irish Independent*, 22 Oct. 1949.
[55] Letter from Thomas Counihan S.J. to McQuaid enclosing leaflet, 29 Dec. 1943 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/24/1/4).
[56] *Standard*, 14 Feb. 1947; 9 May 1947.
[57] Michael Browne, 'Why Catholic priests should concern themselves with social and economic questions' in *Christus Rex*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1947), pp. 3-9.
[58] Thomas J. Morrissey, 'Social and labour issues in Jesuit ministry' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, ciii, no. 412 (Winter, 2014/15), p. 582.
[59] Seery and McKenna, 'The Catholic Workers' College Dublin', pp. 46-47.

Seán Dunne was identified as having 'a communist outlook and communist sympathies'. Peadar O'Donnell, the group asserted, was, and perhaps remained, an active communist.[60]

Given the relative weakness of the Catholic social movement in Ireland, the Jesuits looked abroad for inspiration in their task. On a fact-finding visit to the United States, Edmond Kent, a young Jesuit, met leading Catholic labour figures like John Corridan, the New York Jesuit worker-priest mythologised by Elia Kazan's 1954 film *On the waterfront*. Corridan, who ministered as a priest amongst, but not working alongside, New York dockers, differed from the French worker-priests who sought to reconnect with disaffected communist-leaning urban workers by literally joining them as workers in their factories.[61] The latter movement excited initial interest in the *Irish Monthly*, which in 1948 serialised an account by a French worker priest written specifically for the Jesuit periodical.[62] It earlier reviewed an autobiography of a French worker-priest in Germany which argued the movement was merely returning to 'what was an everyday fact, by the very nature of things, in the first two centuries of Christianity'. Its observation that it was 'an experiment that may not be continued' proved prescient,[63] as the priest-worker experiment attracted increasing Vatican suspicion, and was formally suppressed on its command in 1954.[64] A 1953 *Furrow* profile of Fr Jacques Loew, the movement's founder, reflected this by noting the cynical observation of one French priest that either the priest-workers would convert the communists or the communists would convert the priest-workers.[65]

Seán Ó Faoláin was a noted Irish admirer of the worker-priests. While a critic of Ireland's 'obscurantist, repressive, regressive and uncultivated' Catholic Church,[66] he had long been interested in intellectual trends within French Catholicism such as the writings of Jacques Maritain,[67] and *The Bell* under his editorship examined France's Catholic left, observing that it was only there 'that a movement of this sort has become really strong'.[68] He rued the worker-priests' lack of influence in Ireland, arguing that 'anybody who has read *Esprit* or *Témoignage Chrétien*, or read about the priest-workers of France … or is at all in any way aware of practical Catholic anticommunism elsewhere

[60] 'Report on a Centrum', 19 Mar. 1948 (IJA/CIR/20).
[61] Limond, 'The Jesuits, Mary and Joseph', pp. 323-324.
[62] Pierre Beauchamp, 'Priest in dungarees' in *Irish Monthly*, lxxvi, no. 897 (Mar., 1948), pp. 111-116; Pierre Beauchamp, 'Priest in dungarees: II' in *Irish Monthly*, lxxvi, no. 898 (Apr., 1948), pp. 172-177.
[63] J. C. K., 'Priest-Workman in Germany' in *Irish Monthly*, lxxvi, no. 896 (Feb., 1948), p. 93.
[64] Oscar Cole-Arnal, 'The témoignage of the worker priests, contextual layers of the pioneer epoch, (1941-1955)' in Gerd Ranier-Horn and Emmanuel Gerard (eds), *Left Catholicism 1943-1955, Catholics and society in western Europe at the point of liberation* (Leuven, 2001), p. 138.
[65] T. P. Donnelly, 'A priest worker' in *The Furrow*, iv, no. 2 (Feb., 1953), p. 71.
[66] *The Rocky Road to Dublin*, dir. by Peter Lennon, 1968.
[67] Fanning, *The quest for modern Ireland*, pp. 63-64.
[68] H. T., 'The Catholic left in France' in *The Bell*, xi, no. 3 (Dec., 1945), p. 749.

must ask himself, "What are we doing?"'[69] Corridan proved a more reliably orthodox model for the CWC in how the clergy should engage with the working class.

Kent also met Dorothy Day, a former member of the revolutionary socialist Industrial Workers' of the World. Day, after converting to Catholicism in 1927, wedded her faith to her labour radicalism by founding the influential Catholic Worker Movement in 1933 with the 'French peasant-scholar' Peter Maurin.[70] Kent and the CWC more broadly were much more orthodox in their Catholicism than Day and the Catholic Worker Movement, who were not diffident in criticising 'hierarchs and church agencies not living up to the teachings of the church' and were accused by conservative Catholics of communist sympathies for vocally protesting McCarthyism'.[71] Kent's initial suspicion of Day gave way to admiration, and he claimed in *Studies* on his return that Day's movement promised 'a greater measure of social justice than Marx or his latter-day followers can ever dream of'.[72] The trip had a lasting influence on the CWC, Limond suggesting it contributed to differences in emphases between the conservative Coyne and relatively more radical Kent.[73] Early CWC lecturer Bill McKenna S.J. later recalled that Jesuit workers' colleges in the United States, and, to a lesser extent, France, were a greater influence on the CWC than their counterparts in Germany and Britain. Plater College was merely sending 'workers back out into the world with a phony Oxford accent', he claimed.[74]

Unsurprisingly, attempts to instil a Catholic ethos into Irish trade unionism through education prompted criticism from communists. In 1950, Michael O'Riordan accused O'Rahilly of seeking to indoctrinate future trade union leaders with 'the ideology of collaborating with the employers',[75] and asserted in 1958 it and the DICS were part of a campaign to divert young workers 'from the study of the works of Connolly, and indeed to assert principles and ideas that are a flat contradiction of those posed by him'.[76] Others outside the IWL were also sceptical. While Coyne held a 'satisfactory' talk

[69] Ó Faoláin, 'On a recent incident', p. 523. A leftist Catholic journal founded in 1933, *Esprit* was edited by the prominent French personalist thinker Emmanuel Mounier until his 1950 death. Influenced by, amongst others, the theologian Teilhard de Chardin and the worker-priests, it 'tried to marry black France with red France, the priests with the Jacobins, and create a transcendent synthesis'. John Hellman, *Emmanuel Mounier and the new Catholic left, 1930-1950* (Toronto, 1981), p. 9. *Témoignage Chrétien* was founded in France during the war by Gaston Fessard, a 'militantly anti-fascist Jesuit' and contemporary of Mounier. Ibid, p. 173.
[70] Tom Cornell, 'The Catholic Worker, communism and the Communist Party' in *American Catholic Studies*, ccxv, no. 1 (Spring., 2013), pp. 89-91.
[71] Ibid, p. 87.
[72] Edmond Kent, 'Dorothy Day: an interview' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxix, no. 154 (June, 1950), p. 185.
[73] Limond, 'The Jesuits, Mary and Joseph', pp. 323-327. As Limond further notes, the CWM had 'little or no equivalent in 1950s Ireland'. Like the French worker-priest phenonemon, Irish Catholicism in the mid-twentieth century was arid ground for it to take root. Ibid, pp. 333-334.
[74] Seery and McKenna, 'The Catholic Workers' College Dublin', p. 49.
[75] *Irish Workers' Voice*, Oct. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1141).
[76] Michael O'Riordan, 'Irish labour needs its own educational movement' in *Irish Socialist Review*, no. 2 (Sept., 1958), p. 10 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/619).

with John Swift about the CWC when it was first mooted,[77] Swift later was critical of the college.[78] Matt Merrigan recalled possessing a 'strong ideological antagonism' towards it.[79] Desmond Branigan fortrightly told a CWC representative that he felt priests did not have the 'competence' to dictate to the trade union movement, and later claimed to be the only head of an Irish trade union in the era to never have been invited to the CWC.[80] James Larkin Jr was perceived by the college in 1961 as being unfriendly towards it due to his 'socialist ideology', though it noted that many on the WUI's executive were CWC graduates who disagreed with him.[81]

McKenna similarly recalled attempts to convey Catholic social teaching sometimes facing apathy or bemusement in some unions, noting that graduates of the UCD course were often met with the reaction, 'Oh Jesus, more fucking encyclicals', when subsequently addressing trade union meetings. Likewise, many unions were initially 'suspicious as hell' of the CWC, and McKenna recalled being asked at one meeting, 'Oh, where the fuck were you when we needed you in 1913?' - a reference to Robert Kane, S.J.[82] A 1961 CWC memorandum later blamed the lack of engagement from the Irish clergy to the trade union movement as a major reason for the perceived distance between clergymen and Irish trade unionism. 'Their reactions to industrial events are shallow and superficial, or they are no different to those of the typical middle-class … a shop steward is as remote as a Baluba tribesman', it asserted.[83]

Nonetheless, despite these attitudes, the CWC exerted a broad influence in the long term, enhancing the Church's ability 'to influence the pace and militancy of industrial disputes'.[84] A key moment was the creation of its Trade Union Advisory Committee in 1954, which had representatives from unions such as the WUI, the ITGWU, the Bakers' Union and the Building Workers' Union.[85] While the CWC's student numbers had changed little between 1951 and 1954, with 44 and 45 students respectively, by 1955 it had 161 students. The numbers grew steadily over the following decade, and by 1962 it had 513 male students and 121 women students, women being admitted for the first time in 1956.[86] In 1958, O'Riordan deplored that the CWC's number of students had

[77] Letter from Edward Coyne to Tom Byrne, Jesuit Provincial, 29 Sept. 1948 (IJA/CIR/20).
[78] Swift, *John Swift*, p. 131.
[79] Devine, 'Socialist trade unionist', p. 103.
[80] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017.
[81] Memorandum on the CWC, 23 Nov. 1961 (IJA/CIR/20).
[82] Seery and McKenna, 'The Catholic Workers' College Dublin', pp. 49-50.
[83] Memorandum on the CWC, 23 Nov. 1961 (IJA/CIR/20).
[84] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 463.
[85] Catholic Workers' College trade union advisory committee, first report, May. 1954 (IJA/CIR/2).
[86] Memorandum on the CWC, 23 Nov. 1961 (IJA/CIR/20).

increased threefold since its foundation,[87] and later recalled that '*Rerum Novarum*, the Catholic Workers' College, and the thinking of Professor Alfred O'Rahilly' meant that there was 'little accomodation for left wing thinking' in the trade union movement.[88] This was illustrated by the opening of an extension to the College in December 1956, an event addressed by McQuaid, Taoiseach Éamon de Valera, President Seán T. O'Kelly and Jesuit Provincial Father O'Grady. O'Grady declared, in light of the recent events in Hungary, that 'no system, political or economic', could succeed that was 'divorced from the acknowledgment of God's place in the world and of His Law'.[89] Asserting that the maintanance of democracy against totalitarianism required a citizenry involved in their society's affairs, O'Kelly praised the College's attempts to 'develop a social conciousness and a direct social conscience' in its students.[90]

The CWC attracted support from across Irish trade unionism, though its staff perceived William O'Brien as being hostile towards it, given his personal antipathy towards the Catholic clergy.[91] The CIU's affiliates had supported Catholic workers' courses prior to the CWC's formation. Proposing a motion of thanks to O'Rahilly and Coyne at the CIU's 1949 Congress which unanimously passed, Senator Maurice Colgan of National Labour asserted that 'trade unionists knew there were communists in this country, and it was up to them to see that these Communists were kept outside the ranks and that those who were being trained as trade union leaders were being educated in the right direction'.[92] The CIU went on to broadly support the CWC also. While the executive of the ITUC initially regarded such courses as 'unsuitable for trade unionists', arguing that trade union education should be secular and non-denominational,[93] its union affiliates in Cork had strongly supported O'Rahilly's course,[94] and many of its members went on to support the CWC.

In 1959, the year the ITUC and the CIU reunited to form the ICTU. Labour TD Denis Larkin, the WUI's industrial secretary, appeared with Eddie Browne, the ITGWU's vice-president, at a CWC meeting to observe the feast of St Joseph the Worker on May Day. The meeting saw trade union officials from both wings of the labour movement issue warnings regarding the danger of communists infiltrating Irish trade unionism. The Provincial of the Irish Jesuit Province, Father O'Grady, told those present that the CWC could play its part in bringing about the final victory of

[87] O'Riordan, 'Irish labour needs its own educational movement', p. 10.
[88] Uinseann MacEoin, *The IRA in the twilight years* (Dublin, 1998), p. 762.
[89] Clipping, *Sunday Independent*, 10 Dec. 1956 (NAI, PRES, 2000/15/07, The Catholic Workers' College, S. J).
[90] Text of talk given by President Seán T. O'Kelly at opening of CWC extension (NAI, PRES/2000/15/07, The Catholic Workers' College, S.J.).
[91] Morrissey, *William O'Brien*, p. 390.
[92] *Cork Examiner*, 23 July 1949.
[93] Gaughan, *Alfred O'Rahilly, III, part 1*, p. 167.
[94] Ibid, p. 173.

Catholicism over communism.[95] Indeed, given its strongly anti-communist overtones, it is ironic that as it was 'virtually the only path to third level qualification' for many working-class Dublin trade unionists in the era – the People's College remained much smaller – it was attended even by those on the left of the trade union movement who resented its religious and anti-socialist ethos.[96] While Dublin-based, it influenced Catholic workers' education initiatives outside the capital. In 1960 Browne gave his approval to a series of weekly lectures given by Galway Jesuits supplemented by lecturers from the Catholic Workers' College; the lectures had been requested by Galway Trades Council in light of 'new industries' to be established in Galway.[97]

The People's College remained active throughout this period, if overshadowed by the CWC. It continued to attract anti-communist suspicion. The Vigilance Committee discussed its situation at one of its earliest meetings, where it was noted that Crean had maintained a file on its activities since 1949, which he was continuing to update.[98] Noting in 1955 that the credentials of a Mr O'Neill, a teacher at the college, had been questioned by the *Standard*, the Committee, after consulting a former rector of Belvedere College, O'Neill's former secondary school, concluded that he was 'somewhat cynical, but a good Catholic'.[99] Vigilance also profiled Rory (Ruaidhrí) Roberts, secretary of the ITUC and a key figure in the People's College's emergence, noting he was not involved in any party but was close to James Larkin Jr and Donal Nevin.[100] Information on the College was also received by the Archdiocese from the Gardaí, a 1955 report noting that no member of the IWL attended its Annual Summer School in July. The report highlighted that Roberts and Pearse Crowley, a lecturer of the College, would be in attendance.[101]

A report on a People's College Weekend School in Greystones, Co. Wicklow, held to discuss the modern novel, was compiled by an informant in April 1961. Much of the report dealt with a social evening held on the first day of the School, particularly the singing of the red flag and other leftist songs by various attendees. At one stage Michael English, an attendee, reportedly sang 'some

[95] *Irish Independent*, 2 May. 1949, quoted in Connolly, 'The "red scare" in 1950s Dublin', p. 16.
[96] Devine, 'The Catholic Workers' College', p. 87.
[97] Letters from Pearse O'Higgins, S.J., to Browne, 2 Aug. 1960; Ted Connelly, secretary, Galway Trades Council, to Browne, 24 Aug. 1960; Ted Connelly, Secretary, Galway Trades Council, to Browne, 4 Sept. 1961 (GDA/MB, folder B/12/186).
[98] Letter from Michael O'Halloran to McQuaid, 24 Jan. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/4).
[99] Vigilance Committee report, 9 Feb. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/4). Beyond the People's College, workers' education from non-Catholic sources was held in suspicion generally. When the Vigilance Committee discovered in 1958 that a Glasgow-based correspondence course was being organised for Irish rail workers, Michael O'Halloran was assigned to investigate whether the philosophy element of the course was in accord with Catholic teaching. Vigilance Committee report, 10 Mar. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/50).
[100] Typed profile of Rory (Ruaidhrí) Roberts (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/344).
[101] Weekly Reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and Kindred Organisations, 28 July- 8 Aug. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/175).

people seem to think that our College is pink, but if they only knew it was more in the red than in the pink'. The informant noted that 'everyone at the weekend school seemed to have gone to mass, or church, according to their religion', but asserted that many sermons had been 'commented on unfavourably' by attendees, one priest talking of 'anti-clericalism, and Godlessness, even in the House of God, and people coming into the House of God with sneers upon their faces'. This was taken as an attack on the College, an unnamed delegate commenting that 'it must be planned, because he did the same last year, I remember'. A forum held on the concluding day of the Weekend School featuring Benedict Kiely, Peadar O'Donnell, Mervyn Wall and John Broderick was also attended by the informant, O'Donnell reportedly condemning the 'priests keeping up the censorship ban in this country'. The forum was generally seen by attendees as having been a 'debacle', the informant concluded. At once stage O'Donnell was criticised by Wall for purportedly supporting the creation of a group of writers 'such as the groups that exist in communist dominated countries.[102]

The Vigilance Committee returned to the subject of the People's College in 1965, noting that it was receiving support from the ICTU and that Roberts, now ICTU General Secretary, was a firm supporter. The Committee was dismissive of the College's prospects. It reportedly was 'not succeeding and caters for very few members of the trade union movement'.[103] While the People's College was indeed on shaky ground for much of the sixties, the seventies saw it 'come into its own' and it continues to exist.[104] The CWC, too, is the progenitor of the present day National College of Ireland in Dublin's docklands, though Limond questions how meaningful it is to talk about it as a successor of the CWC given it has been shorn of its Catholic ethos.[105]

'Off with the dogs?' The communist influence on Belfast Trades Council.

While Belfast had a Catholic Workers' College during the post-war years, it was an area, due to demographics, where the Church was less able to ensure a Catholic ethos permeated the unions there. This was significant, as the Second World War was marked by the growing influence of the trade union movement in Northern Ireland on the affairs of the movement in Ireland as a whole. While trade unionists from the North had displayed little interest in the ITUC before the war, a lack of interest echoed by the ITUC's leadership, by 1945 all but a handful of trade unions active in Northern Ireland had affiliated, attracted by the creation of a subsidiary Northern Ireland Committee. This move towards the ITUC was little hindered by the CIU split, given the latter's tiny northern

[102] Report on the People's College Weekend School, 15-16 Apr. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/639). The Weekend school is cursorily mentioned in Roberts, *The story of the People's College*, p. 61.
[103] Vigilance Committee report, 17 May. 1965 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/50).
[104] Roberts, *The story of the People's College*, pp. 80-83.
[105] Limond, 'Advanced education for working people', pp. 340-341.

membership, and by the early 1950s delegations from Northern Ireland made up 35 to 40 per cent of delegates – still a slight underrepresentation – at ITUC Annual Congresses, and attracted the most prominent figures on the northern left, including communists.[106]

Belfast Trades Council was a body in particular where communists wielded increasing influence. Betty Sinclair succeeded in becoming secretary of the Belfast and District Trades Council in October 1947. Under her direction, the Trades Council rose 'from relative obscurity to a nominal affiliation of 75,000 workers', campaigning on 'issues as diverse as housing, bus fares, civil rights, atomic weapons and apartheid'. The Trades' Council was viewed by the CPNI as central to its strategy locally, to the extent that CPGB officials in 1950 criticised the 'tendency to hide the party and to refrain from direct party activity by making the Trades Council the channel'.[107] The Trades Council attracted the attention of the FBI in 1953, which informed the British embassy in Washington it had been sent a resolution, signed by Sinclair, condemning the execution of the alleged communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to the US Secretary of State.[108] Unsurprisingly the appointment of Sinclair, whom the RUC had described in 1932 as the first of 'the communist element here [that] has spoken against the Church', was of concern, both locally and nationally, to the Catholic hierarchy.[109] Alongside Sinclair, Andy Barr, the CPNI's Chairman, was also prominent within the trade unions, being elected Northern Ireland district secretary of the Sheetmetal Workers' Union in 1953 and later head of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in Northern Ireland. As Milotte quips, the party's influence 'ended at the factory gate' and outside of the trade union sphere the CPNI's electoral results continued to decline.[110]

Both Catholic clergy and laity in Northern Ireland also sought to grabble with communist influence in the local trade unions. Claiming that two trade unionists whose recent sacking by the shipping company Harland and Wolff had prompted a recent strike were communists, a *Standard* report in November 1947 noted that Belfast clergy were urging local Catholic workers to take 'a deeper and more active interest in their trade unions, with a view to guarding against the baneful influence of the Muscovites'. The report additionally quoted an anonymous trade unionist, who, blaming alleged apathy from Catholic workers for communists wielding such influence, claimed they were 'either too lazy or just not interested, but when they are off with the dogs the meetings are being attended by less desirable elements.'[111] The rhetoric of Belfast's CWC was echoed by Fr

[106] Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition*, pp. 62-63.
[107] Smylie, 'Betty Sinclair', pp. 125-127.
[108] Letter from US embassy in Washington to Director-General, MI5, 1 Apr. 1953 (NAUK, KV2/2506, 'Betty Sinclair').
[109] Smylie, 'Betty Sinclair', p. 124.
[110] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, pp. 222-223.
[111] *Standard*, 18 Nov. 1947.

James A. Coulter of St Columb's College, Derry in an 1951 article in the *Furrow*. He noted that while the communist movement was numerically weak in Northern Ireland, 'their little group exercises an influence far beyond its numerical strength' in the trade unions, a fact Coulter felt should 'set [Catholics] an example'. Identifying the 'fruitful field of non-Catholics' in Northern Ireland's labour movement as the main source of communist recruitment, Coulter argued that most of those in the north's trade unions who had 'acquired a Marxist outlook' were not necessarily CPNI members and were influenced by 'ignorance rather than ill-will'. He echoed earlier arguments by asserting the solution was for both priests and lay Catholics to involve themselves in northern trade unionism.[112]

With the encouragement of the local hierarchy, the Young Christian Workers (YCW) were particularly active in Northern Ireland. The organisation first established themselves in Ireland in 1944, and some of their members were allegedly involved in breaking up CPNI meetings in the Catholic Falls Road.[113] Youth rallies by the group held in Belfast's St Mary's parochial hall on two successive nights in March 1950 were endorsed by Mageean and D'Alton. While the bulk of the attendees came from Belfast, YCW groups also travelled from Coleraine, Co. Derry, Portadown, Co. Armagh and Ballymoney, Co. Antrim. D'Alton, sending a message to the 'thousands' who attended, asserted that: 'Pope Pius XI called you "the missionaries of the Church amongst the working classes". You can aid in restoring the rule of Christ among your fellow-workers by winning back to His standard those who have been led astray by the false teachings of modern materialism with its denial of God'. The rallies were also addressed by the chaplain of the YCW's Melbourne branch, as well as the local group's chaplain, Rev James Close of Belfast's St Paul's Church. Urging those present to 'Christianise the atmosphere of the workshops', Close argued that the YCW was needed in Belfast as 'Our workers can be led by insidious propaganda and join wrong organisations and even become communistic'. Close further appealed to attendees to 'interest themselves in the YCW's newspapers', as they provided a counterpoint to communist newspapers.[114] Another rally was held outside the Broadway cinema on Belfast's Falls Road in 1952, organisers asking D'Alton to send a message of encouragement as 'members of the YCW from your diocese will be present at it'.[115] The group in D'Alton's own diocese held a rally outside the Parochial Hall in Curran Street, Portadown,

[112] James A. Coulter, 'Priest and worker in Northern Ireland' in *The Furrow*, ii. no. 9 (Sept., 1951), pp. 518-519.
[113] Curiously Jim Hanna, a Belfast-based Trotskyist, selected the YCW as a target for entryism, joining 'in order to see if there was anyone good at the meetings'. He quickly left when it became clear there were 'no good people present'. Crossey and Monaghan, 'The origins of Trotskyism in Ireland', p. 36.
[114] Newspaper clipping, *Standard*, 17 Mar. 1950 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Young Christian Workers').
[115] Letter from John Murphy and Kathleen Brannigan, Diocesan Secretaries, Young Christian Workers, to Cardinal D'Alton, 17 Oct. 1952 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Young Christian Workers').

in 1955.[116] D'Alton could not attend but again sent a statement to be read to the rally, which asserted that the YCW's 'splendid ideal of re-establishing the dominion of Christ in factory and workshop' was vital in a world which had 'drifted far from the light of divine truth and the safe anchorage of Christian principles'.[117]

In addition, the Catholic Church in Belfast became involved in the Churches' Industrial Council, (CIC) a body originally founded in 1957 as the Church of Ireland Diocesan Industrial Council by the Church of Ireland Bishops of Connor and of Down and Dromore. The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches promptly accepted invitations to join, as did the Catholic Church when Mageean was also approached. Five Catholic nominees attended its October 1959 meeting, making it, at the time, 'the only inter-church body with Catholic participation' in Northern Ireland.[118] The rise of unemployment prompted by the decline of Belfast's shipbuilding industry was a key concern for the CIC, and it held discussions with the Northern Ireland Ministry of Labour, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and Harland and Wolff, the leading Belfast shipbuilder, to address the issue.[119] The organisation was explicitly anti-communist, a key objective being to 'consider how best to combat anti-Christian and communist influences in industry in Northern Ireland'. The CIC had little success in dislodging communists from the Trades Council. While CIC representatives attended two meetings on the Trades Council's executive as observers, an attempt in 1960 to gain a permanent presence was successfully rejected by Sinclair, with executive support.[120]

The influence of communists within the Belfast trade union movement was of particular concern for McQuaid. In 1948, John McAteer and Malachy Gray, both from Belfast, were listed by the Knights alongside Seán Dunne, Larkin Jr and Swift as communist representatives on the ITUC Executive.[121] In the CIB's 1953 report, which the hierarchy members received, it informed the hierarchy that 'at the annual congress of the TUC Andy Barr, a prominent Belfast communist, proposed a resolution advocating increasing trade with Russia'.[122] In November 1959 the Vigilance Committee sought to examine the role of communists in Northern Ireland's trade union leadership,

[116] Letter from Henry Connolly, Diocesan Organiser, Young Christian Workers, to Cardinal D'Alton, 15 Jan. 1955 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Young Christian Workers').
[117] Address to Young Christian Workers' rally, 11 Feb. 1955 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Young Christian Workers').
[118] Ó Corráin, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, p. 210.
[119] Press release sent by J. Gordon Wilson, Hon. Secretary, Churches' Industrial Council, to D'Alton, 23 Dec. 1960 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 33, 'Churches' Industrial Council').
[120] Andrew Boyd, *Fermenting elements: the labour colleges in Ireland 1924–1964* (Belfast, 1999), p. 123; Smylie, 'Irish communism', pp. 44-45.
[121] 'The background of communism in Dublin' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[122] Catholic Information Bureau, seventh annual report, 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Catholic Information Bureau).

investigating Barr in particular.[123] Kent subsequently reported that Barr had 'become active in Dublin trade union circles', as his union encompassed the whole island.[124] The committee confirmed that Barr was a CPNI member, describing Irvin and Binks, two others mentioned at the previous Vigilance meeting, are 'fellow travellers'.[125] Due to the CPNI's influence on Belfast Trades Council, the CWC was also apprehensive about Belfast's perceived status as 'the centre and strength of communism in Ireland' and warned that socialists, communists, and 'northern Protestants and Presbyterians' were united by their opposition to the Church playing a role in workers' education.[126]

In his 1963 exchange with Giuseppe Sensi on the strength of the communist movement in Ireland, McQuaid warned that links between Dublin trade unionists and their counterparts in Belfast were more likely to bring communism to the Dublin trade union movement 'than from any emigrants returning from Britain'. Sensi pressed the Archbishop to elaborate on his concerns about the Belfast trade union movement.[127] Unfortunately McQuaid's reply regarding Belfast trade unionism is not contained among his papers. Sinclair remained as secretary of Belfast Trades Council until May 1974. Ultimately it was the increasing sectarian divisions within Belfast trade unionism exemplified by the Ulster Workers' Council strike, not the efforts of the churches, which forced her from her office.[128]

Michael O'Riordan, the Franciscans and the ITGWU

Michael O'Riordan's membership of the ITGWU was an enduring concern to Church authorities. O'Riordan, whose gained a job as a bus conductor a few months after his 1943 release from internment, was first active in the union in Cork.[129] O'Riordan served as Chairman of the ITGWU's Cork busworkers' section and on the executive of the union's Cork No. 1 branch, and his personal popularity as a trade unionist is indicated by the support he received from trade union officials in several ITGWU branches in the city during his 1946 by-election campaign. Alongside local representatives of electrical and railwaymen's unions, tenants' associations, cooperative societies, and party colleagues, they endorsed a fundraising letter written by the President of the ITGWU's Cork No. 1. Branch and the former Chairman of the ITGWU's busworkers' section on behalf of

[123] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 23 Nov. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/82).
[124] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 25 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/85).
[125]Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 8 Feb. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/86).
[126] Memorandum on the CWC, 23 Nov. 1961 (IJA/CIR/20).
[127] Letter from Giuseppe Sensi to John Charles McQuaid, 29 Aug. 1963 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/653).
[128] Smylie, 'Betty Sinclair', p. 130.
[129] MacEoin, *The IRA in the twilight years*, p. 762.

O'Riordan's campaign, which proudly noted that he had fought in the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War.[130]

O'Riordan continued his involvement in the ITGWU upon his 1947 move to Dublin, working as a tram conductor from Terenure bus depot.[131] He advised bus workers to unite behind the ITGWU as their sole union and, alongside a fellow worker, Laurence Wright, urged two workers based at Clontarf depot, Monahan and O'Leary, who had left the ITGWU and triggered an unofficial industrial dispute, to return to the union. Despite this, he encouraged busdrivers to support the strike, 'no matter what criticisms may be made as to its origins and cause', and demanded that the current ITGWU bus and tram workers' committee be replaced.[132] In 1950, disciplinary action was taken against O'Riordan and Wright, the union alleging they had made statements in conflict with union policy.[133] That year, he was made convenor of the IWL's busworkers' group, one of a number of such groups IWL trade union members set up in their unions.[134] The CIB informed the hierarchy that the IWL formed the group after the Clontarf dispute. It did not treat its emergence as a serious development, as 'it was doubtful that their supporters in this section of transport amounted to more than a few agitators'.[135] The group was placed 'under review' by a 1952 report from the IWL's executive committee, which, noting 'definite stagnation' within it, recommended that 'some other comrade than O'Riordan be developed as a leader, at least in the organisational sense'.[136] The IWL also attempted to intervene in strikes amongst rail workers, with little success. A leaflet aimed at striking rail workers in 1951 was internally described as 'badly distributed',[137] and the *Standard* claimed that several of the leaflets were destroyed by workers.[138]

O'Riordan's presence prompted opposition from Catholics in the union. CIÉ had an active Franciscan sodality, a product of the fact the semi-state body's first two chairmen were both close to the Franciscans – the second, Teddy Courtney, was a Franciscan tertiary. The solidality published a periodical, *Terminus*, and in 1956 raised funds for a statue of Our Lady which was installed on the

[130] Fundraising letter entitled 'Dear Friend' from James Doolan, President, No. 1 Branch, ITGWU, Cork, and Ed Linehan, late Chairman of Bus Workers' Section, Cork (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 1, item 3).
[131] MacEoin, *The IRA in the twilight years*, p. 752.
[132] Leaflet entitled 'Bus Workers! For Unity and Progress!' issued by Michael O'Riordan and Laurence Wright, c. 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 16, item 47).
[133] Devine, *Organising history*, p. 444.
[134] Other examples included the Electricians' Group, headed by Seán Mulready, the Bricklayers' Group, headed by Michael McCarthy, the Building Labourers' group, headed by Hosey, and the Carpenters' Group, headed by Early. IWL executive committee minutes for 18 Aug 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 1).
[135] Catholic Information Bureau, fourth annual report, 1951 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24).
[136] IWL executive committee report, Jan. 1 to May 31., 1952 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 32).
[137] IWL executive committee minutes for 10 Jan. 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 1).
[138] *Standard*, 19 Jan. 1951.

Franciscan Friary on Merchants' Quay.[139] It actively opposed O'Riordan's influence. While not referring directly to O'Riordan, Gilbert Clarke, an outspoken Franciscan opponent of communism, likely had him in mind when he told the sodality's members in March 1949 that 'we must see that the people in control of the unions are God-fearing men who do not take their dictation from Moscow... remember that it is in conditions of chaos and disruption that Communism will thrive'.[140] Later that year, Seán O'Sullivan, who oversaw a Catholic Study Circle in CIÉ, asked McQuaid if members of the Circle could receive permission to read the *Irish Workers' Voice* to rebut the arguments of O'Riordan, who wrote for the paper: 'He has actually brought out a magazine for his workers and my study group are seriously thinking of bringing out an opposition paper'.[141] Later, in 1955, Fr James McLaughlin told sodality members in CIÉ to be vigilant not only against communism but also anti-clerical liberalism.[142] Attempts to instil a Catholic ethos in CIÉ evidently made their mark. Noting that 'time and time again it has been pointed out that if Communism comes to Ireland the first place where it is likely to raise its ugly head are the various trade unions', DJ MacAulay, a Limerick bus driver and ITGWU member, asserted in 1952 that for the past two years 'three Hail Mary's were recited' before meetings of the ITGWU's bus section.[143]

O'Riordan's activism in the ITGWU continued into the 1950s, and he attempted several times to lead its busworkers. An undated leaflet from one of his union elections includes demands such as the introduction of depot committees to communicate between workers and the branch committee, the publication of wage agreements with management, and the reorganisation of CIÉ, 'with special emphasis on the role of the workers' in its public ownership.[144] The *Standard* used its infamous article condemning O'Riordan's second electoral run in Dublin South-West to remind readers that O'Riordan, 'who is known to his CIÉ associates as Mick', was running for chairman of the ITGWU's busworkers' branch.[145] It noted later that month that O'Riordan had failed to displace John McNulty, the incumbent Chairman and a graduate of the DICS, from becoming chairman for the fifth time. O'Riordan's 135 votes – 'out of a a total poll of approximately 2,000' – was around 200 votes lower than the last time he had run.[146] Amongst the matters Vigilance discussed in its first year was his position in trade union circles, O'Halloran reporting that Crean, alongside Killian

[139] Mary E. Daly, 'A second golden age: the Irish Franciscans, 1918-63' in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty (eds.), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 143-144.
[140] *Irish Independent*, 8 Mar. 1949.
[141] Letter from Fr Seán O'Sullivan to McQuaid's secretary, 7 Nov. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/795).
[142] *Irish Press*, 24 Nov. 1955.
[143] *Limerick Leader*, 28 Jan. 1952.
[144] 'To bus and tram workers, re branch elections' (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 16, item 45).
[145] *Standard*, 21 May 1954.
[146] Ibid, 28 May 1954.

Mattimoe, a Franciscan, had the problem of O'Riordan 'in hand' and were keeping him monitored.[147]

In 1957, Úna Byrne reported to McQuaid that O'Riordan had received 134 votes to be a representative to the management of the company. Hayes, secretary of the ITGWU's bus section, was reportedly 'not popular and his methods of handling the men are bad', which was seen as playing into O'Riordan's hands.[148] The vote increased concern surrounding O'Riordan's trade union activities in the Archdiocese, Crean warning the Committee later in the year that O'Riordan was a dangerous influence within his union and was almost elected by his branch during the summer.[149] O'Halloran subsequently met with Fr Jarlath, a Franciscan, who promised he would do his best to marshal opposition within the sodality to O'Riordan in the forthcoming union elections. Jarlath warned O'Halloran that he was doubtful he could prevent O'Riordan's victory.[150] Sodality members at Donnybrook Bus Garage had previously attempted to encourage fellow workers there to refuse to work alongside O'Riordan, but the campaign had 'not been successful', according to a 1956 Garda report forwarded to the Archdiocese.[151] In 1959, Byrne informed McQuaid that the IWL had only two members, beside O'Riordan, in the busworkers' branch, and claimed she had obtained their names and sent them to Mattimoe.[152]

O'Riordan's presence in the ITGWU's bus section continued to be of concern into the 1960s. In 1960, its committee denied it was disenfranchising him by declining to select him as a representative to the ITGWU's Dublin District Council, despite the fact he had already attended it.[153] On 6 May 1962, the front page of the *Sunday Independent* led with a story entitled 'We're not communists say bus men', questioning whether there had been communist involvement in an ongoing unofficial Dublin bus strike. John Geraghty, press liaison officer for the strikers, publicly denied attempts to link the union with communism: 'There are Communists in CIÉ, but none of them has the slightest authority in this strike ... No member of the Strike Committee is a Communist, and none of them would give the slightest support to Marxist philosophy'.[154] The Committee subsequently reported that O'Riordan had been banned from holding any office in the ITGWU due

[147] Letter from Michael O'Halloran to McQuaid, 24 Jan. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/4).
[148] Letter from Úna Byrne to McQuaid, 2 Aug. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/424).
[149] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 18 Nov. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/51).
[150] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 13 Jan. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/37).
[151] Weekly reports from An Garda Siochána on the Communist Party of Ireland and Kindred Organisations, 6 Nov. 1956 – 12 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/217).
[152] Letter from Úna Byrne to McQuaid, 11 Dec. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/926).
[153] Letter from branch secretary to Michael O'Riordan, c. 1960 (DCLA, CPI collection, Box 16, item 50).
[154] *Sunday Independent*, 6 May 1962.

to the dispute.[155] CIÉ's sodality remained focused on anti-communism, Mattimoe arguing the same year in Killarney, Co. Kerry that communism 'did not originate with the poor, the uneducated or the working class. Every major communist figure who became a communist in a non-communist country did so as a student intellectual, materialistic in philosophy and atheistic in faith'.[156] In 1965, Vigilance noted that O'Riordan had left CIÉ to 'devote himself to the development of the party'.[157]

'The greatest trade union leader in Ireland today': Desmond Branigan, John Charles McQuaid and the Marine Port and General Workers' Union.

During the 1950s Desmond Branigan, head of the Irish Seamen and Port Workers' Union (ISPWU) – after 1955, the Marine, Port and General Workers' Union (MPGWU) – was a persistent concern to McQuaid. Born in North Great George's Street in Dublin in 1918, Branigan, as he later told trade unionist Mick O'Reilly, was the son of a labourer and trade unionist who was 'a Larkinite until the day he died'. Much of his childhood was spent in a Christian Brothers-run industrial school. He became a deckboy on a ship in 1937, joining the National Union of Seamen. Speaking over 70 years later, he attributed this decision to circumstance rather than conscious politicisation, as membership of the union was mandatory. His work took him to places as diverse as Ethiopia and Korea.[158]

Years before Branigan became a prominent figure, he stayed for a night in 1947 with Sean O'Casey in the playwright's Devon home while Branigan's ship was docked in Plymouth due to a storm. Writing to a regular confidante, the writer Bronson Albery, the following day, O'Casey related the impression the young sailor made on him: 'He was reared up in an Irish industrial school – a place, governed by Christian Brothers, where little is learned, and boys are knocked senseless for not showing sufficient reverence to catechism and saints; where the world, the flesh and the devil are beaten out of them by main force. Well, here was this fellow, well read, having taught himself trigonometry, and all navigational problems, sailing the world's seas; and I learned quite a lot of the secrets of the deep sea sailors'.[159] Both Branigan's status as an autodidact and his maritime travels would feed into the later innuendo that he was a communist, as rumours that he had received education from communists in Moscow during the 1940s were taken seriously by McQuaid.

By his own account, Branigan was neither a member of either the IWL or the CPGB, 'and the simple reason was that if there was the slightest hint [of communism] you wouldn't have got a job in

[155] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 5 Dec. 1962 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/110).
[156] *Kerryman*, 10 Feb. 1962.
[157] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 22 Feb. 1965 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/126).
[158] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017
[159] Krause, (ed.) *The letters of Seán O'Casey, 1942-54*, p. 459.

the unions'. However, he 'understood their objectives and was sympathetic to that'.[160] While attracted to Marxist ideas, in contrast to Swift he did not idealise the Soviet Union or China, claiming that seamen heard enough about the Soviet Union under Stalin on their travels not to have illusions about it.[161] Branigan himself attributed the rumours of his communist affiliations to an unnamed Dún Laoghaire man he worked with on a ship who allegedly heard him comment favourably about communism. The man later spread the story around Dublin. Branigan responded to the allegations by ignoring them – 'none of their feckin' business anyway', he later commented.[162]

Branigan emerged as a significant trade unionist in Dublin in the 1950s within the ISPWU and its successor. The union had a reputation for militancy. During the 1930s, the Republican Congress had been noted as drawing a 'good deal of support' from within it.[163] Garda reports from the early 1950s portray the union in a deeply dysfunctional light, given the influence of violent gangs who regularly clashed with each other in the docks, confining employment on certain ships to their associates and either collecting intimidation money from non-gang members or intimidating them from working. The ISPWU were well aware of the situation, the report noted, but was powerless to enforce discipline given the gangs' influence.[164] It was in this chaotic atmosphere that Branigan began his trade union career. His October 2016 *Irish Times* obituary observed that he had had 'to resort to "using his fists as well as his brain"' as an ISPWU delegate, a claim the contemporary Garda documents suggest was likely not hyperbole, and he hired a bodyguard after becoming the union's General Secretary.[165]

As with most Irish workers of the 1950s, the Dublin dockers were practicing Catholics; they raised £7,000 to build a statue of Our Lady in Dublin port in 1953.[166] It is notable, then, that despite his later poor relationship with the CWC, Branigan couched many of his early arguments on his workers' behalf in Catholic social teaching. In September 1951, the *Standard* quizzed him in

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[160] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017.
[161] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part two', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rptk9wTBIi8, accessed 7 Sept. 2017.
[162] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017.
[163] 'Notes on the Republican Congress Movement' (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/527).
[164] Garda report, 'Conditions in the Port of Dublin', 1 Aug. 1950 (NAI, TSCH/3/S11825 A). Violence between animal gangs, as such Dublin gangs were popularly nicknamed, was common in the mid-twentieth century, and animal gangs had been regularly blamed for organised anti-communist disruptions of left-wing meetings in Dublin throughout the 1930s. Donal Fallon has convincingly argued, however, that the term animal gang was used as shorthand for any violent mob in inter-war Dublin, and by the 1940s it had become a term used exclusively to denote apolitical criminals. Donal Fallon, 'Newsboys and the "Animal Gang" in 1930s Dublin' in David Convery (ed.), *Locked out: a century of Irish working class life* (Dublin, 2013), p. 107.
[165] *Irish Times*, 15 Oct. 2016.
[166] *Standard*, 29 May 1953.

response to the *Sunday Independent*'s condemnation of a strike being held in Dublin's docks as 'morally evil'. Responding to the charge, Branigan drew upon the *Irish Monthly*'s February 1948 editorial, 'In praise of strikes', to argue that the dispute adhered to Catholic social teaching's criteria of a just strike by offering tangible gains, having a reasonable change of success, and taking place after negotiations had been exhausted. While the *Standard* was not wholly convinced, noting the disruption the strike was causing to other sections of the population, it congratulated Branigan for his support for Catholic social principles.[167]

Despite these arguments, the same month, the Archdiocese received an anonymous phone call alleging Branigan was a communist and linking him to the violence in the docks: 'I wonder would His Grace the Archbishop probe into the activities of Desmond Branigan of the Irish Seamen's Union. He is a real Communist. I cannot give you my name, but I and many like me want to get back to work and we are afraid of being beaten up'.[168] Branigan was a focus of one of the Vigilance Committee's first reports in 1954, which alleged that 'wherever he worked communist posters appeared – up to a certain time'.[169] When Chris Mangan, McQuaid's secretary, approached Fr Fehily to discover more about Branigan, Fehily's response portrayed him as an 'extraordinary and very mysterious character. Even his closest associates are baffled by him. He is undoubtedly very official, hard-working and influential. Those I spoke to classed him as the greatest trade union leader in Ireland today'. Branigan's 'ability and knowledge' were perceived as 'beyond that what could be expected of an ordinary sailor' prompting further suspicion. While Branigan described himself as a self-taught man, Fehily cast doubt on this, concluding that Branigan's alleged 'very extensive and thorough training' implied a communist background. Fehily conceded that Branigan had not 'used his position to foster any unorthodox ideas', but argued that this was because 'he knows that they would not be tolerated and would probably cost him his job'. Fehily also commented that Branigan's 'associates' in the MPGWU believed 'he has some ulterior motive, beyond personal pride, for his intensive activity'. Ironically, the fact that Branigan 'never loses an opportunity at hinting of his Catholic background – "When I was at Mass last Sunday"', was also held against him, Fehily commenting that Branigan was 'using' Father Quinn to deflect from the rumours surrounding him: 'after a recent lecture by Father Quinn he referred to unfounded rumours surrounding himself, and he the friend of a priest'. Fehily concluded by noting the 'completely ruthless' Branigan was 'somewhat of an idol in the docks. He is certainly worth watching and closely at that'. The report was forwarded

[167] *Standard*, 7 Sept. 1951; Anon, 'In praise of strikes' in *Irish Monthly*, lxxvi, no. 896 (Feb., 1948), pp. 49-55.
[168] Note on telephone conversation, 11 Sept. 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/53/4).
[169] Vigilance committee minutes, 30 Apr. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/3).

to McQuaid, who annotated it by noting that Branigan 'disappeared for some five or six years on a boat bound for [a] Baltic port' during the Second World War.[170]

An undated letter sent to McQuaid by Úna Byrne – likely from the same period, given the individuals mentioned – described Branigan, 'a strange individual', as having been a member of the British Seamen's Union while working in various positions in the UK from 1940 until his return to Ireland in 1948. Byrne claimed that '[Branigan's] friends say he is a member of the CP but the Castle cannot prove that he is an active member. They say he definitely has contacts with the party'. Branigan's influence within the union was unchallenged due to the failure of its President, Dempsey, to confront Branigan, Byrne branding him a 'coward'. Seán O'Moore, the union's treasurer, was also reportedly unwilling to challenge Branigan as he feared being expelled from the union.[171] McQuaid had met with Branigan, despite these early suspicions, during a threatened 1955 strike at the Alliance and Dublin Consumers' Gas Company, in which the WUI, through a Fr Butler, approached McQuaid to intervene.[172] McQuaid agreed to meet with Branigan, Larkin Jr, and representatives of their unions, convincing them to defer the strike until further discussions with the Gas Company were held. McQuaid noted confidently that the 'Port Workers will accept my intervention and will recommend my request', while, with slightly less certainty, he added that 'the WUI will *very probably* recommend my request'.[173] Both unions agreed to defer strike action, Branigan conveying the 'very real appreciation and gratitude' the union's members had for McQuaid's role in ending the dispute.[174] Fifty-five years later, he would excoriate 'the auld bastard' McQuaid's role in meditating industrial disputes, criticising his promise that 'I may be able to draw somebody's attention to it' as churlish, given the Archbishop's influence in the era.[175]

Four months later, McQuaid's attitude had hardened. Throughout 1955 and 1956, the MPGWU was involved in a dispute with the Carlingford Lough Commission, which maintained light buoys and navigational aids on Carlingford Lough, on the border between Co. Louth and Co. Down. The union was aggrieved that the Commission had appointed a non-seaman as an employee.[176] McQuaid ignored Branigan when the Archdiocese was contacted regarding a circular the union sent

[170] Letter from Tom Fehily to Christopher Mangan, 11 Nov. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/1).
[171] Byrne concluded by urging the reader to 'burn this hurried note', a point evidently overlooked or ignored by the diocesan authorities, to the historian's relief. Note from Úna Byrne, undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/461).
[172] Typed note on phone conversation with Father Butler, 5 Sept. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/4/1).
[173] Handwritten note by McQuaid headed 'Gas Strike, Conversation with Father Kent, S.J.' 6 Sept. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/4/2).
[174] Letter from Desmond Branigan to McQuaid, 17 Sept. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/4/10).
[175] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017.
[176] Letter from Desmond Branigan to John A. Costello, 29 Dec. 1955, enclosing Marine, Port and General Workers' Union, *History of dispute between the Marine, Port and General Workers' Union and the Carlingford Lough Commission* (Dublin, 1955) (NAI, DT/97/9/1356, Carlingford Lough Labour Dispute).

concerning the dispute, James Ardle McMahon replying that he did not know if it had. A note McMahon sent to McQuaid outlined that Fehily had 'advised against even acknowledging its receipt. Branigan would apparently use even this to bolster up his position'. 'Very good. Keep on knowing nothing with this gentleman', McQuaid annotated approvingly.[177] McQuaid's attitude was bolstered by a severe setback Branigan received in March 1956, when the British and Irish Steam-Packet Company won an injunction in the High Court against the MPGWU's Executive Committee prompted by the Carlingford Lough dispute.[178] A report Fehily sent to McQuaid subsequently noted that he had 'lost face badly over this and is talking of retiring'. Alongside the Carlingford Lough issue, an anonymous letter had been circulated claiming that Branigan supported innovations on the docks which would lead to job losses amongst dockers, while another, addressed to Branigan, warned him that 'your own members, dockers' and seamen, hate your guts'. Fehily regretted that James Dunne, a rising force within the union, had not put himself forward, as he 'had much more positive good in him' than a fellow union member named Costelloe, seen as the more likely challenger. Fehily warned that Branigan was 'a very wiley strategist and may spring something to tip the balance in his favour'.[179] Throughout the ensuing power struggle within the union, Fehily furnished both the Vigilance Committee and the Archdiocese directly with regular updates. A lengthy memorandum written by Dunne on the situation in the MPGWU was forwarded to Drumcondra, supplemented with several memos from Fehily. They related that Dunne had been nominated for the position of General Secretary by the Union's no. 3 branch after Branigan indicated he would not stand in the contest, despite previously accepting the nomination of its No. 1 branch, comprised of the union's seamen who were fiercely loyal to Branigan.[180] Branigan had also received the support of the union's no. 2 branch, which contained its dockers. While the dockers reportedly initially planned to 'create murder' for Branigan, Fehily detailed how Branigan 'in a Peronistic speech told members that his only interest in life was the welfare of the union. However, since he seemed to be the main target of attack from other unions and employers he would sacrifice himself for the good of the union'. Fehily also claimed that Branigan began to cry.[181]

When Branigan again reconsidered his position and indicated he would stand, Dunne began to doubt the expediency of running. While asserting his belief that 'Mr Branigan is of no use to our union or the trade union movement', Dunne felt that removing Branigan as General Secretary would not end his influence within the union, arguing that any successor 'would be replacing a man whom I

[177] Letter from McQuaid's Secretary to McQuaid, 10 Jan. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/6).
[178] *Irish Times*, 10 Mar. 1956.
[179] Item entitled 'observation', undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/2).
[180] Memo to Father McMahon from Father Fehily (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/3/1).
[181] Memo to Father McMahon from Father Fehily (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/4/1).

am well satisfied would not retire peacefully from the scene but would apply himself to the talk of creating the utmost mischief for his successor and the Union'. Instead, Dunne advocated that Branigan be tackled by curtailing the power of the union's executive and increasing the autonomy of its individual branches. Dunne concluded by describing the situation the union faced as 'a nice kettle of fish, but with the help of God and His Blessed Mother we'll make a job of it yet'.[182] In a letter attached to the memorandum, Fehily assured Drumcondra that Dunne was entirely loyal to the Church, and would stand for union leader if McQuaid wished him to.[183]

Branigan resigned from the position of General Secretary the same month, asserting that his abysmal relationship with the union's staff influenced his decision to resign. Tensions had deepened when Branigan found, on returning from a Belgian meeting in 1954, that several unspecified 'significant and dangerous developments' had occurred in his absence: 'These factors I would rather at this stage refrain from committing to print'. Branigan also noted that the union's financial difficulties, particularly over the Carlingford Lough dispute, had contributed to the staff's 'lack of faith in my leadership or integrity'. He argued that his attitude towards these difficulties had been 'carefully controlled and guarded', choosing not to 'quarrel with or question' opposition within the union. 'Against my better judgment' he had decided to remain as General Secretary in the previous March's election, influenced by 'the expressions of confidence which I had secured from the members, as well as the fact that stability and constancy in leadership was highly essential around that time'. Branigan concluded that the union had reached a stage where 'any successor I may have can administer the organisation without undue difficulty', and that, had he tried to introduce reforms to the union, he would create an almost impossible position for himself.[184]

According to Fehily, Branigan's resignation was not sincere, but a tactical ploy which he anticipated that the union's executive would reject, leaving him in a 'strong position to remain on his own terms' with Dunne and the secretaries of the other branches either having 'to quit the union or at least be made entirely subservient to his wishes'. Branigan received 'somewhat of a shock' when the executive accepted his resignation, its members refusing him the opportunity to state his reasons for resigning before a general meeting of the union, also ruling that representations on the issue from Branches 1 and 2 were 'out of order'. Paddy O'Byrne, 'a good lad', was promptly chosen as temporary General Secretary, until such time as Dunne, the only candidate to replace him, took over. Fehily conveyed the general belief in the union that 'not even Branigan with all his wiles can save the situation now'. Branigan still had a degree of influence within the union, Fehily noting that Fox,

[182] Personal Memorandum of Understanding, 21 Mar. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/8/2).
[183] Letter from Tom Fehily to James Ardle McMahon, 22 Mar. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/8/1).
[184] Statement by General Secretary to Executive Committee regarding resignation (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/9/4).

secretary of no. 1 Branch, would resign in protest if Branigan asked him to. Branigan had the option of leaving trade unionism and returning to sea, but Fehily concluded that this was unlikely, as he would return as an ordinary able seaman.[185]

Assertions continued to be made about Branigan's alleged communism, which hinged on speculation as to where he had travelled while a sailor in the 1940s. In November 1956, Dunne received an anonymous letter supposedly from a former communist in London signed 'Dominus Vobiscum', which, according to Fehily, 'bears out what His Grace has always held as regards Branigan and Moscow'.[186] The letter claimed that its author had read a comment by Dunne in the *Irish Independent* stating that 'Christian principles should be a guide for unions' and that it had had a lasting effect on the author: 'Last week, thank God, I made my piece and am back in the fold, and your views helped me a little on the way'. Claiming the author knew 'a Branigan as a comrade', the letter continued: 'if your Mr Branigan has been known to you all his life in Dublin, then this letter can be thrown away. If he has not, then think on his methods. Does he go for strict discipline? Does he show advanced views, but say we should be content with less. Does un-Christian hatred come out sometimes of the bosses. Do you know where he was from 1944 to 1950, if you do he is not the Branigan that was in Russia'. The letter included a postscript claiming that the fact 'Mr Branigan will not allow Russian ships and cargoes to be handled at Dublin' was 'an almost sure sign that it is Branigan the communist. It is a chance to pretend he is not a red as I don't suppose Russian ships go to Dublin at all'.[187] This referred to the decision of the MPGWU's dockers to refuse to handle any Soviet ships or cargoes in protest at the events in Hungary that month.[188]

The letter-writer was wrong to state that Russian cargoes would not arrive in Dublin port. A Norwegian ship carrying a cargo of timber from Archangel in the Soviet Union made representations to land at Dublin port shortly after the letter was written. A 'mass meeting' held by the union in the docks on 16 November saw the MPGWU's members reaffirm their position, asserting that, while they had 'no desire to inflict injury on innocent parties', Soviet actions in Hungary were so appaling they necessitated 'an unswerving stand'. Dockers in Liverpool and Preston had made similar refusals,[189] as had ITGWU dockers in Belfast.[190] ATGWU dockers in Waterford made the same vow, though they went on to unload Soviet potash from a ship the following year, complaining the

[185] Letter from Tom Fehily to Fr Mangan, 15 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/9/1).
[186] Ibid.
[187] Copy of letter from 'Dominus Vobiscum' to James Dunne, 13 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/9/2).
[188] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 227.
[189] *Cork Examiner*, 17 Nov. 1956.
[190] Ibid, 20 Nov. 1956.

International Dockers Federation had failed to issue a definitive position on the question.[191] According to Fehily, Branigan reversed his position when the Norwegian ship arrived in Dublin port, calling a meeting to convince them to unload the vessel. They 'almost unanimously' refused, informing him that he should go to the executive if he wish to reverse union policy.[192]

Another unsigned letter in McQuaid's file on Branigan explicitly claimed that he visited the Soviet Union, asserting that in 1944 Branigan travelled there from Liverpool, entering a college there. The report further claimed that Branigan had displayed communist posters while working on the ship M.V. Munster, and that he and 'a fireman named Sweetman' brought back communist literature from Liverpool to Dublin: 'At that time Branigan was most anxious to display his knowledge of the wonderful treatment metered out to the workers in Russia, and, of course, the adverse treatment here. When he was elected as union delegate his tactics changed and he now likes to give the impression that he had no connection with Russia, but just sympathy and understanding for the workers' welfare in general'.[193] Prompted by these letters, Fehily received details of logbooks outlining Branigan's movements while a sailor in the 1940s from a Kiaran Cowman, who further promised Fehily he would look at logbooks in Liverpool expanding further on Branigan's career. Cowman warned Fehily that Branigan's association with Omar Becu, Secretary of the International Transport Federation in London, was 'dangerous', as Becu, 'by reason of his present position has access to official stamps by which he could stamp Branigan's sea book and thereby make him officially present at any part of the world at any given time'. Cowman further asserted to Fehily that Branigan's claim to have been in Hong Kong between 1949 and 1951 was 'very significant' as it was allegedly 'a recognised way in and out of China and Russia' at that time.[194]

Branigan continued to be involved in the Irish trade union movement following his resignation, the Vigilance Committee noting soon after that he had been appointed to the vacant position of full-time General Secretary of the Pilots and Marine Officers Association.[195] Fehily promptly met with the union's president, treasurer and a member of its council, telling a later Vigilance Committee meeting that the union had employed Branigan 'in the best faith but since then had heard of his communist connections and were anxious to get rid of him'. In the interim, they had introduced regulations preventing Branigan 'from speaking in public or publishing any articles in

[191] *Irish Press*, 25 Mar. 1957. McQuaid received a letter from an M. Murphy the following year complaining that potash from the Soviet Union was circumventing the Soviet boycott by declaring the goods to be East German. The customs authorities were allegedly aware of the situation but had done nothing. Letter from M. Murphy to John Charles McQuaid, Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/599).
[192] Letter from Tom Fehily to Fr Mangan, 15 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/9/1).
[193] 'Disturbance in the Port of Dublin – Desmond Branigan' (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/10).
[194] Letter from Thomas Fehily to J Ardle McMahon, 30 Jan. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/49/13/2).
[195] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 6 Dec. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/24).

papers, etc'.[196] In April 1958, Fehily reported to McMahon that Branigan had succeeded in reappealing his January 1957 expulsion from the MPGWU the previous month, meaning he had 'never, in fact, ceased to be a member of the union'. Fehily further reported that he was running for the union's General Secretary position and that 'the chances of his election are very good'. He also reported that both P. Byrne, a rival of Branigan's within the union, and O'Donoghue of the Irish Seaman's Federation were going to obstruct Branigan's progress 'with the blessing of Irish Shipping certainly, and possibly even with the Labour Court'. If this happened, Fehily speculated that Branigan would be forced to leave Ireland, as he was allegedly in financial difficulties.[197]

This effort on Branigan's part evidently failed, and in 1960, the Vigilance Committee reported that Branigan was working on the docks and had again been denied permission to join the MPGWU.[198] Branigan later told Mick O'Reilly that returning to the docks as an ordinary stevedore after a decade as a leading trade unionist 'didn't worry me at all', despite the decrease in status. He recalled that he initially had difficulty in being selected for work in the casual work environment of the docks due to his union reputation, until his workmates made it clear that 'if he doesn't fuckin' work, no one else is gonna work, simple as that'.[199] Meanwhile, Dunne led the MPGWU from 1957 to his death in 1972,[200] and was ICTU's President in the year 1968/69, condemning the 'irresponsible' use of strikes and pickets by some Dublin workers in his 1969 conference address.[201] During his time as General Secretary, the union's relationship with the CWC markedly improved, and Thomas Morrissey highlighted the MPGWU under Dunne, along with the Post Office Workers' Union, as one of two unions which were particularly close to the College.[202]

Seán Dunne and the Federation of Rural Workers

Concerns about communist infiltration of trade unions extended to rural as well as urban workers in the late 1940s. The widespread unionisation of rural workers was a largely new development in the post-war years, as for much of the 1920s and 1930s rural workers had had no substantive trade union organisation to represent them. An episcopal sub-committee noted in 1937 that they were sparsely organised, 'the inference being that there was no danger of socialism' as Don O'Leary observes.[203] This finding was echoed by the Commission of Vocational Organisation, which noted in 1943 that

[196] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 11 Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/27).
[197] Letter from Thomas Fehily to James Ardle McMahon, 1 Apr. 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/55).
[198] Minutes of Vigilance Committee, 3 Oct. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/94).
[199] 'Interview with Des Branigan by Mick O'Reilly, part one', 22 Jan. 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAFTLB0roBM&feature=youtu.be, accessed 7 Sept. 2017
[200] *Irish Independent*, 24 Feb. 1972.
[201] Nevin, *Trade union century*, p. 210.
[202] Morrissey, 'Social and labour issues in Jesuit ministry', p. 584.
[203] O'Leary, *Vocationalism and social Catholicism*, pp. 86-87.

'at present farm workers appear to be completely unorganised'.[204] While employed agricultural labour – the bulk of such work – accounted for 18 per cent of the agricultural workforce in the south overall in 1926, lagging behind both farmers and 'relatives assisting', it made up 33 per cent of the rural workforce in Leinster, as well as east Limerick, north and east Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary. This latter percentage had increased slightly by 1946, before a sharp decline in the percentage of employed labour thereafter.[205] Rural workers were often demeaningly treated – 'In Munster, the indoor man was referred to as the "servant boy" even when the "boy" was in his sixties' – and the 54 hour week which pertained to rural labourers contrasted to the average of 44.5 hours in industry. This led to widespread discontent in the post-war years.[206]

The unionisation of rural workers began in earnest in 1943 when the WUI made the first serious effort to organise rural workers since the early 1920s, becoming increasing active in disputes in Co Dublin and subsequently neighbouring counties. A young Wicklow-based trade unionist, Seán Dunne, was the FRW's driving force. Born in Waterford City, Dunne was the son of a Royal Irish Constabulary member who was killed during the War of Independence.[207] On Dunne's death in 1969, Michael McInerney recalled that, like many in the city, his family were loyal to the home rule tradition of John Redmond. Despite this, Dunne instead adopted James Larkin as his political icon, and helped to organise hunger marches in Bray, Co. Wicklow, in the late 1930s.[208] He is listed on a CTSI report in Fahey's papers as being a member of the CPI's National Committee appointed on 1 January 1939.[209] Dunne was sentenced to twelve months in prison in November 1939 for illegally possessing several firearms for IRA use,[210] though Tony McInerney, a close friend and former IRA volunteer, later claimed he had never been a formal IRA member.[211] A note in the CPI's archive claims that he had been involved in the CPI's Dublin District, but was expelled after his conviction as his involvement in a bank robbery contravened party policy.[212]

Dunne was interned in the Curragh for two years after his sentence concluded.[213] McInerney, who knew him there, remembered him as a socialist, albeit an intuitive one rather than one with a great interest in theory: 'although he could quote reams from James Connolly, he had no real

[204] Devine, *Organising history*, p. 379.
[205] Bradley, *Farm labourers*, pp. 10-11.
[206] Ibid, pp. 15-17.
[207] Report on Seán Dunne, 26 Aug. 1946 (NAI, Jus/90/73/65, 'Strikes: farm workers strike in Kildare, August 1946'); *Munster News*, 4 July, 1969.
[208] *Irish Times*, 27 June 1969.
[209] Note on 'General Executive Committee, CPI', c. 1940 (KMA, Denis Fahey papers, Box 5).
[210] Report on Seán Dunne's conviction, 23 Nov. 1939 (NAI, TSCH/3/S11547, 'Special Criminal Court: Seán Dunne (No 15/1939)'.
[211] MacEoin, *The IRA in the twilight years*, p. 679.
[212] Handwritten note on Seán Dunne, undated (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 145).
[213] 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/548).

political philosophy at all'.[214] Berry later alleged that he had been involved in the Connolly Group in the Curragh, which was composed of several communists such as Michael O'Riordan and Neil Goold-Verschoyle,[215] an involvement not mentioned in McInerney's account, which condemned the Connolly Group's decision to set up a 'cell' in the camp as 'disloyal' to the republican leadership.[216] Dunne had also, according to Berry, been present at the founding meeting of the left-wing Vanguard group in Engineers' Hall, Dublin, on 22 September, 1944, a body linked to Peadar Cowan.[217] An earlier Garda memorandum on Dunne omitted these details, merely noting that he became involved in the 'extreme labour movement' on his release.[218] Dunne became secretary of the WUI's Agricultural Workers' Section in 1944, which became the Federation of Rural Workers in May 1946. In the *Review*, Dunne, who headed the new union, noted that it was 'the first serious effort to be made in almost a quarter of a century' to organise rural workers, claiming that their 'power, when organised, will surpass that of any other section', as Ireland would 'perish' without their work.[219]

The young union was embroiled in a fraught strike in Kildare in August 1946. Amongst the union's several demands, according to a document it asked Kildare farmers to agree to, was an increase in wages, full pay for workers on either bank or church holidays, and a maximum 50 hour working week.[220] The strikers' demands were firmly opposed by the Kildare Farmers' Association, which declared it would not negotiate with the FRW as long as it was led by Larkin and Dunne.[221] Police actions during the dispute antagonised the strikers, and a Garda report noted that Dunne told a crowd in Celbridge, Co Kildare, on 11 August that the union would not stand for its members 'being pulled out of bed two or three times during the dead of night'. The report was unsympathetic, claiming that 'compliance with the law has not been a characteristic of strikes with which Mr Dunne has previously been associated'. It alleged that Frank Driver, secretary of the Kildare FRW's Ballymore Eustace branch, was a sympathiser of Stalin, linking the union with communism.[222]

During the strike, the FRW became the subject of intense criticism in the *Standard*. In an unsubtle reference to the Larkins, the paper's land correspondent, in its 30 August issue, warned that 'urban demagogues' were leading the Kildare unrest. The issue's editorial, while conceding that

[214] MacEoin, *The IRA in the twilight years*, p. 679.
[215] 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/548).
[216] MacEoin, *The IRA in the twilight years,* p. 679.
[217] 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/548).
[218] Report on Seán Dunne, 26 Aug. 1946 (NAI, Jus/90/73/65, 'Strikes: farm workers strike in Kildare, August 1946').
[219] *Review,* June 1946.
[220] Federation of Rural Workers' form, 31 July. 1946 (NAI, Jus/90/73/65, 'Strikes: farm workers strike in Kildare, August 1946').
[221] Garda Síochána, Carlow/Kildare district, report for the week ended 8 Sept. 1946 (NAI, Jus/90/73/65, 'Strikes: farm workers strike in Kildare, August 1946').
[222] Garda Síochána, Carlow/Kildare district, report for the week ended 19 Aug. 1946 (NAI, Jus/90/73/65, 'Strikes: farm workers strike in Kildare, August 1946').

some farmers were guilty of intransigence, argued that 'the issue of holidays has been met almost entirely by the offer of church holidays', quipping that 'nobody educated in Moscow, or put forward by Moscow educated' could be expected to understand 'our Catholic and Irish tradition'. The attack consequently caused strikers to assert that the *Standard* was not officially approved of by the Church, the paper boasting in response that it had succeeded in having 'rattled the Red element who are endeavouring to foment class war in the countryside'.[223] Dunne claimed in the *Review* in December 1946 that the strike had inspired workers 'from West Cork to the Lagan Valley'[224], and the Federation's prominence during the dispute saw it gain 17,000 members in 21 counties by July 1947, who were predominantly waged farm labourers with small numbers of roadmen and turf workers. It was particularly strong in Cork, where a major strike was averted in April 1947 only after mediation from Alfred O'Rahilly secured a 6/- increase for the workers. The referral of the Kildare strike to the newly founded Labour Court led to an uneasy truce.[225]

Berry's December 1947 Department of Justice report singled out Dunne and George Pollock, an organiser in the union, for criticism. Dunne was also described as acting as a steward at the Irish Soviet Friendship Society's meeting in Dublin on 25 November 1946, at which the Dean of Canterbury spoke. He had also reportedly supported Michael O'Riordan's candidacy during the 1946 Cork by-election, and O'Riordan was alleged to have spoken at a public meeting organised by the FRW in Dublin's Abbey Street on St Patrick's Day, 1947. Meanwhile, Pollock, who was Labour's National Organiser, was allegedly seeking to promote the union as Labour's 'political wing'. While the report noted that the union's members 'generally are Catholics who would strongly resent any suggestion that they are sympathetic to communist doctrines', it claimed that they were susceptible to being manipulated by the union's leftist leaders into engaging in strikes with the demand for higher wages. Dunne had also reportedly acted to foment unrest in the sugar beet sector, and, along with Seán Nolan, had met with a Carlow labour leader named Bergin to give advice on 'the methods to be employed by the strikers'. Trade unionists John Swift and Gilbert Lynch of the ITUC had met with Dunne and Pollock in August 1947 to seek to moderate their approach, it further claimed.[226]

Many Catholic anti-communists also developed an interest in Dunne. After T. Cleary, a Holy Ghost priest and teacher in Rockwell College, Co. Tipperary, wrote a letter to the *Irish Independent* praising an editorial 'in defence of the farmers of the country', the paper's editor told Cleary that Dunne was 'a gentleman who requires very careful handling. He has a reputation for using strong

[223] *Standard*, 30 Aug. 1946.
[224] *Review*, Dec. 1946.
[225] Bradley, *Farm Labourers*, p. 89; Gaughan, *Alfred O'Rahilly, part III, part 1*, pp. 72-74.
[226] 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/548).

arm methods and in trade union circles is regarded as an extreme leftist. His methods, I am informed, are not favourably looked on by other trade union leaders'. The letter was subsequently forwarded to Denis Fahey.[227] Fahey had an interest in agricultural issues, and emphasised the role of strikes 'in rural districts' in fomenting communism.[228] He evidently took an interest in Dunne, as, around this period, *Fiat* vehemently condemned Dunne for his claim, reported in the *Tipperary Star*, that Connolly 'died not for a class, but for Ireland, and the people of Ireland, and for the workers of Ireland'. Linking the statement to Connolly Association's use of Connolly's name, and condemning a similar claim regarding Connolly by Dunne's Dáil and trade union colleague James Larkin Jr in the *Irish Democrat*, the paper quoted Fahey's statement in *The tragedy of James Connolly* that if 'Connolly, God rest his soul, could speak now to Irishmen and Irishwomen he would say "Do not be led astray by Marx as I was"'.[229] Elsewhere, Mac Eoin's *Communism and Ireland* warned that the 'importance of rural propaganda' was being emphasised centrally from Moscow, and asserted that communist 'agitators' were telling labourers in rural Ireland that the solution to their grievances was 'the abolition of private property and the taking over by the state of all land in the name of the workers'.[230] A group of Catholic Actionists later claimed to McQuaid in August 1949 that Dunne had invited 'some Clyde communists down from Belfast … to give the workers a pep talk after the Pope's denunciation and decree on communism'.[231] The rumours surrounding the FRW were not given credence in all Catholic circles. *Christus Rex*'s 'Vigilans' column notably praised the FRW in the journal's inaugural issue as 'an interesting experiment, the progress of which every well wisher in rural Ireland will watch with sympathetic interest'.[232] A later article in *Christus Rex* furnished its readership with a dispassionate account of the FRW's emergence, and, while noting that Dunne was a contributor to the *Irish Democrat*, did not mention the accusations against him or the FRW.[233]

In response to the allegations regarding Dunne, Brendan Corish, Larkin Jr's successor as FRW President and Labour TD for Wexford, staunchly supported the controversial trade unionist. Labour colleague Barry Desmond recalled that Corish remained 'intensely loyal to both the party and the FRW' amidst the red scare atmosphere of the late 1940s. He noted that Corish, who served as Norton's successor as Labour Party leader from 1960 to 1977, used his membership of the Knights of St Columbanus to fend off accusations of communism, justifying his membership to Desmond in the 1970s by claiming it 'was an "insurance policy" against allegations that Labour were infested

[227] Letter from the editor to Rev T. Cleary, 18 Mar. 1947 (KMA, Denis Fahey papers, box 12).
[228] Fahey, *The rulers of Russia and the Russian farmers*, p. 30.
[229] *Fiat*, no. 10.
[230] Mac Eoin, *Communism and Ireland*, pp. 38-39.
[231] Unsigned letter detailing formation of Council of Catholic Action in Dublin, 24 Aug. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/674).
[232] 'Vigilans', 'Trade unions' in *Christus Rex*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1947), pp. 48-49.
[233] Thomas Morris, 'Organisation of rural workers' in *Christus Rex*, iii, no. 1, (Jan., 1949), pp. 25-26.

with "communists and fellow travellers". He cited the Catholic *Standard*, the *Irish Press*, Fianna Fáil, Seán MacEntee and Bishops galore'.[234] Confronting the communist rumours publically, Corish urged the union's members not to be dismayed at the allegations, telling its annual conference in 1947: 'So long as they knew their work was in harmony with the teaching of the Church and the laws of the state, they would continue to progress'.[235] Corish's declaration at the conference that the union adhered to Catholic teaching pleased the *Standard*, which, while partly assuaged about the anti-communist credentials of the union as a whole, remained suspicious of Dunne, querying whether his contributions to the *Irish Democrat* 'were in line with pious resolutions of loyalty to the Church?'[236] The union faced pressure in Corish's Wexford heartland due to the allegations against Dunne, J. Sinnott, a local delegate, telling the union's Congress two years later that rumours regarding Dunne 'had even been hinted at in the Wexford Council Chamber'. A motion the Wexford Branch proposed urging the Conference to 'publicly declare its abhorrence of communism' was unanimously passed, Dunne bullishly challenging anyone claiming he was a communist to produce proof.[237]

While challenging the charges against Dunne publically, Corish was also assuaging the Church privately. When asked by the Archdiocese of Dublin in a letter if there were 'grounds for public uneasiness that any communist or communistic influence may sway the decisions of the executive', Corish replied that there were none: 'As President, I know that the members of the executive are ever watchful in that respect'. When further asked whether any avowed communist was a member of the FRW, Corish tackled the rumours surrounding Dunne head on: 'I have made enquiries and challenged him on that point. My enquiries have not convinced me that he is a communist and he denies that he is a member of, or has ever been, a member of the communist party. His actions and speeches as far as I have seen and heard them have not made me suspicious'. Corish concluded by assuring McQuaid that if any evidence emerged that a communist was involved in the FRW, he was anxious to have him removed as soon as possible.[238]

The union remained the subject of clerical comment. In a likely indirect reference to the union, John Kyne, the Bishop of Meath, warned in 1949 that communists could find a 'foothold' in trade unions through the 'apathy and carelessness of the members'. Continuing, he noted that 'in China, where agriculture predominates, they formed a new strategy; in a nation where agriculture is

[234] Barry Desmond, 'Brendan Corish' in Emmet O'Connor and John Cunningham (eds.), *Studies in Irish radical leadership: lives on the left* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 253-254.
[235] *Irish Press*, 14 July 1947.
[236] *Standard*, 18 July 1947.
[237] *Irish Press*, 29 Aug. 1949.
[238] Confusingly, the union is referred to by Corish as the 'Rural Workers' Federation' here despite being referred to as the 'Federation of Rural Workers' in official letters elsewhere. 'Confidential Report: Rural Workers' Federation', sent by Brendan Corish to McQuaid, undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/832).

small, and where life depends mainly on the country people, the communists must win the country people first and give them arms. We know how well that strategy worked in China. It is the obvious strategy for this country'.[239] The 'suspicion and criticism' the union received prompted Leo Kieran, Hon. Secretary of its Louth Branch, to write to D'Alton defending the union from accusations its actions violated Catholic social principles. He asked the Archbishop if anything in the union's rules, which he enclosed, contradicted Catholic teaching.[240] On receiving the letter, D'Alton consulted with Peter McKevitt to formulate a response. McKevitt, while beginning by stating that he did not 'like the men at the top of the Federation', advised that, as Kieran offered 'the hand of friendship', D'Alton should reply amicably: 'I think it would be generally agreed that we were too cautious in the past and left the extremists in possession of the field. If we give our patronage now we would be in a stronger position to mobilise our Catholic workers in the future. Consequently, I would put the workers in the position that the next refusal would come from them'. He advised D'Alton to reply to Kieran that the rules, while not objectionable, should make an explicit declaration in favour of Catholic social principles. McKevitt also suggested that D'Alton appoint a chaplain for the Branch as it would 'test their bona fides' and provide 'an observer on the spot at the very beginning when the movement is taking shape'. He recommended Monsignor Tohall, a Dundalk priest with a long standing interest in rural and labour issues: 'If you agree with the suggestion, I would take no refusal'.[241] Tohall agreed to take the position, but confessed to being unfamiliar with the union and its leadership, except for Gilbert Lynch 'whom I knew many years ago as a rather tempestuous labour organiser in Dundalk. I suppose age and success in life have mellowed him somewhat'. Tohall reported the widespread fear among Louth farmers that those behind the formation of the union there were also responsible for 'the disastrous Kildare strike last harvest … whether there is any foundation to this opinion, I cannot say'.[242] Due to internal disorganisation prompted by Kieran's resignation 'for private reasons', Tohall was not appointed as Chaplain till February 1949, Dunne personally apologising to D'Alton on behalf of the Louth branch who 'unanimously' welcomed Tohall.[243]

But what of the IWL's attitude towards Dunne and the Federation? Minutes of the body's first inaugural conference in 1949 reveal much discussion on the FRW, with Dunne being held in

[239] *Meath Chronicle*, 12 Mar. 1949.
[240] Letter from Leo Kieran to Archbishop D'Alton, 19 Jan. 1947 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Federation of Rural Workers').
[241] Peter McKevitt to Archbishop D'Alton, 27 Jan. 1947 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Federation of Rural Workers').
[242] H. Tohall to Archbishop D'Alton, 1 Feb. 1947 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Federation of Rural Workers').
[243] Letter from Seán Dunne to Archbishop D'Alton, 18 Jan. 1949 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Federation of Rural Workers').

low regard, suggesting that any past links between Dunne and the communist movement had run aground. Seán McGee, while decrying the 'uselessness' of its leadership and noting that its membership had declined by half, argued that, as the first union within rural Ireland 'which has a mass membership', it remained an important organisation which the IWL should pay attention to. He asserted that the IWL's non-Dublin membership – the handful involved hailing from Cork, Waterford, Louth and Mayo – should supply information on the position of the Federation in their own areas. When Ned Stapleton, who argued that IWL members should become involved in the Federation, asked for more information on the union, Langan replied by claiming that the union's decline was due to Dunne having 'sabotaged' the Federation. Going forward, he argued that there should be an attempt to revive the Federation, and if that proved impossible, a body should be set up to replace it. A member named Quinn echoed McGee's last point, criticising Michael O'Riordan for omitting to mention rural workers in the resolution on trade union work he presented to the conference.[244] The IWL's interest in rural workers was mentioned by Seán MacBride to Vinton Chapin of the U.S. legation to Dublin in 1949, MacBride showing the diplomat a 'Moscow-inspired document' outlining the group's desire to appeal to those in rural Ireland through getting propaganda into the rural press.[245]

Tohall reported to D'Alton on the union's progress in Louth in 1951, noting that he had not been invited to an annual meeting in the county that year, which he attributed to continued disorganisation rather than disrespect: 'The Secretary is scarcely even well educated and correspondence seems to give much trouble'. Because he 'could not think of anything better to find out about how the Federation stood as regards the Church', Tohall had written to all Louth priests with a branch in their parish to ascertain how many of its members were practicing Catholics, the degree of sodality membership, the presence, if any, of communism within the union, and the size of the union overall, forwarding D'Alton's secretary the responses.[246] All replied that there was no communist presence locally and that the FRW's local members were good Catholics. Rogers, the parish priest for Dunleer, noted that Neil Goold-Verschoyle, 'a communist from outside the county', had been a member of the local branch in Dunleer in 1949 but no longer resided there.[247] The arrests of Goold-Verschoyle and another man, Seán Daly, in Carrick, Dundalk, that year, was reported by the *Standard*, which also reported a condemnation of Goold by J. F. Stokes, a local priest, who reminded worshippers how, in the 1930s, 'millions of workers and peasant farmers died of starvation

[244] Irish Workers' League, first annual conference, 1949 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 10).
[245] Keogh, *Ireland, the Vatican and the Cold War*, p. 75.
[246] Letter from H. Tohall to D'Alton, 21 Mar. 1951 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Federation of Rural Workers').
[247] Letter from Fr. Rodgers to Tohall, 20 Mar. 1951 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Federation of Rural Workers').

while the Bolshevist granaries bulged with the grain seized from the peasant farmers'.[248] Goold-Verschoyle's involvement demonstrates that attempted communist attempts to influence the FRW, while genuine, were almost wholly ineffective amidst the broader climate of the time.

John Swift, the Bakers' Union and Catholic anti-communism

Another prominent trade unionist who faced persistent claims he was a communist and attracted Catholic attention as a result was John Swift, for many years head of the Irish Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers Amalgamated Union, or simply the Bakers' Union. Swift became prominent in the union's social club in the inter-war years, and it was in this context that he was first accused of communist sympathies.[249] While the allegations impeded his progress within the union's ranks, he was voted onto the union's executive in 1934, after several close attempts, and was narrowly elected National Organiser in 1936,[250] and its General Secretary in 1943, a position he held, despite enduring controversy, till 1967.[251] For his part, Swift, a member of Labour since 1927, continually denied membership of the CPI and its successors, though, by his son's account, his Labour membership was down to the party's 'strong official links with the trade union movement' rather than 'ideological reservations about the Communist Party'. By the same account, Swift was a lifelong supporter of the Soviet Union who 'seldom voiced reservations about that state' and a lifelong friend of veteran Irish communists such as O'Riordan and Sinclair.[252] Swift Sr later asserted that, during his first visit to the Soviet Union in the late 1930s, a Soviet official advised him that his 'most effective contribution' to promoting socialism in Ireland could be made by being a member of the Labour Party.[253]

While confirming Swift had never been a member of the CPI, a 1943 report amongst MacEntee's papers noted that Swift had been 'long sought after by the Communist Party for his sympathetic attitude towards it'.[254] In Devine's estimation, he escaped expulsion from Labour in 1944 'only because of his union office and fears of Bakers' Union disaffiliation'.[255] He also made pro-Soviet statements in the *Review*, comparing in 1946 the idea that western Europe was the morally superior participant in the emerging Cold War to 'the myth of the Aryan master race'.[256] No less an authority than the CIA took note of Swift's views, its 1949 analysis of Ireland observing that

[248] *Standard*, 2 Dec. 1949.
[249] Swift, *John Swift*, pp. 66-67.
[250] Ibid, p. 72.
[251] Ibid, p. 139.
[252] Ibid, pp. 79-81
[253] Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendly relations*, p. 232.
[254] 'Report of Communist Activities from January 1942 to December 1943' (UCDA, MacEntee Papers, P67/537).
[255] Francis Devine, '"A dangerous agitator': John Swift, 1896-1960, socialist, trade unionist, secularist, internationalist, labour historian' in *Saothar, journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, no. 15 (1990), p. 12
[256] *Review*, Sept. 1946.

'of important labour leaders only John Swift, head of the Bakers' Union and prominent in the Irish Trade Union Congress, is known to have definite communist sympathies'.[257] Unsurprisingly, Swift soon attracted Catholic anti-communist attention. An unsigned and undated typed document amongst McQuaid's papers – likely written by Byrne, as it echoes her writing style – identified Swift as the 'real power' behind the Irish Rationalist Society, with Verlin also noted as being involved.[258] Swift was reticent about expressing these views vocally in the era, being mindful of the devout Catholicism of much of the union's Dublin membership. Fr Crean's bakers' branch of St Patrick's Young Priests Society, a lay Catholic organisation who sponsored the education of priests, was very strong within the union: 'more than a thousand members of the union's Dublin No. 1 branch, virtually the entire membership, were enrolled in the priests' society'. A group of lay Catholics in Boland's bakery on Grand Canal Street, nicknamed the Parish Council, were also a vocal anti-communist presence within the union.[259] The union's later formal ban on members of the IWL and its successors holding Executive Office within the union, introduced in 1956 and only repealed in 1980, thirteen years after Swift's retirement, was also a factor in his reticence.[260]

One of Swift's chief initiatives as General Secretary was the opening of February 1946 of Four Provinces House, the union's new premises, which additionally served the purpose, in Swift's words, of serving 'the cultural, educational and social activities of its members'. McQuaid had been invited to the opening but had declined, citing the fact it was during Lent, though Swift's son speculates that it was because the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Arthur Barton, was also invited, the older Swift insisting that the union's substantive Protestant membership in Northern Ireland be considered. The building became a source of contention in 1947, when the *Standard* newspaper noted that several works on communism, such as *The Socialist sixth of the world* by Hewlett Johnston, were amongst its 8,000 volume library. While the newspaper's report acknowledged that the library held a book entitled *Christianity confronts communism,* the presence of communist books revived old suspicions about Swift.[261] A subsequent letter-writer to the *Standard* asserted, in light of the claims, that if the union's executive didn't remove Swift 'it was high-time the bakers cleared them out along with him',[262] while Four Provices House was further accused by the Knights' 1948 report of being a meeting place of communists in Dublin.[263] In response to the

[257] 'Situation report Ireland, 1 Apr. 1949' (CIA, Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room , available at https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-01617A001700040001-8.pdf, accessed 11 Sept. 2017).
[258] 'Irish Rationalist Society' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/595).
[259] Swift, *John Swift,* pp. 154-155.
[260] Ibid, pp. 162-163
[261] Ibid, pp. 142-143.
[262] *Standard*, 1 Aug. 1947.
[263] 'The background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).

rumours surrounding the building, Christopher Noonan, the union's National Treasurer, and its National Trustees, Cecil Bradley and John Byrne, wrote a letter to McQuaid denying the allegations. In their response, they noted that Crean had explored the allegations and found them to be untrue.[264] McQuaid responded by thanking the three men; dictating a response for his secretary to send, he asserted that 'such an assurance is only what the AB would expect in this city and Diocese'.[265] After the controversy, the union made an effort to emphasise its Catholic and anti-communist credentials. At the union's invitation, Crean blessed Four Provinces House in December 1948 in a ceremony dedicating it to Our Lady. The event was seen as an important one to advertise; the day prior to the blessing, Crean consulted with McQuaid about an article published in the *Standard* advertising the ceremony.[266] Its library did not long survive, and was sold by the union's executive in late 1948 or early 1949.[267] Puirséil notes that the library – a sign of the interest Swift, who wrote a history of the Bakers' Union in 1948 and became a founder of the Irish Labour History Society in 1973, had in labour history and broader workers' education – was, along with the People's College, an example of how initiatives beyond the direct remit of the Catholic Church to educate workers attracted Catholic suspicion in the post-war years due to their perceived danger of promoting unorthodox leftist ideas.[268]

In May 1949 Paul Walsh, a Franciscan, was invited to address members of the Union on communism in Ireland, claiming that there were three hundred communists in Dublin and urging them to remain vigilant of the threat of communist infiltration.[269] Despite the significant anti-communist pressures on him, Swift remained as the union's President, increasing its membership from 2,400 in 1936 to 5,379 in 1967. As the Catholic anti-communist atmosphere ameliorated in the years after Vatican II, he could afford to be more candid about his views, visiting the Soviet Union with a Bakers' Union delegation in 1963 and becoming Chairman of a revived Irish-USSR Society in 1966.[270]

[264] Letter from Noonan, Bradley and Byrne to McQuaid, 9 Nov. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/41B/1/2).
[265] Draft letter from Mangan to Noonan, Bradley and Byrne, in McQuaid's handwriting, 22 Nov. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/41B/1/2).
[266] Letter from Crean to McQuaid, 19 Dec. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXII/41C/1/).
[267] Devine, 'A dangerous agitator', p.14.
[268] Niamh Puirséil, 'Economic and labour history' in Mary McAuliffe, Katherine O'Donnell and Leeann Lane, *Palgrave advances in Irish history* (London, 2009), p. 115.
[269] *Irish Independent*, 1 June 1949.
[270] Devine, 'A dangerous agitator', p. 200. He went as far as to defend Stalin's handling of the inter-war purges on an RTÉ Today Tonight episode reviewing his career in the 1980s. Cradden, *Trade unionism, socialism and partition*, p. 96.

'A stab in the back for the whole Irish nation?' the Church and allegations of communist influence within the NUJ

In the late 1940s, there was an increasing concern on the part of the Catholic Church and Catholic Actionists about the state of the journalistic profession in Ireland. It was in this context that the NUJ was among a number of small unions who courted suspicion for allegedly being vulnerable to communist infiltration, which reached the attention of figures as far afield as Washington. In February 1948, during that year's general election campaign, the Third Secretary of the US Legation in Dublin, R.M. Beaudry, was alarmed by a conversation he had with Fr James McLaughlin of Boyle, Co. Roscommon. Beaudry promptly forwarded details of the conversation to his superiors in Washington, and, while noting that it was impossible for him to verify McLaughlin's statements, he stated that he considered them 'interesting and possibly important.' McLaughlin claimed that Brian O'Neill, the *Irish Press*'s foreign news editor, was 'born in New Jersey, wrote for the *Daily Worker* in New York, was a foreign correspondent for the Soviet news agency, TASS, and formerly held a communistic party card'. McLaughlin further accused O'Neill of minimising Soviet complicity in the house imprisonment of Mindszenty in his reportage. De Valera summoned William Sweetman, editor of the *Irish Press*, to discuss O'Neill's alleged links to communism, but was placated by Sweetman's vigorous defence of O'Neill, who remained at the *Press* until his retirement. McLaughlin further claimed that Tony Molloy, the *Press*'s drama critic and former editor of its Irish section, had visited the Soviet Legation in Stockholm in the summer of 1947 with Eleanor O'Brien of the *Irish Independent*. Mulloy and O'Brien, who subsequently married, also prompted suspicion by writing articles for the communist *Review*.[271] O'Brien had written about a previous Stockholm visit in the periodical's October 1946 issue, though no mention was made of a Soviet embassy visit.[272] Some of these complaints also reached McQuaid's ears, via the Knights. A number of journalists at the *Irish Independent*, *Press* and *Times*, including Brian O'Neill, Mulloy and O'Brien, were specifically instanced as communists in its 1948 report.[273]

Alongside worries about Irish journalists, events in the NUJ in Britain also caused concern for Catholic journalists and some in the hierarchy. A key concern for the Irish hierarchy about the union was the appointment of George Allen Hutt, a British communist, as editor of the NUJ periodical, the *Journalist*, in 1948. Hutt was a major figure in the development of the CPGB's paper, the *Daily Worker*, being appointed chief sub-editor shortly after it was founded in 1930. Separate to this, he was an internationally recognized expert on newspaper typography, and was consulted on

[271] Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland, 1948-1950', pp. 30-32.
[272] *Review*, Oct. 1946.
[273] 'The background of Communism in Dublin', July. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).

this by mainstream national papers like the *Manchester Guardian* and *Daily Herald*, as well as many provincial British newspapers. It was this reputation of high professional excellence that contributed towards him being voted editor of the *Journalist*. As might be expected, the appointment of a CPGB member to such a position was highly controversial on both sides of the Irish Sea.[274] McQuaid and Browne were soon alarmed by reports that a majority of Irish NUJ branches had voted for Hutt, who reportedly boasted that 'he had been elected with the support of the solid Irish bloc'. The Dublin Central, Athlone, Sligo, Carlow, Louth and Belfast sub-branches all voted for Hutt, with only Derry and Limerick opposing him. At a meeting of the Dublin NUJ in late 1948, Brendan Malin, the Irish delegate on the NUJ executive, defended the move by stating that 'Irish delegates had voted for Mr Hutt, not because he was a communist, but because he was the best man for the job, an expert on types and that he was friendly to the Irish NUJ'. A motion proposed by Gabriel Diskin deploring Hutt's appointment was rejected by the meeting.[275]

Peadar O'Curry of the *Standard* was an active opponent of Hutt's appointment, and regularly passed information on alleged communist sympathisers in the Irish media to Garda Special Branch, which also made their way to Washington via the US legation.[276] O'Curry similarly sent information on the NUJ directly to Bishop Browne. Claiming that communists controlled the Dublin Central Branch of the NUJ, while 'our people' controlled the Irish District Council, O'Curry told Browne that the *Connacht Tribune*'s editor, Dan O'Connell, was a 'great source of strength' against the influence of communists within the NUJ.[277] Browne publicly alluded to the matter, stating that he 'had heard of one (trade union) which concerned newspapermen which had elected a communist as editor of its journal'.[278] In response, a representative of the Irish Association District of the Institute of Journalists wrote to the *Irish Independent* stating that the editor of its journal was not a communist, seeking to distance themselves from the NUJ, while Joseph Mulqueen, Chairman of the Limerick Branch of the NUJ, condemned Hutt's appointment.[279] Browne, who, as has been noted, was hostile to the idea of British-based unions being active in Ireland, acknowledged in a sympathetic letter to Mulqueen, whose branch incorporated journalists from Galway's newspapers, that a split within the NUJ on the issue would hurt Irish provincial journalists. He urged them not to 'allow themselves to be intimidated by the "economic" big stick of the Union's monopolistic

[274] For details of Hutt's career, see Herbert Pimlott, 'The radical type: G. Allen Hutt, the Communist Party and the politics of journalistic practice' in *Journalism Practice*, vii, no. 1 (2012), pp. 81-95.
[275] Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland', pp. 32-33.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Letter from Peadar O'Curry to Bishop Michael Browne, 23 Nov. 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne Papers, B/12/189).
[278] *Irish Independent*, 16 Oct. 1948.
[279] Ibid, 1 Nov. 1948,

position – a big stick which communist members are very quick to use'.[280] O'Curry had earlier informed Browne that discreet discussions were taking place about the creation of a breakaway Irish-based union in response to Hutt's appointment.[281] The union was formed the following March as the Guild of Irish Journalists with Diskin as its head after a compromise motion by the NUJ's Derry branch which declared that the Irish NUJ in future would oppose 'communist infiltration' of the union was rejected by the NUJ's national executive committee in Britain, despite it being endorsed, though not unanimously, by the Irish NUJ.[282] While the Guild's first bulletin, which Diskin promptly forwarded to D'Alton and Taoiseach John A. Costello,[283] did not mention Hutt, it heavily emphasised the perceived need for a Dublin-based trade union for Irish journalists.[284]

The Hutt issue remained a stick which the union used to beat the NUJ, as an exchange of letters in the *Standard* revealed in 1950. The assertion of Seán Edmonds in a letter to the paper that the 'communist-tainted' NUJ had lost so much support that it was no longer 'a representative Irish union',[285] received a comprehensive rebuke from Niall Carroll, an Irish member of the NUJ's National Executive Committee. Carroll claimed that 415 of Ireland's roughly 500 journalists were NUJ members, dismissed Edmonds' advocacy of a new Irish-based journalists union as impractical, and asserted that the NUJ, which he claimed was 'never as strong', intended to point to 'elementary tenets of Catholic doctrine' in how some 'provincial sweat-shops' were run.[286] When Edmonds repeated his allegations in a subsequent reply,[287] Carroll further varnished the union's Catholic and anti-communist credentials. He claimed the NUJ 'had done more than any other organisation to prevent that loathsome creed from getting a hold here', pointing to its Irish members' support for a recent fund for the development of the National Seminary of Ireland in Maynooth and the decision by the union's central leadership to disaffiliate from the International Union of Journalists due to allegations of communism surrounding it as evidence.[288] Carroll's reply drew Diskin into the fray, the Guild General Secretary claiming that many of the NUJ's alleged 415 members were in fact in arrears for renewing their membership. Explicitly referring to the Hutt controversy, he queried what the union's Irish members had done to refute Hutt's claim he had been elected with the support of a

[280] Letter from Bishop Michael Browne to Joseph Mulqueen, 16 Nov. 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne Papers, B/12/189).
[281] Letter from Peadar O'Curry to Bishop Michael Browne, 20 Oct. 1948 (GDA, Michael Browne Papers, B/12/189).
[282] O'Brien, *The fourth estate*, pp. 79-80.
[283] Letter from Gabriel Diskin to D'Alton affixing bulletin, 15 Apr. 1949 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, Guild of Irish Journalists'); Letter from Gabriel Diskin to Costello affixing bulletin, 23Apr. 1949 (NAI, TSCH/4/97/9/994 'Guild of Irish Journalists').
[284] *Guild of Irish Journalists/Comhaltas Nuachteori Éireann, Bulletin,* Apr. 1949 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Guild of Irish Journalists').
[285] *Standard*, 24 Mar. 1950.
[286] Ibid, 7 Apr. 1950.
[287] Ibid, 21 Apr. 1950.
[288] Ibid, 5 May 1950.

'solid Irish bloc'.[289] Carroll replied by confidently inviting Edmonds and Diskin to examine the NUJ's books to confirm his claims about the union's membership, but the NUJ figure sidestepped Diskin's mention of Hutt,[290] a fact picked up on by Diskin in the last of the exchange of letters. 'Wasn't a vote for Comrade Hutt a stab in the back for the whole Irish nation?', he taunted.[291]

Allegations of communist infiltration of Irish journalism were also aired in Britain. In June 1949, an article under the byline 'G.F.' appeared in the British news magazine *Cavalcade,* making the dramatic contention that 'there is Communism – but disguised – in Éire!' In unsubtle references to the allegations surrounding the NUJ and the *Press*, it asserted that 'one of the journalists' trade unions is under communist control, and one of the most influential of the Republic's three major daily newspapers is thought to number quite a few communists amongst its staff'. While 'its propietors and editor were anti-communist', the *Irish Press*'s supposed praise for the 'Moscow-trained' James Larkin Jr ostensibly belied the communist sympathies of some of its staff.[292] The article, which Ferriter instances as an example of 'the degree to which a certain paranoia lurked in the establishment about communism',[293] was written by Garret FitzGerald, a young Dublin journalist and son of prominent Cumann na nGaedheal figure Desmond FitzGerald. The younger FitzGerald, who served twice as a FG Taoiseach in the 1980s, had evidently not yet, as Puirséil quips of the affair, begun 'to style himself as that rarest of things, the great Irish liberal'.[294] Amongst others, the article earned the ire of Seán MacBride, who, noting its 'malicious slant' and 'many errors of fact' – it had also claimed MacBride had been 'the leader of the pro-Soviet wing of the Irish Republican Army' – requested that John Dulanty, Irish Ambassador to Britain, point out to *Cavalcade*'s editor that 'he loses more than he gains by articles of this nature'.[295] Indeed, in the late 1940s FitzGerald, as he acknowledged contritely in his autobiography, 'saw Communists under every bed', a belief he retrospectively attributed to the influence of his older brother Fergus, whose 'period in the Army, and especially in army intelligence, had pushed him sharply to the Right.' FitzGerald received several solicitors' letters from those he had libelled, and settled out of court with an apology, withdrawing 'each and every one of them without reservation' later that year. He recalled gratefully

[289] Ibid, 12 May 1950.
[290] Ibid, 19 May 1950.
[291] Ibid, 9 June 1950.
[292] *Cavalcade*, 23 June. 1949 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 550/11).
[293] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 489.
[294] Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 149.
[295] Letter from Seán MacBride to John W. Dulanty, 7 Sept. 1949 (NAI, DFA, 6/414/40, 'Unfavourable article published about the Irish Association of Civil Liberty by "The New Cavalcade").

that those he had libelled gracefully accepted his apology, regarding it as a youthful indiscretion, and did not hold it against him in his subsequent political career.[296]

Despite such accusations, and the fact that Seán Lemass, who urged NUJ members to set up their own Irish union while managing director of the *Irish Press* in 1949, vocally supported the Guild, it never seriously threatened the NUJ and withered away in the 1960s.[297] Carroll's assertion that the union's members would not risk leaping into the dark proved true, as Mulqueen's response to Browne underlines. Allegations of communist infiltration of the NUJ endured. NUJ members Brian O'Neill, Tony Molloy, Annie Kelly, Maurice Hickey, Dan Rooney and Michael McInerney were singled out for particular investigation by the Vigilance Committee on its focus on the trade unions in 1956, as they had appeared on the Knights' 1948 report on communist sympathisers.[298] McQuaid personally asked the Committee's members in a meeting in Archbishop's House later in the year to focus on the role of alleged communists within the press, asking them: 'What of McInerney, R. M. Fox, O'Neill, Rex McGauld?'.[299] The Hutt issue became a running concern for McQuaid, who received further news about the NUJ in 1961. According to a letter from Diskin, attitudes within the Dublin NUJ towards Hutt had 'changed vastly' since the late 1940s. The Dublin branch's Independent Chapel had proposed a motion opposing Hutt to a branch meeting, and it was decided that the Dublin branch would oppose Hutt if a motion of opposition came from within the British NUJ, but not otherwise, which it was felt was 'a rather sensible decision' Only 'one or two like the young O'Shannon', a reference to the journalist, Cathal O'Shannon, son of the republican socialist of the same name, opposed the move on the grounds that Hutt was a good editor.[300] Hutt remained as an editor of the *Journalist* until 1972.[301]

When O'Curry was interviewed by the *Irish Times*, which he later joined, in 1977, the veteran journalist Eileen O'Brien noted that 'many newspapermen are still bitter about the *Standard*'s communist-hunting in our own trade union. This was followed by a split and a weakening at a time when wages were very good indeed'. O'Brien recalled instances of pressure NUJ members had experienced, claiming that the children of an NUJ member, whom she did not name, had been described by a priest during a visit to their school as 'the communist children'. The journalist in question subsequently emigrated. O'Curry was unrepentant to O'Brien about his actions, denying comparisons to McCarthyism and justifying his strong anti-communist stance on the basis of

[296] Garret FitzGerald, *All in a life: an autobiography* (Dublin, 1991), p. 48.
[297] Horgan, 'Anti-communism and media surveillance in Ireland', p. 34.
[298] Minutes of Vigilance Committee meeting, Feb. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/19).
[299] Minutes of Vigilance Committee meeting in Archbishop's House, 22 Nov. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/23).
[300] Handwritten report from Diskin on Hutt, 27 Mar. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/386).
[301] Pimlott, 'The radical type', p. 186.

communist repression in the Eastern Bloc: 'Cromwell was a Sunday school teacher compared to these people'.[302] Indeed, the careers of many of those named as communists were long ones – Brian O'Neill, for instance, remained at the *Irish Press* until the early 1970s,[303] while Michael McInerney also enjoyed a long career at the *Irish Times* as its political correspondent, Hanley and Millar noting that the former communist was 'sympathetic to the republican left' in his reportage in the late 1960s.[304]

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated both the impact of the Catholic Church on the labour movement in mid-twentieth century Ireland and the limitations of that impact. Specific events discussed, such as the influence and growth of the Catholic Workers' College, D'Alton's monitoring of the FRW within his Archdiocese, the role of the Franciscans in attempting to hinder Michael O'Riordan's efforts to become head of the ITGWU busworkers' branch and John Charles McQuaid's role in the removal of Desmond Branigan from office are striking examples of specific anti-communist interventions within the Irish trade union movement that increased the difficulties the IWL faced in operating within it. The success of the CPNI in gaining influence within Belfast Trades Council shows that Catholic anti-communist influence was, unsurprisingly, less pronounced in parts of Ireland which were not predominantly Catholic. The failure of the Guild of Irish Journalists to sustain itself as a trade union for a serious length of time also highlights the limits of Catholic anti-communism in the period. Anti-communist allegations, interwoven with broader objections to the presence of British-based unions in Ireland, were not powerful enough a force to induce workers to leave unions which, broadly speaking, they felt represented their interests well. The divisions within the Catholic hierarchy on the question of joining the Christian International has been noted, and McQuaid's opposition to the Christian International gaining an Irish affiliate and his view that Irish trade unionists would not abandon the unions that protected 'them and their fathers' reflects a pragmatic understanding of Irish trade unionism. Catholic concerns about IWL infiltration were not confined to the trade union movement, and the final chapter shall explore a number of social movements who attracted clerical suspicion on the basis that communists had infiltrated or were trying to infiltrate them.

[302] *Irish Times.* 8 Apr. 1977.
[303] O'Brien, *The fourth estate*, p. 77.
[304] Hanley and Millar, *The lost revolution*, p. 100.

Chapter Five

'Mrs Byrne says a lot of true things, but also a lot of very wild things': Catholic anti-communism and Irish social movements

The Knights of St Columbanus's 1948 report on Irish communism discussed two bodies, the Irish Housewives' Association and the Irish Association for Civil Liberty, which, respectively, were regarded by the Knights as 'definitively communistic in outlook' and 'in process of turning "Red"'.[1] Both organisations would remain subjects of Catholic anti-communist concern into the 1960s, as this chapter shall show. In Britain, Catholic concerns about communist infiltration of peace movements had existed since the 1930s,[2] and during the Cold War similar concerns became prominent among some Irish clergy due to both international and domestic concerns. Peace campaigning 'became the main focus of IWL activity in the early 1950s', the party, like communist parties internationally, following Moscow's lead in this regard, and this was not unnoticed by Catholic anti-communists in Ireland.[3] Similarly, communists, particularly in Belfast, had been active in protests on behalf of the unemployed in the 1930s.[4] Hence, it was unsurprising that Catholic concerns at communist involvement in unemployed campaigns were prominent during the 1940s and 1950s, not least because the 'longstanding urban unemployment' which the *Irish Independent* noted in 1954 remained an enduring problem in Ireland.[5]

This chapter shall take as case studies several distinct social movements active in Ireland in the post-war era which attracted clerical attention due to the participation of communists within them: in turn, the peace and nuclear disarmament movements, the women's movement, the civil liberties movement and the unemployed movement. While each organisation discussed was predominantly, or exclusively, initiated by non-communists, it soon attracted adverse publicity from Catholic quarters due to the real, or perceived, involvement of communists within it. Úna Byrne has

[1] 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[2] Keating, 'Roman Catholics, Christian Democracy and the British labour movement', p. 117.
[3] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 219.
[4] Donnacha Lucey, *The end of the Irish poor law? Welfare and healthcare reform in independent Ireland* (Manchester, 2015), p. 67.
[5] Garvin, *News from a new Republic*, p. 87.

already been shown by this thesis to have been a prolific correspondent to McQuaid on communist activity. This chapter will place a particular spotlight on her activities. While most actively involved in the Irish Housewives' Association, Byrne was also interested in peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns and in the Irish Association for Civil Liberties, due, in large part, to the fact these groups and the IHA both drew on much the same milieu of middle-class Dublin liberals. While there was less overlap between these aforementioned groups and the unemployed movement, McQuaid's anti-communist informants had a keen interest in it also, due to the involvement of communists within it.

The Irish Catholic Church and the morality of nuclear warfare

At first glance, Ireland was a congenial place for anti-nuclear activism.[6] Though Wittner's authoritative study of international anti-nuclear activism in the early Cold War claims that the strength of Irish nuclear disarmament groups was 'tempered by the generally unsympathetic attitude towards pacifism taken by the powerful Catholic Church', clerical attitudes towards nuclear warfare per se do not appear to demur significantly from his view that Irish people more broadly 'remained consistantly critical of nuclear weapons'.[7] Bishop Browne was easily the most outspoken member of the hierarchy on the issue during the era. Speaking after an UCG talk by Fr P. J. MacLaughlin, Professor of Experimental Physics at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, in 1946, he accused the United States of 'using science to destroy Christianity' by developing nuclear weapons.[8] Browne's colleagues do not appear to have been as outspoken as him on the danger of nuclear warfare, from a survey of contemporary newspapers.[9] Mentions of the issue from other bishops that do exist, such as Patrick Lyons's statement mentioned below, tend to accord with Browne's view, as do mentions in Catholic periodicals.[10] While some Catholic clerics outside Ireland suggested that the use of nuclear weapons could be justified if used in self-defence,[11] John McCarthy, a leading Maynooth theologian, firmly disagreed. In 1950, in response to a reader question about the morality of nuclear warfare, he argued that 'no military necessity or advantage, no set of conceivable circumstances, however grave,

[6] Clair Wills argues, for instance, that the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had a greater impact than the revelations of the Nazi death camps in Europe. Wills, *That neutral island*, pp. 418-421.
[7] Lawrence S. Wittner, *The struggle against the bomb, volume 1: one world or none, a history of the nuclear disarmament movement through 1953* (Stanford, 1995), p. 141.
[8] *Connacht Tribune*, 9 Mar. 1946. For other examples of Browne denouncing nuclear weapons, see, ibid, 10 Nov. 1945, 4 May. 1946, 26 July. 1947, 17 Jan. 1948, 10 Oct. 1953, 4 Apr. 1959, 1 Jan. 1966.
[9] This point was highlighted by criticism of the hierarchy's 'lack of leadership' on the issue by an audience member at a 1955 Irish Pacifist Movement meeting, who noted its absence as an issue from pastoral letters that year. *Pax*, Summer 1955 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 555/13).
[10] Kenny, *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland*, pp. 216-217. To Catholic commentators like Liam Brophy, a prolific writer in the Catholic periodicals of the era, the bombings represented scientific materialism run amok. Don O'Leary, *Irish Catholicism and science: from 'godless colleges' to the 'Celtic Tiger'* (Cork, 2012), p. 174.
[11] *Standard*, 12 Jan. 1951.

can justify its use'.[12] An interest in nuclear disarmament was also evident in government policy, particularly during Aiken's second term as Minister for External Affairs,[13] though Ireland was slower than other countries in its contingency planning for a nuclear conflict.[14]

As could be expected, the Irish Catholic Church's hostility towards nuclear weapons was filtered through the perspective of anti-communism and came to focus predominantly on the Soviet Union, which ultimately developed them in 1949. From as early as December 1945, McLaughlin was warning readers of *Studies* that the Soviet Union developing nuclear weapons was an inevitability.[15] Clerical pronouncements on nuclear warfare focused on the alleged spiritual poverty of communism and the Soviet Union, which, it was argued, was a greater threat than the atomic bomb itself. Bishop Patrick Lyons of Kilmore qualified his 1946 assertion that the Japanese bombings were the 'crowning enormity' of the Second World War by noting that the atomic bomb 'may bring large scale material destruction, but atheistic communism brings spiritual and moral ruin'.[16] While condemning an atomic bomb test by the United States in the Pacific while preaching in Lahinch, Co. Clare, in 1954, Browne went on to say: 'The world will be safe from atomic weapons only when in Russia and other Godless countries men turn to God and build Churches and throng them'.[17] In turn, prayer was presented in clerical rhetoric as a more potent tool against the Soviet Union than the atomic bomb. The *Rosary*'s Christmas 1949 issue featured a short story about a British government physicist who, repentant about his role in the atomic bomb's reaction, urged bystanders in London's Hyde Park to pray with him for the defeat of communism.[18] At An Rioghacht's silver jubilee, held in the Mansion House in November 1951, Rev Daniel Duffy told attendees that their 'faith was more powerful than any weapon'.[19] McLoughlin and subsequently D.P. Kennedy S.J. of Belvedere

[12] John McCarthy, 'The morality of the hydrogen bomb as a nuclear weapon' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* llxiv, no. 4 (Oct.,. 1950), pp. 358-363. McCarthy's piece was later highlighted by the *Standard*, which stated its agreement with the piece after facing reader criticism for its initial uncritical reporting of Walsh's opinion. *Standard,* 26 Jan. 1951.
[13] Chossudovsky, 'The origins of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons', pp. 111-112. Catherine Manathunga, noting the relative lack of debate on Aiken's non-proliferation efforts within the Irish print media in comparison with his stance on China, has suggested that, had the Irish public taken more interest in Aiken's proposal, they would have agreed with James Dillon's contention that it only served to aid the communist bloc. The suggestion is hypothetical, however. The lack of clerical and public controversy surrounding Aiken's proposal, in contrast to the China question, arguably suggests the opposite, indicating a quiet consensus in favour of it. Manathunga, 'The evolution of Irish disarmament initiatives at the United Nations', p. 105.
[14] The first serious assessment of the impact of a nuclear bomb on Ireland was not published until 1958 – and even after that, Ireland's emergency planning for such an event remained 'hopelessly inadequate', in Michael Kennedy's view. Michael Kennedy, 'Envisaging the unthinkable: planning for Armageddon in 1950s Ireland' in *History Ireland*, xxv, no. 1 (Jan/Feb., 2017), pp. 36-39.
[15] P. J. McLaughlin, 'Atomic power: past and future' in *Studies*: *an Irish quarterly review*, xxxiv, no. 136 (Dec., 1945), p. 464. See also P. J. McLaughlin, 'Some reflections on atomic energy' in *Studies*, xxxviii, no. 150 (June., 1949), p. 171.
[16] *Irish Press*, 4 Mar. 1946.
[17] Ibid, 30 Apr. 1954.
[18] Wilkinson Sherren, 'The repentant scientist' in *Irish Rosary*, liii, no. 12 (Dec., 1949), p. 370.
[19] *Standard*, 9 Nov. 1951.

College similarly emphasised to pilgrims to Knock Shrine early in the same decade that their prayers were more potent than any bomb.[20]

Catholic responses to communist peace campaigning in Ireland

From the late 1940s onwards, peace campaigning became a central focus of international communism. As the Cold War emerged the Soviet leadership came to see, in Geoffrey Roberts's words, 'the struggle for peace, not the outbreak of war' as 'the handmaiden of radical change'. The communist movement internationally campaigned through the World Congress of Partisans for Peace, founded at its inaugural congress in Paris in April 1949, which subsequently became the World Peace Council (WPC) at its subsequent Warsaw Congress in November 1950. The movement was best-known for organising peace congresses and petition campaigns. The Stockholm Appeal, which called for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, was launched at the group's eponymous Congress in March 1950. The Five Power Peace Pact petition was initiated in February 1951, and called for the United States, France, Britain, the Soviet Union and China to sign a peace pact.[21] Catholic leaders in Ireland were aware of this development in communist strategy, and the Archdiocese of Dublin took note of an *Soviet Weekly* article in January 1950, which urged all those 'who want to struggle against the instigators of a new world war' to rally behind Stalin.[22]

As with communist parties worldwide, the issue was central to Irish communist activity in the early Cold War. The IWL supported the WPC from an early stage, and Seán Nolan, along with Muriel MacSwiney, the widow of Cork Sinn Féin Mayor Terence MacSwiney who died on hunger strike in Britain in 1920, attended its inaugural Paris congress.[23] It was one of several visits from Ireland to WPC Congresses over the following years.[24] The IWL was also central to initiating the Irish Peace Movement, later known as the Irish Peace Campaign, in March 1950, where communists like Hilda Verlin worked alongside non-communists like Rosamund Jacob.[25] Its foundation was

[20] *Irish Press*, 28 Aug. 1950; ibid. 6 Oct. 1952.
[21] Geoffrey Roberts, 'Averting armageddon: the communist peace movement, 1948-1956' in Stephen A. Smith (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of communism* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 322-328.
[22] Clipping from *Soviet Weekly*, 5 Jan. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/806).
[23] Clipping from *Irish Workers' Voice*, May 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/808).
[24] Peadar O'Donnell, for instance, participated in its June 1953 Budapest Congress, later informing readers of *The Bell* that Ireland 'is recognised throughout the world as one of the nations with a sincere policy of peace'. Peadar O'Donnell, 'World Peace Congress' in *The Bell*, xviii, no. 12 (Autumn, 1953), p. 120. One of his biographers describes nuclear disarmament as 'one of the guiding passions' of O'Donnell's life from 1945 onwards. Peter Hegarty, *Peadar O'Donnell* (Dublin, 1999), p. 291. The CIB noted the visit of Michael Kearney, an unemployment activist, to a WPC Congress in Prague in the same period. Catholic Information Bureau, sixth annual report, 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau'). For information on Kearney, see Treacy, The *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 252.
[25] Irish Peace Movement minute book, entry, 27 Mar. 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 95).

influenced by the British Peace Committee, a body formed by the CPGB the previous year,[26] which was swiftly condemned by Douglas Hyde in the *Catholic Herald* as a campaign designed 'to aid the USSR'.[27] In June 1950, the Irish Peace Movement began promoting the Stockholm Appeal.[28] It attempted to promote its activities in the provincial press, but was rebuffed by the *Galway Observer*. Not only did the paper refuse to print a press release by the group outlining a talk given by the CPGB's Ivor Montagu, the British Peace Committee's Chairman, in Dublin, but it forwarded it to the local bishop, Browne.[29]

Unsurprisingly, the IWL's efforts to promote the Appeal faced strong Catholic opposition. The petitions were seen by some as 'part of a sinister Moscow plot for world domination',[30] and the CPI's *Outline history* conceded that 'fulminations from press and pulpit' produced 'an atmosphere which did not exactly encourage public peace activity'.[31] *Christus Rex*'s 'Vigilans' columnist declared it 'a snare and a delusion' which was designed to make the west 'less able and less ready to stand up to Russian aggression'.[32] The *Standard* cited a statement by the French Bishops claiming that the Appeal had 'seduced many generous souls',[33] a statement later picked up by 'Vigilans', who condemned communist peace activism as 'more deadly in its implications than any of the weapons which physical science has been able to produce'.[34] Under the headline '"Peace" – as interpreted by Moscow', the *Standard* reported in 1951 the remarks of Fr Daniel, a Franciscan, who warned worshippers at Knock Shine not to succumb to the 'lurking dangers' hidden behind the guise of peace.[35]

The Stockholm petition faced varying success in Ireland. While the CPNI claimed to have collected 60,000 signatures in the North,[36] the IWL gathered 1,587 signatures by late July 1950 in the Republic,[37] and an eventual 3000 overall.[38] The party's Five Power Peace Pact signatures, submitted by Goold-Verschoyle to the Department of An Taoiseach in 1952, received 1,100 signatures on eighty petition sheets, drawn almost exclusively from the Crumlin and Kimmage areas

[26] Nicholas Barnett and Evan Smith, '"Peace with a capital P: the spectre of communism and competing notions of "peace" in Britain, 1949-1963' in *Labour History Review*, lxxxii, no. 1 (Spring, 2017), p. 52.
[27] Ibid, p. 58.
[28] Irish Peace Movement minute book, 18 July 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 95).
[29] Letter from Patrick Glynn to Browne, 18 Aug., 1950, enclosing clipping, 'Dubliners support Nehru's proprosal for mediation in Korea' (GDA, Michael Browne papers, B/12/189).
[30] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 219.
[31] Nolan, *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 53.
[32] 'Vigilans', 'We want peace' in *Christus Rex*, iv, no. 4 (Oct., 1950), pp. 371-372.
[33] *Standard*, 7 July 1950.
[34] 'Vigilans', 'The Warsaw tactic' in *Christus Rex*, v, no. 1 (Jan., 1951), pp. 101-102.
[35] *Standard*, 27 July 1951.
[36] Treacy, *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 235,
[37] Irish Peace Movement minute book, entry, 27 July 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 95).
[38] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 219.

of Dublin.[39] The IWL's modest achievement caused internal dissension. As early as 1950, Michael O'Riordan criticised the party's failure to implement 'the international decision in the light of Irish conditions, viz, neutrality in past wars, dominant position of Catholic Church, etc'.[40] As Ferriter, notes, this failure was in part caused by the fact that some of its members were 'physically beaten' while campaigning on the issue.[41] During the July 1950 incident, two women IWL members had to be rescued by Gardaí after being attacked by a crowd in Cabra, Dublin, while collecting signatures for the Stockholm petition, an incident which led the IWL's south Dublin branch to call for petition gathering to cease in May 1951.[42] One of the women, Marion Jeffares, sustained 'injuries which never fully healed'.[43] The *Standard* claimed that the petition collectors had bribed children with pennies to sign the petition, refusing to delete the signatures when their parents had protested, and had also made 'disparaging remarks about Our Lady' while collecting signatures – all of which the women denied. While regretting that the petition-collectors had provoked 'decent people to the use of force', it blamed the women for inciting the unrest.[44] Whyte later highlighted the incident in the working class area to observe that Catholic anti-communism was not just a 'bourgeois phenonemon' in the Ireland of the time.[45] The CIB informed the hierarchy of the IWL's travails in campaigning on the issue in 1954, noting that it 'felt very handicapped' by the persecution of the Church in China in particular, which made the general public perceive communist peace campaigning as insincere.[46]

Irish communists, recognising the difficulty of organising peace work openly, sought to work with non-communist groups such as the Irish Anti-War Crusade, a predominantly Quaker body founded in 1936 which also contained some Catholics and nonbelievers.[47] It promoted 'international law, independent arbitration and mutual reconciliation' as alternatives to 'violent conflict on any kind', and emphasised that its members comprised 'various political opinions and religious beliefs'.[48] Hence, though the group's General Secretary, Stanley Halliday, assured Seán MacBride its members loathed 'Kremlinism and the evils to be found in communism' in a 1951 letter,[49] its journal, *Pax*, welcomed contributions from 'sincere' communists, Halliday writing 'it is the duty of all honest

[39] Letter from Neil Goold to the Secretary, Department of An Taoiseach, 12 Apr. 1952, enclosing petition sheets (NAI, DFA, 6/428/52, 'Five Power Peace Pact').
[40] Preliminary statement on present position of league, accepted unanimously by executive committee, 9 Sept. 1950 (DCLA, CPI collection, Box 3, item 13).
[41] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 490.
[42] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, pp. 235-236.
[43] Deasy, 'George Jeffares', p. 13.
[44] *Standard*, 4 Aug. 1950.
[45] Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland*, p. 167.
[46] Catholic Information Bureau, seventh annual report, 1954 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[47] Harrison, *Irish anti-war movements*, pp. 53-54.
[48] Irish Pacifist Movement leaflet (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 555/13).
[49] Letter from Stanley Halliday to Seán MacBride, 27 Feb. 1951 (NAI, DFA, 6/428/37, 'Irish Pacifist Movement').

people to endeavour to understand those who oppose them'. The Christmas 1950 issue featured a contribution from Verlin describing a visit to the Soviet Union, which argued the Soviets would only consider using nuclear weapons if it were first attacked, 'because they desire peace so fervently'.[50] On the Irish Anti-War Crusade, Dan Bryan, Director of Military Intelligence, concluded that while it 'per se, is not communistic ... the leading Irish communists would, and are, using the Crusade to further their own views',[51] while the CIB noted more generally of peace organisations that 'the communists are endeavouring to make use of this movement to gain followers'.[52]

Clerical 'fellow travellers' of communist peace activity

In its peace campaigning, the broader strategy surrounding the Stockholm Appeal emphasised securing clerical support. In the Eastern Bloc, Catholic clergy were expected to support it by their governments.[53] A document Gilbert Laithwaite, the British ambassador, forwarded to McQuaid in 1951 highlighted the participation at the Paris Peace Congress of Abbé Jean Boulier, the most prominent of the several French clergy – many of whom were worker priests - active in the WPC.[54] Following the international lead, the IWL also sought to build alliances with Catholics, both lay and clergy, on the peace issue. From the outset, the Irish Peace Movement emphasised appealing to both Catholic and Protestant clergy for support.[55] The *Irish Workers' Voice*, as Milotte notes, sought to sidestep clerical criticism of the communist peace movement by highlighting that 'since priests and bishops throughout Europe were signing the petitions in vast numbers, Irish Catholics could safely do likewise'.[56] Further, an April 1953 report by the International Department of the CPGB acknowledged that 'Catholic peace activity may be needed' in Ireland for the movement to avoid censure by the hierarchy.[57] Such efforts prompted Catholic opposition from an early stage. In response to the *Irish Workers' Voice*'s report on Father Andrea, an Italian priest, to the Warsaw

[50] *Pax*, Christmas 1950 (NAI, DFA/6/428/37, 'Irish Pacifist Movement').
[51] Keogh and McCarthy, *Twentieth century Ireland*, p. 207.
[52] Catholic Information Bureau, sixth annual report, 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[53] In Romania, for example, Monsignor Glaser, an assistant bishop, was arrested for telling clergy to refuse to do so. Sabrina P. Ramet, *Nihil obstat: religion, politics and social change in east central Europe and Russia* (Durham, N.C., 1998), p. 191. The Polish hierarchy initially resisted signing, but eventually relented in June 1950. Kent, *The lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII*, p. 255.
[54] 'Statements claiming that Communism and Christianity have common aims' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/734). Cole-Arnal, 'The témoignage of the worker priests', p. 135.
[55] Irish Peace Movement minute book, entry, 27 Mar. 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 95).
[56] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 220. Examples include Boulier's support for the WPC and Verlin's meeting with Canon Stankevičius, Capitular Vicar of the Lithuanian Catholics, at the 2nd USSR Peace Conference. *Irish Workers' Voice*, Sept. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1140.) It also highlighted the Polish Catholic hierarchy's signing of the Stockholm Appeal. *Irish Workers' Voice*, Feb/Mar. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1150).
[57] International Committee report on Ireland, c. 1953 (PHM, CPGB Archive, CP/CENT/INT/46/01).

Peace Congress,[58] the *Standard* noted under the banner headline 'Piety is keynote of new propaganda line in Ireland' that the priest had been suspended by his bishop for participating.[59]

The Rev Canon Harry Armstrong, Church of Ireland Rector of Howth Parish, Dublin, a leading figure in the Church of Ireland Peace Fellowship (CIPF) and the Irish Anti-War Crusade, was one Irish clergyman willing to work with communists, and he is highlighted as a 'brave' Irish peace activist of the era by the CPI's *Outline history* for his role in this regard.[60] The CIPF was founded in 1940 to 'seek the elimination of war on the grounds of its sinfulness and to endeavour to promote international fellowship'.[61] Armstrong was its most prominent figure. Shortly after the Irish Peace Movement's founding, he met with Hilda Verlin in July 1950 to discuss visiting the WPC's congress that year.[62] After accepting funding from the Polish government to travel to the WPC's November 1950 Warsaw Congress along with other delegates, he signed a peace statement alongside 35 fellow Protestant clergymen from churches from nine countries, including leading figures on England's Anglican left such as Stanley Evans and Hewlett Johnston.[63] Armstrong subsequently told the *Irish Times* he attended the Congress after 'considerable hesitance', concluding there was 'nothing to be gained' by refusing to meet people with opposing views.[64]

Armstrong soon came to the attention of the authorities. Despite his own denials, he was regarded by Bryan as falling 'within the category of a "fellow traveller"' of the communist movement.[65] As well as criticism from within his own church and attention from state authorities, the CIPF and Armstrong attracted considerable Catholic condemnation. In 1950, the CIB informed the hierarchy about articles by Armstrong in the *Irish Democrat* and his attendence at Irish-USSR Society meetings.[66] Subsequent to his Polish visit, Armstrong vigorously protested criticism of him by Alfred O'Rahilly in the *Standard*, commenting that he 'wished to hear both sides of the case before I venture to pass judgement'.[67] The *Standard* unsurprisingly rejected Armstrong's claim, quoting an article in the *Church of Ireland Gazette* which described Poland as 'one of many

[58] *Irish Workers' Voice*, Jan/Feb. 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1147).
[59] *Standard*, 26 Jan. 1951.
[60] Nolan, *Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 53.
[61] H. J. L. Armstrong, *A visit to the Warsaw Peace Congress as an observer* (Dublin, 1951), p. 6.
[62] Irish Peace Movement minutes, 14 July 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 95).
[63] Armstrong, *A visit to the Warsaw Peace Congress*, pp. 33-36.
[64] Clipping from *Irish Times*, 2 Dec. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/566).
[65] Keogh and McCarthy, *Twentieth century Ireland*, p. 207. A file was kept on the CIPF through press cuttings, such as details of a motion by Rev Henry Lamb and Rev Ernest Greening at the Church of Ireland's 1952 synod opposing rearmament by the British and United States governments. Clipping from *Irish Times*, 16 May 1952 (NAI, DFA, 6/428/47, 'Church of Ireland Peace Fellowship, Howth Rectory, Dublin (H. J. L. Armstrong, Rector)'.
[66] Catholic Information Bureau, third annual report, 1950 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[67] *Standard*, 12 Jan. 1951.

countries where the witness of Christianity is threatened by the unrestrained power of a hostile government'.[68] Elsewhere, *Christus Rex*'s 'Vigilans' columnist suggested Armstrong pay heed to the alleged claim of Waldeck-Rocket, a prominent French communist, that 'a year of guaranteed peace will be well used by the Russians and their satellites to develop their military strength'.[69] Armstrong also prompted Drumcondra's attention. An unsigned handwritten profile of the Rector amongst McQuaid's papers claimed his visit had caused controversy in Dublin Church of Ireland circles. Several of Armstrong's parishioners were reportedly refusing 'to attend services as a protest against the Rector's activities in Warsaw', and there were rumours he was to be moved from the parish due to the controversy,[70] suffering the same fate as several leftist Church of England clergymen, like Stanley Evans, who encountered 'unrelenting unpleasantness, obstruction and isolation' from their superiors for advocating coexistence between the eastern and western blocs.[71] In the event, Armstrong remained Rector of the north Dublin village till his death in 1957.[72]

The Cavan-born Irish-American priest Clarence Duffy's assertion in the *Irish Workers' Voice* that meaningful peace negotiations could only take place with Soviet representation also attracted attention.[73] Attached to the Diocese of Kilmore, but based in New York, Duffy had received a letter from his Bishop, Austin Quinn, allowing him to ask permission to say mass in the Archdiocese of New York, but the publication of the *Irish Workers' Voice* article prompted Quinn to revoke the letter.[74] Duffy also attracted attention in the United States. Frank Hall of the NCWC wrote to Leila Carroll, the NCWC's Irish correspondent, in late 1949 about Duffy, Carroll replying that she could find nothing about his activities after the 1930s.[75] Jack Tenney, asserting that 'surely some report should be made to his superiors in Ireland as to his affiliations in the United States',[76] sent Fahey an article of Duffy's published in the Communist Party USA's *People's Daily World* where the Cavan priest, while insisting he was not a communist, protested the recent conviction of 11 US communist

[68] Ibid, 26 Jan. 1951.
[69] 'Vigilans', 'The Warsaw tactic' in *Christus Rex*, v, no. 1 (Jan., 1951), p. 101.
[70] Profile of Rev H. J. L. Armstrong, M.A., The Rectory, Howth., undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/567).
[71] Kirby, 'Ecclesiastical McCarthyism', p. 197. *Irish Times*, 16 Dec. 1957. He remained committed to peace activism, participating in a Irish Pacifist Movement discussion on 'education towards non-violence' a few months before he died. *Pax*, Spring 1957 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 555/14).
[72] *Irish Times*, 16 Dec. 1957. He remained committed to peace activism, participating in a Irish Pacifist Movement discussion on 'education towards non-violence' a few months before he died. *Pax*, Spring 1957 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 555/14).
[73] *Irish Workers' Voice*, Dec. 1950 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1143).
[74] Letter from Bishop Austin Quinn, Bishop's House, Cullis, Cavan to Peadar O'Curry, editor of the *Standard*, 2 May. 1952 (CUA Archives, USSB, CNS, Box 45, Folder 47, '*The Standard*, Dublin, Ireland, 1928 -1956').
[75] Letter from Leila Doolan to Frank Hall, 7 Jan. 1950 (CUA Archives, USSB, CNS, Box 22, Folder 1, Ireland correspondence, 1920-1954).
[76] Letter from Jack Tenney to Denis Fahey, 4 Jan.1950 (KMA, Fahey Papers, Box 14).

leaders, as 'others have a perfect right to believe in or subscribe to atheistic communism'.[77] He also attached a letter from Edward R. Gaffney, Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of New York, which noted that the Archdiocese had 'withdrawn all ecclesiastical courtesies' from Duffy due to his support for the recent Mayoral campaign of Vito Marcantonio, the American Labor Party's sole member in the House of Representatives and a figure seen by the Catholic Church in New York as a communist fellow traveller.[78] After his signing of the Stockholm Appeal, Duffy was subsequently mentioned in a 1951 HUAC report which listed US-based signatories of the Appeal.[79] Duffy was recognised in the communist movement as a figure who could potentially attract Catholics to the Irish peace movement, the 1953 CPGB report stating that 'there are probably no other priests yet prepared to take a stand with Fr Duffy, but his writings could be distributed and deputations to parish priests, if possible, etc,. may move some of them in the right direction'. It was important, the CPGB report noted, that peace movements in Ireland be led by practicing Catholics.[80]

Barnett and Smith have noted the 'popular perception' in Britain in the late 1940s which 'imagined that communists were subverting non-communist peace organisations and that the entire peace movement was tainted by communism',[81] and this statement neatly summarises the attitude McQuaid held. He consistently hindered attempts by Irish nuclear disarmament campaigns to build links with Catholic clergy, repeatedly denying them his approval and pressuring fellow clergy to do likewise. In 1959, he received a letter from Ciarán McAnally of the Irish Pacifist Movement inviting him to a lecture on 'Modern war and the Christian conscience' in the Shelbourne Hotel on 6 December, in which the former Archbishop of Bombay, Thomas Roberts, was to speak.[82] McAnally had also secured a proposed 5 December meeting between Roberts and Frank Aiken, informing the Department that Roberts, who had 'expressed appreciation at the part played by the Irish delegation at UNO' regarding nuclear disarmament, wished to discuss the issue.[83] The Archbishop was a controversial figure. The Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales had made several attempts to prevent Roberts, a Jesuit and 'the most prominent Catholic pacifist in England', from speaking at

[77] Extract of *People's Daily World*, 2 Dec. 1949 (KMA, Fahey Papers, Box 14). The correspondence with Duffy in Fahey's papers is mentioned in less detail in Athans, *The Coughlin-Fahey connection*, p. 216.
[78] Letter from Edward R. Gaffney to recipient with address excised, 19 Dec. 1949 (KMA, Fahey Papers, Box 14). Marcantonio's biographer notes he was denied a Catholic burial by Cardinal Spellman of New York on his 1954 death for his political activities. Gerald Meyer, *Vito Marcantonio: radical politician, 1902-1954* (Albany, 1989), p. 182.
[79] United States Congress Committee on Un-American Activities, *Report on the Communist "peace" offensive: A campaign to disarm and defeat the United States* (Washington DC, 1951), p. 130.
[80] International Committee report on Ireland, c. 1953 (PHM Manchester, CPGB Archive, CP/CENT/INT/46/01).
[81] Barnett and Smith, '"Peace with a capital P', p. 52.
[82] Letter from Ciarán McAnally to John Charles McQuaid, 2 Dec. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/859).
[83] Letter from Ciarán Mac an Fhailí to Private Secretary, Minister for External Affairs, 3 Dec. 1959 (NAI, DFA, 6/434/610, 'Archbishop Thomas D'Estere Roberts, S. J., visit to Ireland').

political events, but 'as he was not directly under their authority they could not get rid of him'.[84] An alarmed McQuaid was no exception. Though his secretary, he informed McAnally he could not 'find it possible or advisable to attend the meeting'.[85] He promptly met with the Vice-Provincial of the Irish Jesuits, Fr Barry, who expressed surprise Roberts would visit Dublin without informing McQuaid or themselves. McQuaid 'pointed out the effects on the S.J. in Ireland if Abp. Roberts, in ignorance, I am sure, should address a group which is penetrated with communists and has been linked with left-wingers', and suggested Roberts preach at Francis Xavier's church in Gardiner Street that evening instead.[86]

Barry promptly wrote to Roberts conveying McQuaid's wishes, noting that 'it is most embarrasing for me to intervene, but I have done so only because I believe it to be in the best interests of the Society and of Your Grace'. Barry also emphasised that 'it is important that reference not be made to His Grace's name in this matter'.[87] Roberts pulled out of the talk without mention of McQuaid's role or explanation to the Irish Pacifist Movement, something reported in newspaper reportage. Despite this setback, his meeting with Aiken went ahead successfully.[88] Barry also sent a letter of explanation to Britain's Jesuit Provincial, stating that Roberts had declined the opportunity to preach at Gardiner Street as he was not prepared to use it 'as an excuse' for pulling out of the talk.[89] McAnally later wrote to McQuaid to apologise, expressing uncertainty at the reasons behind

[84] Aspden, *Fortress Church*, p. 288. Traditionalist prelates outside England and Wales also sought to restrict him from speaking in their dioceses; for example, the Irish-American Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles, a noted conservative amongst the United States hierarchy, forbade him from speaking in his Archdiocese in 1964. *Time*, 13 July 1964. He had also been denied permission to participate in the Second Vatican Council by conservatives in the Roman Curia, having already gotten into trouble with the Holy Office in 1959 for his outspokenness on nuclear weapons. Corrin, *Catholic progressives in England after Vatican II*, pp. 203-204.

[85] Letter from James Ardle McMahon to Ciarán McAnally, 3 Dec. 1959 (DDA. AB8/B/XXIII/861).

[86] Handwritten note from John Charles McQuaid regarding meeting with Fr Barry, Provincial of the Irish Jesuits, 3 Dec. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/862).

[87] Letter from Barry to Roberts, 3 Dec. 1959 (IJA, ADMIN/3/84/4).

[88] Both the Archdiocese of Dublin and the Irish Jesuit Provincialate collated news reports of Roberts' visit to Dublin. Press clippings, *Evening Mail*, 5 Dec,, *Irish Times*, 6 Dec. *Irish Independent*, 7 Dec. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/866-868), *Evening Mail*, 5 Dec., *The People*, 6 Dec., *Empire News*, 6 Dec., *Irish Times*, 6 Dec., *Sunday Independent*, 6 Dec., 1959 (IJA, ADMIN/3/84/12-14.)

[89] Letter from Barry to John Coventry, 11 Dec. 1959 (IJA, ADMIN/3/84/10). McQuaid remained vigilant against visits to his diocese by clergy with unorthodox views, and in 1968, in liason with the Dominican Provincial, Fr Coffey, he prevented two Cambridge Dominicans with leftist sympathies, Herbert McCabe and Laurence Bright, from speaking at a Dublin conference entitled 'Marxism, Christianity, and Ireland'. The conference, held on 18-21 October 1968, was co-organised by *Slant*, an English Catholic journal influenced by Marxist thought whose contributors included members of the Catholic 'new left' like then Cambridge student Terry Eagleton. It was also organised by *Grille*, a similar group of Irish Christians of various denominations, centred around the young Catholic journalist- and author of a work on McQuaid – John Feeney. David O'Reilly, 'We hope to annoy, stimulate, provoke and irritate, but never bore – Grille, the Irish Christian left – Christian Marxism in 1960s Ireland' (MA, UCD, 2013), pp. 38-40. For details of McCabe, Bright, and *Slant*, see Corrin, *Catholic progressives in England*.

his objection to the talk.[90] McAnally, a practicing Catholic,[91] was investigated by Fr Fehily of the Vigilance Committee, who found no evidence of communism. The McAnally family's local priest, Father Ryan of Mount Merrion parish, expressed surprise they were under suspicion as he held them in high esteem.[92]

The Mayr Affair

Also of concern to McQuaid was Hildegard Mayr, an Austrian peace activist. Daughter of Kaspar Mayr, founder of the International Fellowship of Catholic Pacifists, Mayr frequently visited Warsaw Pact countries in an attempt to promote understanding and reconciliation between east and west. It was an inclement atmosphere in which to do so. As Mayr's biographer noted: 'to speak of peace and nuclear disarmament aroused charges of treason. Even in the churches – Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant – many succumbed to these attitudes'.[93] She was first brought to McQuaid's attention by Byrne in 1956, who reported Mayr was to address a Catholic Association for International Relations meeting on 5 March and an Irish Pacifist Movement meeting chaired by Victor Mealey the following evening. Given Mealey's alleged communism – he reportedly attended 'all communist meetings with a lady friend who distributes communist literature' – she felt that Mayr 'was either an innocent victim or the Catholic Ass. has picked a bad lecturer'.[94] A November 1957 visit by Mayr to Ireland, which was promoted by Lucy Kingston of the Irish Pacifist Movement in the *Irish Times* under the pseudonym 'Candida' a day before her arrival, prompted further suspicion on Byrne's part.[95] Byrne had become 'very doubtful' of Mayr as she was staying at Kingston's home and the latter was allegedly 'up to her ears' with communism. Kingston further told Byrne that Mayr 'had been greeted by Cardinal D'Alton',[96] news which McQuaid greeted with considerable alarm.

D'Alton had been more open than McQuaid when asked to associate himself with nuclear disarmament motions. This was illustrated when Louie Bennett[97] wrote to him in 1954 regarding a motion passed by the IWWU's Executive Committee which called for women of all nations, the Irish

[90] Letter from Ciarán McAnally to McQuaid, 16 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/863).
[91] He was praised by Eoin O'Mahony, a co-religionist, for conveying 'our Church's point of view so succingtly' at a 1960 Belfast conference on church-state relations in Ireland. *Pax*, Summer 1960 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington papers, MS, 40, 555/11).
[92] Note from James Ardle McMahon to John Charles McQuaid regarding McAnally, 1 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/864).
[93] Richard Deats, *Marked for life: the story of Hildegard Goss-Mayr* (New York, 2009), p. 27.
[94] Letter from Úna Byrne to Fr Martin, 4 Mar. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/407).
[95] Typed copy of report by Lucy Kingston for the *Irish Times*; *Irish Times*, 15 Nov. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/847).
[96] Letter from Úna Byrne to Fr Martin, 13 Nov. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/846).
[97] Bennett's biographer notes that her activist and trade union career was marked by a strong 'anti-militarist' stance Cullen Owens, *Louie Bennett*, p. 121.

government, and the Irish churches to support nuclear disarmament.[98] D'Alton assured her that 'I and my brother Bishops will exert every influence that we can to secure the objects which your Union has in view'.[99] In was in this vein that the Cardinal had warmly greeted Mayr in 1956, after being approached on her behalf by the Rev Henry Lamb of the CIPF, an Armagh Church of Ireland clergyman on cordial terms with D'Alton.[100] On hearing of Mayr's 1957 visit, McQuaid promptly wrote a warning letter to the Cardinal, stating that Mayr 'is a most suspect person, posing as a Catholic pacifist. When here before she consorted with the pro-communist pacifists in Dublin'.[101] D'Alton, who again received invitations from both Mayr and Lamb,[102] had initially again replied warmly to their letters.[103] His attitude changed considerably on receiving McQuaid's letter, and he assured McQuaid that he would keep Mayr at arm's length.[104]

In January 1960, McQuaid was alerted to another Irish visit by Mayr, now known as Goss-Mayr after wedding Jean Goss, a French peace activist. Her request asking for a meeting with McQuaid to discuss 'our missionary efforts among non-believing people both in western and eastern countries' unsurprisingly did not happen.[105] David Sheehy has noted that McQuaid, 'like a capricious dictator', was susceptable to 'false information fed by courtiers, the accuracy of which he failed independently to verify'. He sometimes trusted this information more than that of prominent priests in the diocese.[106] In an example of this, McQuaid prioritised Byrne's advice above James Kavanagh's when the latter asked him to meet with the Goss-Mayr's. While acknowledging 'some of the people they have contact with here are at least a little suspect', Kavanagh told McQuaid that this was because they 'believe they can bring the spirit of Christ to the enemies of the Church ... I personally (for what it is worth) believe they are very sincere Catholics'.[107] McQuaid promptly ordered Kavanagh 'very gravely to temper your zeal in their regard in such ways that neither

[98] Letter from Louie Bennett to D'Alton, 2 Apr. 1954 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Irish Women Workers' Union'). Bennett was likely one of the 'prominent Protestant trade union officials' noted for their attendence at peace movement meetings in the CIB's 1953 report. Catholic Information Bureau, sixth annual report, 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').
[99] Letter from D'Alton to Louie Bennett, 5 Apr. 1954 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Irish Women Workers' Union').
[100] Letter from Henry Lamb to D'Alton, 6 Mar. 1956 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 34, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').
[101] Letter from McQuaid to D'Alton, 14 Nov. 1957 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 34, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').
[102] Letter from Henry Lamb to D'Alton, 1 Sept. 1957; letter from Hildegard Mayr to D'Alton, 23 Sept. 1957 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 34, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').
[103] Letter from D'Alton to Hildegard Mayr, 27 Sept. 1957 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 34, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').
[104] Letter from D'Alton to McQuaid, 26 Nov. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XV/47).
[105] Undated letter from Dr Hildegard Goss-Mayr to McQuaid (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/877).
[106] Sheehy, 'Archbishop McQuaid: legend into history', pp. 107-108.
[107] Letter from McQuaid to James Kavanagh, 28 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/872).

privately nor publicly you can be associated with their efforts'.[108] Kavanagh confessed his 'hurt' at McQuaid's response, emphasising that he had warned them that McQuaid was unlikely to grant their request as 'too many of their contacts were with "fellow travellers" + even worse'. He also excoriated Byrne: 'Mrs Byrne says a lot of true things, but also a lot of very wild things, especially when she has a bit in her teeth'. Claiming Ignace Lepp, the Estonian analogue of Douglas Hyde 'would never have seen the Church if the Mrs Byrnes were the only Catholics he met', Kavanagh noted that, despite the Goss-Mayr's 'misguided' connections, he regretted McQuaid had not met the couple to ascertain his 'own impression of them, and more important, give them some salutary advice'.[109] McQuaid reassured Kavanagh that his letter was not to be interpreted as a rebuke, but nonetheless asserted definitively 'when I take a decision I have knowledge other than what most people possess',[110] Kavanagh accepting 'wholeheartedly' McQuaid's decision.[111]

McQuaid maintained close contact with Byrne on the issue. She attended the Irish Pacifist Movement meeting addressed by Goss-Mayr in Dublin, estimating that most of the 46 attendees were 'Quakers, fellow travellers, or Red'. Despite previously warning Bishop Lucey of a potential visit by the couple to Cork, from talking to Goss-Mayr Byrne learned they were to address an Irish Pacifist Movement meeting in Belfast instead.[112] On learning Jeremiah Newman was also to address the meeting, McQuaid wrote to him and Mageean, warning the latter that Goss-Mayr was 'travelling Secretary of a group affiliated to a Communist world front. She is using the name of the Archbishop of Vienna... she will use, here and abroad, Dr Newman's name and Your Lordship's name, if the lecture should be given'.[113] Mageean thanked McQuaid for his 'timely intervention ... her name would have meant little to me. Your Grace's letter has opened my eyes to the danger'.[114] Byrne informed McQuaid that after Newman 'withdrew from attending the conference at the very last moment', the meeting was 'not successful' and the Goss-Mayr's tried to obtain accommodation in a Legion of Mary hostel 'without success'.[115] McQuaid also wrote to D'Alton, reminding him Goss-Mayr was, 'a very dangerous lady ... who gave us much worry during two weeks in 1957.'[116] According to a profile of Mayr among McQuaid's papers which he had forwarded to the Cardinal, she was Travelling Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, which was affiliated

[108] Letter from James Kavanagh to McQuaid, 20 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/870).
[109] Letter from James Kavanagh to McQuaid, 29 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/874).
[110] Letter from McQuaid to James Kavanagh, 30 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/878).
[111] Letter from James Kavanagh to McQuaid, 1 Feb. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/879).
[112]Report compiled by Byrne for McQuaid (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/885).
[113] Letter from McQuaid to Mageean, 29 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/875).
[114]Letter from Mageean to McQuaid, 30 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/876).
[115] Letter from Byrne to Jean and Hildegarde Goss-Mayr, 8 Feb. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/886).
[116] Letter from McQuaid to D'Alton, 20 Jan. 1960 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 33, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').

to the World Peace Council. Mayr was reported to have claimed she accompanied 'a party of Communist Youth Delegates' on a Moscow visit 'with the explicit consent of the Archbishop of Vienna'.[117] D'Alton, who had received a letter from Goss-Mayr nine days before requesting a visit,[118] denied her request on McQuaid's advice, 'as from what you say her reception here would be utilised for her own purposes'.[119] While acknowledging they had not been able to 'explain the true meaning of our work' to McQuaid, the Goss-Mayr's subsequent report of their visit was positive, highlighting meetings with trade unionists, Dublin members of the Dominican Order, and several priests in Maynooth and Belfast interested in pacifism.[120] Byrne acknowledged of the report that 'there is no doubt as to its exactness', but noted Goss-Mayr 'was blocked all along the line', Byrne also frustrating her attempts to meet Lemass and de Valera: 'She actually did try to see "the Boss". That approach was rather funny and would take too long to relate here'.[121] Byrne's influence, it seems, extended not just to McQuaid but the hierarchy of FF also.[122]

Catholic anti-communism and the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Internationally, peace activism entered a new phase with the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain in 1957. The CND's annual march from London to Britain's Atomic Research Information Department at Aldermaston, Berkshire, first held in 1958, 'attracted thousands of participants and transformed the campaign into a mass movement'. The CND's influence was particularly pronounced on Ireland's small anti-war milieu. A group from Dublin had been present at the CND's first march, and the Connolly Association was supportive of the group. An Irish CND

[117] Memorandum on Mrs Hildegarde Goss (formally Mayr), 20 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/871).
[118] Letter from Goss-Mayr to D'Alton, 11 Jan. 1960 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 33, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').
[119] Letter from D'Alton to McQuaid, 22 Jan. 1960 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 33, 'Visit of Mrs Hildegard Mayr - International Fellowship of Reconciliation to Ireland in 1957 and 1960').
[120] 'Report of a Journey to Ireland by Hildegard Goss-Mayr', Mar. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/883).
[121] Undated letter from Úna Byrne to Father Diffney, c. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/856). External Affairs advising him that Aiken felt 'it would be better if the President were not to grant audience to Mrs. Goss'. Memorandum entitled 'Iarratas ar an Uachtaran glacadh le Dr Hildegard Goss-Mayr agus a fear Mr Jean Goss', 29 Jan. 1960 (NAI, PRES/1/P5598, 'Dr. Hildegard Goss-Mayr').
[122] A 1960 document by Mairtín Ó Flathartaigh, Secretary General to the President, shines further light on Byrne's role in this regard. W.A. Swanton, an Irish colleague of Mayr's, wrote to De Valera on Goss-Mayr's behalf in January 1960 seeking a meeting with the new President, recalling a meeting between De Valera and Mayr during her 1957 visit. Swanton emphasised that Mayr was 'in close touch with the Vatican and especially with Cardinals Tisserant and Ottaviani'. Letter from W.A. Swanton to the President of Ireland, 12 Jan. 1960 (NAI, PRES/1/P5598, 'Dr. Hildegard Goss-Mayr'.) Ó Flathartaigh noted in a memorandum that he had previously been approached by an official in the Department of External Affairs with information regarding Mayr's alleged radical associates. Much of the information echoed Byrne's previous claims to McQuaid regarding Mayr, the official alleging that Lucy Kingston was an IWL member and that Mayr's Irish associates more broadly were 'more or less coloured'. Mayr's visit to Moscow and her invoking of the Archbishop of Vienna's name in that regard was also noted, while the fact she spoke at a 1957 public meeting alongside Roy Johnston was also highlighted. Two weeks after Swanton's letter, Ó Flathartaigh received a further message from the Department of External Affairs advising him that Aiken felt 'it would be better if the President were not to grant audience to Mrs. Goss'. Memorandum entitled 'Iarratas ar an Uachtaran glacadh le Dr Hildegard Goss-Mayr agus a fear Mr Jean Goss', 29 Jan. 1960 (NAI, PRES/1/P5598, 'Dr. Hildegard Goss-Mayr').

was formed in 1958 with Roy Johnston and McAnally as founding members.[123] Peadar O'Donnell was a founding member,[124] while John De Courcy Ireland was also prominent, and a draft article amongst his extant papers outlines the organisation's key tactics, which included film screenings, public meetings and the annual Irish contingent to Aldermaston.[125] Irish CND's domestic activities saw it press Ireland to take a more proactive stance in promoting disarmament policies diplomatically, as well as opposing any potential Irish complicity in the development of nuclear weapons, such as uranium mining.[126]

The Irish CND's membership was drawn largely from members of previous peace organisations, including IWL members such as Johnston. While Anthony Coughlan was critical in 1961 of the CND as it drew its inspiration from a British-based organisation, the group was spoken of positively by Greaves in an 1962 internal CPGB document for its peace efforts.[127] The Irish CND had gained Garda attention soon after its founding, when members picketed the British and United States embassies in Merrion Square, Dublin, on 29 August 1958, demanding the cessation of nuclear tests. A Garda report noted that 'practically all the members of the committee had come under notice previously for their efforts in the Irish Pacifist League, and some of them are also active members of the Irish Workers' League'.[128] Allegations of communist links swiftly appeared in the Catholic press. An item in *Christus Rex*'s 'Notes and news' section, which had succeeded the 'Vigilans' feature in 1957, sarcastically suggested that if the group wished to prove they were 'not quite as red as we suspect', they should 'undertake to extend the campaign to the streets of Moscow, where it is sure to receive a more enthusiastic reception than it received at the hands of the unsympathetic bourgeoisie of our capital city'.[129] Irish CND also organised its own marches in both Dublin and Belfast which soon gained media attention on both sides of the border.[130]

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[123] Simon Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68: civil rights, global revolt and the origins of the Troubles* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 140-141.
[124] Donal Ó Drisceoil, *Peadar O'Donnell* (Cork, 2001), pp. 117-118; see also Hegarty, *Peadar O'Donnell*, p. 291.
[125] Draft article, 'Ireland and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament', c. 1960 (UCDA, De Courcy Ireland Papers, P/29/C.1). The seventy-strong Irish group at the 1960 march was reportedly the largest of the foreign contingents present. *Pax*., Summer 1960 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington papers, MS, 40, 555/11).
[126] Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament membership form outlining its aims (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 555/13).
[127] Smylie, 'Irish communism', pp. 150-151.
[128] Reports from Commissioner, Garda Siochana, regarding the Irish Campaign from Nuclear Disarmament, forwarded to Frank Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, 3 Sept. 1958 (NAI, DFA, 428/89, Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).
[129] J.G., 'Red or pink' in *Christus Rex*, xiii, no. 2 (Apr., 1959), pp. 137-138.
[130] Nagle, 'From Ban-the-Bomb to Ban-the-Increase', p. 47. In 1961, the Amharc Éireann Irish language newsreels of Gael Linn captured a 200-strong march of the group, predominantly comprised of students, to Dublin's American, British and French embassies. 'Eagrán 126, Dublin students protest' (Gael Linn, Amharc Éireann), http://ifiplayer.ie/amharc-eireann-eagran-126-dublin-students-protest/, accessed 17 Sept. 2016. For report on the march, see *Irish Times*, 2 Mar. 1961. The following year, a CND demonstration gained national attention when dogs were used at a march of around 60 people to the United States embassy. An *Irish Times* photograph of Noël Browne, a figure close to Irish CND, being accosted by a dog soon gained widespread attention. As the United States Ambassador Matthew McCloskey told

Like previous peace movements, the Irish CND highlighted clerical statements to support its arguments.[131] Hence, it was unsurprising the CND also approached members of the clergy. In response to a November 1959 letter from the group requesting a meeting, McMahon informed them that 'as his Grace the Archbishop already understands the nature of your body and the purpose of your visit, it will not be necessary to meet your council or send a representative to meet your council'.[132] While a 1959 report to McQuaid from Byrne on the Irish CND noted that two of 'our people' had succeeded in getting onto the group's council, with the remaining council members involved in 'communist activities',[133] a 1961 memorandum among McQuaid's papers by Byrne describes six of the Irish CND's twenty-one strong council as communists. These were Victor Meally, Lucy Kingston, Cormac Kenny, Cathal Mac Liam, Justin and May Keating. Anthony Farrington, Betty de Courcey Ireland, Helen Chenevix, and Doreen Farrington served as the body's President, Vice President, Treasurer and Secretary respectively. The memorandum asserted many the groups's estimated 275 members were unaware that they were being exploited by communists.[134]

The Farringtons were a radical family. Anthony Farrington was the brother of Benjamin Farrington,[135] who, like George Thomson, was both a prominent classicist and a communist.[136] Patrick Seery, parish priest of Sandyford, Dublin, where Anthony and Doreen Farrington lived, investigated the family on the Vigilance Committee's behalf, consulting a 'reliable and accurate' neighbour. He informed MacMahon that Anthony Farrington was a retired Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, and Mrs Farrington was 'a niece of Millington Synge, the playwright'. An adult son, Conor Farrington, worked as an actor for the Radio Éireann Repertory Company. Seery portrayed the Farringtons as 'professed socialists and deeply in sympathy with Soviet Russia', Anthony Farrington being 'a member of the Society of Friends of Russia'[137] who had visited China. Assessing his wife's politics, Seery described the 'extent she is motivated by sincere humanitarian concern' as 'difficult to

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Washington: 'Scuffle received wide publicity and thus achieved presumed purpose organisers'. Horgan, *Noël Browne*, pp. 212-213.

[131] For instance, the June-July. 1963 issue of *The Banner*, the group's periodical, highlighted its Belfast's branch's praise for the recently deceased Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. Limerick's CND branch also distributed a leaflet advocating nuclear disarmament which contained statements from Pope Pius XII, Cardinal Godfrey, and the Church of Ireland's House of Bishops. *The Banner, journal of the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,* June/July 1963 (UCDA, De Courcy Ireland Papers, P/29/C(3).) In Northern Ireland Protestant clergymen from several denominations participated in Irish CND, though others shared McQuaid's suspicion of the group. The Revd. Albert McIlroy, a non-subscribing Presbyterian, claimed during the Cuban Missile Crisis, for instance, that it was a 'tool for communists'. Nagle, 'From Ban-the-Bomb to Ban-the-Increase', pp. 47-48.

[132] Letter from James Ardle McMahon, Archbishop's Secretary, to Betty de Courcey Ireland (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/858.)

[133] Typed report from Úna Byrne, c. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/440).

[134] Unsigned memorandum, 17 Apr. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/641).

[135] *Cork Examiner,* 4 Jan. 1966.

[136] Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in postwar Britain: history, the New Left, and the origins of cultural studies* (Durham, N.C., 1997), p. 12.

[137] Presumably a reference to the Irish-USSR Society.

assess'. Claiming 'one or two Protestant Ministers' were collaborating with Anthony Farrington 'in his socialistic activities', Seery was 'happy' to report that they did not try to influence 'our Catholic parishioners'.[138] Conor Farrington was particularly prominent in his anti-nuclear activism, and he promoted the British CND's iconic marches against Aldermaston nuclear weapons base in *The Plough* as well as the mainstream press.[139] He particularly attracted Byrne's attention. The US Ambassador, Scott McLeod, whom she befriended through a mutual acquaintance, approached her for information after Farrington received a scholarship to study in the United States. Byrne subsequently reported to the Archdiocese: 'As Farrington the actor was one and the same as the communist who marched in England with the "peace" effort and who spoke in public here, as well as being mixed up with our gang, he got no passport and the Scholarship was withdrawn'.[140] Again, Byrne had apparently worked to hinder peace activists in their activism out of hostility to their perceived leftist views.

'Just to give it a good spring cleaning?': the case of the Irish Housewives' Association.

Of the bodies which attracted anti-communist suspicion during the early Cold War era in Ireland, the Irish Housewives' Association was, at first glance, seemingly the unlikeliest. Initially set up to demand the introduction of an equitable rationing system as the cost of living rose markedly during the Emergency, it was formed at the instigation of a number of women, notably Hilda Tweedy and Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington. Tweedy, originally known as Hilda Anderson, was the daughter of a Church of Ireland Rector in Clones, Co. Monaghan. In 1936 she moved to Dublin to wed Robert Tweedy, manager of the Court Laundry in Harcourt Street, and resumed her teaching career in the 1950s.[141] Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington, who came from a family of French socialists, was the wife of Owen Sheehy-Skeffington and daughter-in-law of noted Irish feminist Hanna Sheehy-Sheffington.[142] Sonja Tiernan's contention that the IHA served as a vital political outlet 'for young, educated married women who were mainly excluded from playing active roles in the public sphere',[143] was particularly true after the Irish Citizens' and Local Government Association (ICLGA) merged with the IHA in 1947. The merger also made the IHA the Irish affiliate of the International Alliance of

[138] Letter from Fr Patrick Seery, St. Mary's Sandyford, to Fr James Ardle MacMahon, 2 Jan. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/854.)
[139] *The Plough*, May 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1322). Also see *Irish Times*, 8 Apr. 1961.
[140] Typed report from Úna Byrne, c. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/445.)
[141] Linde Lunney, 'Tweedy, (Muriel) Hilda Anderson', in James McGuire and James Quinn, (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009) http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a9395&searchClicked=clicked&quickadvsearch=yes, accessed 21 Aug. 2017.
[142] Cullen Owens, *A social history of women in Ireland*, pp 286-289.
[143] Sonja Tiernan, 'Hilda Tweedy – the original desperate housewife?' in *History Ireland*, ixx, no. 6 (Nov/Dec., 2011), p. 7.

Women (IAW), and attendance at IAW conferences internationally was an important focus of the body throughout its existence.[144] While the IHA's outspokenness in what Linda Connolly describes as the Irish women's movement's 'period of abeyance' between 1922 and 1969 make it an important group,[145] its appeal in the era should not be exaggerated. Tweedy herself acknowledged that the group 'never attracted the number of women in working class districts which we would have liked',[146] something backed up by later scholars.[147]

From the late 1940s onwards, accusations of communist infiltration of the IHA began to emerge. Peter Berry claimed that the IHA and the Women's Social and Progressive League were amongst groups, such as the Irish-Soviet Friendship Society, which members of the CPI in the 26 counties joined after the Dublin branch's dissolution in 1941.[148] The Knights' 1948 report on communism echoed this, listing the two groups as examples of middle-class organisations controlled from New Books. It claimed that the *Irish Review* had acted as a 'mouthpiece' for the IHA, due to articles by Hilda Tweedy which had appeared within it.[149] *Christus Rex*'s 'Vigilans' columnist compared the IHA's absorption of the ICLGA to the name change of the Russia To-day League to the Irish-Soviet Friendship Society and subsequently the Irish-USSR Society.[150] As Clear has noted, such opposition from 'Vigilans' was ironic, given its emphasis on women in the home had much in common with many elements of Catholic social teaching.[151] Indeed, not all Catholic commentary on the IHA was hostile, even if Catholic suspicion of the IHA remained deep-rooted.[152]

Berry's report cited the fact key IHA figures were related to men active in radical politics as a reason to regard the IHA as communist-infiltrated, noting Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington's marriage to the 'communist' Owen Sheehy-Sheffington and asserting Hilda Tweedy was married to the known communist R. N. Tweedy,[153] a claim Puirséil repeats.[154] In fact, as Michael Quinn correctly notes,

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[144] Mary Cullen, 'The unbroken chain of the Irish women's movement' in Alan Hayes (ed.), *Hilda Tweedy and the Irish Housewives' Association: links in the chain* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 30-34.
[145] Connolly, *The Irish women's movement*, p. 71.
[146] Tweedy, *A link in the chain*, p. 15.
[147] Connolly, *The Irish women's movement*, p. 71; Clear, *Women of the house*, p. 64.
[148] Document, 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee papers, P67/548).
[149] 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548). This suspicion amongst the Knights endured, and Christopher O'Reilly emphasised during the 1950s that the Order should 'stand aloof' from the IHA. Bolster, *The Knights of Saint Columbanus*, p. 118.
[150] 'Vigilans', 'What's in a name?' in *Christus Rex*, ii, no 2 (Apr., 1948), p. 75.
[151] Clear, *Women of the house*, pp 62-64.
[152] Notably, the *Standard* printed a tribute to the organisation from Marian Corrin in March 1951 which praised the body's work on focusing attention on food hygiene and criticised Irish housewives for their apathy towards the IHA. *Standard*, 9 Mar. 1951. Tweedy viewed the article as significant enough to highlight it in her book on the IHA. Tweedy, *A link in the chain*, p. 74.
[153] Document, 'Communism in Ireland', dated Dec. 1947 (UCDA, MacEntee papers, P67/548).
[154] Puirséil, *The Irish Labour Party*, p. 147.

Hilda Tweedy was R. N. Tweedy's daughter-in-law, not his wife.[155] The confusion was apparently caused by the fact her husband Robert shared the same first name as his father, with Berry's report amalgamating details from the lives of the two. As Tweedy's husband later told Mary Ryan, a friend of the Tweedy's in their final years, his father 'had once been a communist' and had 'reverted to socialism once he had seen what was going on in Russia'.[156] Interestingly an undated profile of Hilda Tweedy in McQuaid's papers which furnishes details of both her parents and her children did not mention her husband's family.[157] The fact that R. N. Tweedy was Hilda's father-in-law was later confirmed by the Archdiocese of Dublin's own anti-communist surveillance of both her and the IHA. Byrne, noting a visit Hilda was to make to Drogheda, Co. Louth, on 23 July 1959, reported that she had suggested to Peter McKevitt that several awkward questions be put to Tweedy at the meeting, one of which was 'Is it true that her husband's father is a well-known communist?'[158] Despite the family link, there is no evidence that Hilda herself was a member of the IWL.[159]

Another matter which caused Catholic suspicion of the IHA was the issue of peace. Many of the IHA's initial founders, such as Marguerite Skelton, Lucy Kingston and Sheila Mallagh, were Quakers, and the IHA's first meeting was held in Friends' House on Eustace Street.[160] Hence, the IHA took an interest in peace activism. After being contacted by the British Cultural Committee for Peace, it sent a message of support to the WPC's inaugural April 1949 conference, after a unanimous decision made by a general meeting of the body earlier that month. The decision, the IHA later explained in the wake of much criticism, came 'from a desire on the part of members to make a gesture (even if only a small and futile one) towards preserving peace'.[161] While Owen Sheehy-Skeffington had ignored a separate invitation he had received to the Congress as he had identified its

[155] Quinn, *Irish-Soviet diplomatic and friendship relations*, p. 191.
[156] Mary Ryan, 'Hilda Tweedy: a personal reminiscence' in Alan Hayes (ed.), *Hilda Tweedy and the Irish Housewives Association: links in the chain* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 78-79. Tweedy was a regular visitor to Russia. The civil servant C.S. 'Todd' Andrews recalled meeting the elder Tweedy, a 'Marxist' and 'generous-minded soul … starry-eyed about everything he saw and heard in Russia' in Leningrad in 1936 while on a fact-finding visit regarding turf production in the Soviet Union, and invited him to join Bord na Mona's delegation in their travels round the country. Andrews, *Man of no property*, p. 155. Andree Sheehy-Skeffington remembered R.N. Tweedy – Owen was friendly with his son - as 'being enthusiastic about the transforming of turf into electricity or about Soviet Russia whose turf exploitation he had visited'. Sheehy-Skeffington MS, p. 175. McQuaid was aware of this interest of Tweedy's, and possessed a pamphlet by Tweedy from the Clann na Poblachta library on turf production. R.N. Tweedy, *Towards a new Ireland, no. 2: turf, or nothing* (Dublin, undated) (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1120).
[157] Handwritten profile of Hilda Tweedy, undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/345).
[158] Letter from Hilda Tweedy to Fr Diffney, 11 June 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/921).
[159] The fact she shared a first name with Hilda Verlin did confuse the Archdiocese of Dublin at the time; the Vigilance Committee noted in February 1960 that Anne Peache and Professor Tweedy had a son married to a Hilda, which they wrongly speculated was Hilda Verlin, née Alberry and not Hilda Tweedy, née Anderson (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/345, typed report on meeting of Vigilance Committee, 8 Feb. 1960).
[160] Tweedy, *A link in the chain*, pp. 12-15; ibid, pp. 22-24.
[161] Irish Housewives' Association, seventh annual report, 1949 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/1/2/2).

organisers as 'friends of the USSR', his wife's organisation showed less caution.[162] Following a subsequent Extraordinary General Meeting, the IHA noted that after protests from its Mount Merrion and Bray branches and concern from the public, it wished to clarify that its message to Paris 'meant no more than what it said, and we deny that it could be taken as implying support of communism'.[163] Margaret McManus, formerly of the Mount Merrion branch, later wrote to the *Irish Press* asserting that the branch had voted to dissolve itself and the Bray branch had resigned en masse in response to the decision, writing both to the Department of Justice and the Department of External Affairs to explain their actions.[164]

The IHA was also amongst the organisations Garret FitzGerald's 1949 *Cavalcade* article accused of being communist, the young journalist commenting that the message to the Paris conference 'revealed to the unsuspecting members the true nature of the organisation they had joined'.[165] While Tweedy refers to the article in her 1992 book on the IHA, she graciously did not name the by then former Taoiseach, who frankly discussed his role as author in his autobiography of the previous year, as the culprit.[166] For its own part, the IHA reacted to *Cavalcade*'s printed apology by inviting anyone interested in viewing it to visit the IHA office.[167]

The IWL, women activists, and the IHA

The IHA attracted the attention of the IWL due to the increasing importance Irish communists placed on agitation amongst women in the post-war era. In March 1949, the IWL had fifteen women members, and it was suggested a women's section be formed 'to infuse progressive life into existing women's organisations'.[168] At its first conference that year, Michael McCarthy, who had been given the responsibility of developing the League's stance on women's issues, suggested that the involvement of women comrades in cooperatives could increase the number of working class women in the party, which currently had 'no basis' – the fact a man had been appointed as the party's expert on women's issues perhaps making his point for him.[169] Notably, Verlin claimed to the *Irish Times* in 1950 that she was a member of the Irish Countrywomen's Association during an interview about her

[162] Sheehy-Skeffington MS, p. 274.
[163] *Irish Press*, 24 May 1949.
[164] Ibid, 30 June 1949.
[165] *Cavalcade*, 23 June 1949 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 550/11). A copy of this publication also exists in the National Archives. Also exists in (NAI, DFA, 6/414/40, 'Unfavourable article published about the Irish Association of Civil Liberty by "The New Cavalcade").
[166] Tweedy, *A link in the chain*, p. 70.
[167] Irish Housewives' Association, eighth annual report, 1950 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/1/2/2).
[168] IWL executive committee minutes for 3 Mar. 1949 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 23).
[169] Irish Workers' League, first annual conference, 1949 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 10.)

visit to the Soviet Union. The claim was denied by the body's secretary, Betty Byrne,[170] and the *Standard*'s 'Commentary' column accused Verlin of lying.[171] Verlin subsequently insisted to the *Standard* that she had been a 'paid-up member' of the group's Dublin branch at the time of her interview, but that due to 'misunderstandings' she was resigning.[172] By 1951, the IWL had progressed to found its own women's section, which had ten members that January.[173] It sought to link issues such as the Mother and Child Scheme to the broader campaign for peace, Marion Jeffares arguing in 1951 that 'if it is right for the life of an infant to be preserved at birth then it is surely wrong for a children to be killed indiscriminately at war'.[174] Paralleling the views of many ordinary women,[175] the IHA was staunchly in favour of the Mother and Child Scheme, deploring 'the resignation of a Minister for Health who had done so much in his term in office for the health of the community'.[176] It helped to organise a well-attended meeting in support of Browne in College Green, attracting the opposition of Catholic Actionists as a result.[177] It hence was seen as an attractive target for IWL members to join due to its outspokenness. At its conference the following year the IWL passed a resolution urging members of the section to join women's bodies, including the IHA, within which they would agitate on such issues as equal pay, faster housing construction, implementation of the Mother and Child Scheme and costs on food and clothing.[178]

Úna Byrne and the IHA

Anti-communist attention was again directed on the IHA when, on 12 April 1952, the *Roscommon Herald*'s 'PhD' columnist – whom the *Irish Democrat*, as noted earlier, identified as Fr James McLaughlin of Boyle, Co Roscommon – accused the organisation of having been infiltrated by communists. Alluding to anti-Budget protests earlier in the week, the column identified the IHA as one of the protest's key instigators. While it acknowledged that 'its membership is largely made up

[170] *Irish Times*, 23 Sept. 1950.
[171] *Standard*, 29 Sept. 1950.
[172] Ibid, 10 Nov. 1950.
[173] IWL executive committee minutes for 10 Jan. 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 2). This interest in women's issues was reflected by the CPNI. Betty Sinclair, Ireland's most prominent woman communist, represented Northern Ireland at the 1953 Congress of the communist Women's International Democratic Federation in Copenhagen. Letter from Betty Sinclair to Marie-Claude Vaillant Couturier, General Secretary, Women's International Democratic Federation, 10 Dec. 1953 (NAUK, KV2/2506, 'Betty Sinclair').
[174] *Bulletin, issued by the IWL's Education Committee*, Sept-Oct 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 64).
[175] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, p. 159.
[176] Irish Housewives' Association, nineth annual report, 1951 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/1/2/2).
[177] Tweedy later recalled how the IHA's speeches at the meeting were drowned out by people in the crowd singing 'Faith of our Fathers', a noted Catholic hymn.Tweedy, *A link in the chain*, pp. 73-74.
[178] Trade Union Resolution (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 6). The 'women's voice' section of the *Irish Workers' Voice* - likely written by Verlin, as the initials given, H.A., correspond with her maiden name - also praised the IHA and the Mother and Child Welfare Scheme Committee, instancing them as examples of movements worthy of support. *Irish Workers' Voice*, Aug/Sept. 1951 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1149). The paper's Cork correspondent, Con Lehane, later reported on the IHA's attempt to set up a branch in the city. *Irish Workers' Voice*, Feb/Mar. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1150).

of people who have no Red sympathies', it asserted that the IHA 'has always been used as a medium of expression by others whose ideological sympathies are never in doubt'.[179] The column sparked indignation within the IHA, which promptly initiated legal proceedings against the paper.[180]

Around this period, apparently in response to a fear that IWL members were joining the IHA, a notably combatative group of Catholic anti-communists began attending IHA meetings. Chief amongst them was Úna Byrne, who began regularly reporting to McQuaid on the IHA's internal affairs. This complicated the *Roscommon Herald* libel case. A later statement signed by the IHA's joint secretaries, Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington and Kathleen MacLarnon-Wells, claimed that the case would have been resolved earlier 'at it not been for attacks which, since October [1952], have been constantly directed by several members against the Central Committee'. It was noted that most of this opposition came from new members, with 72 joining between October 1951 and January 1952. As a consequence, the Committee decided unanimously in January 1952, amidst controversy, to temporarily suspend new members joining, having been satisfied that recruitment on 'an unfair basis' was taking place.[181]

Byrne's outspoken anti-communism soon brought her into trouble with the IHA leadership. She was visited on 20 February 1953 by Mary Andrews, Sheehy-Skeffington and MacLarnon-Wells. On behalf of the IHA's committee, they gave her a statement to sign containing an apology to the IHA and its members for comments she allegedly made at a meeting of the Crumlin Catholic Action Group the previous January 'which may have given the impression that the Irish Housewives' Association is or has ever been Communist controlled, or has ever had any connection whatsoever with Communism, or that the Committee or any member thereof is a Communist or has Communist affiliations'.[182] In her eventual response, Byrne accused the Committee's members of 'conjuring up a dark ages practice of form-signing before a Court of Inquisitors' and claimed the affair reminded her of 'the anathema of little girls at school towards other little girls who for silly little reasons made themselves unpopular'.[183] Byrne ultimately addressed a meeting of the IHA's committee on 18 March. According to the account of the meeting in McQuaid's archives, the Committee's decision to close the IHA's minute books, with new members placed on a waiting list, was vehemently criticised by many women present, the decision being taken as 'it was thought that vested interests or sectarian groups were trying to break up the Association'. When a Mrs J. Kenny asked to view the

[179] *Roscommon Herald*, 12 Apr. 1952 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/5/2/3).
[180] Clear, *Women of the house*, p. 65.
[181] Irish Housewives' Association, eleventh annual report, 1953 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/1/2/2).
[182] Copy of letter from Kathleen MacLarnon-Wells to Úna Byrne, 25 Feb. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/901).
[183] Copy of letter from Úna Byrne to the IHA Committee, 6 Mar. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/903).

Committee's membership book, she was shown 'a new book with a list freshly written in alphabetical order'. The account noted that 'the first name, Miss Alberry, was carefully crossed out in red!!!!!'' Kenny threatened legal action if she was not shown the new books by 31 March, it was noted.[184] A statement read out by Byrne to the meeting noted that she denied to committee members she had anything to do with the publication of *Roscommon Herald* article, and claimed that, while she was glad to see the matter decided in court, a failure to win the libel action must entail the IHA's current committee resigning. Justifying her assertion in January that the IHA had been infiltrated by communists, her statement argued that the attendance of Lucy Kingston and a Mrs Pine at a 'communist-inspired peace meeting' at Dublin's Abbey Street the same month justified her allegation: 'from the fact they voted for a resolution that Paul O'Higgins, a Communist and Chairman of this meeting, I venture to say that they were not there on the same mission as myself, and that their attitude and presence could be described as that of fellow-travellers at least'. While Byrne did not name Kingston and Pine by name in the oral version of her statement, Kenny persuading her not to do so just before the meeting, she did observe that Lily O'Rourke, an IHA member, was also a figure in the IWL, and claimed that she had witnessed O'Rourke at a meeting at Dublin's Pembroke Road on 10 March to commemorate Stalin's death. Asserting she had been accused of 'being out to fill the Association with Catholics', Byrne asserted that she merely felt that the IHA committee had been negligent in its failure to keep communists from joining the group, which was imperilling 'one of the finest Associations in Ireland. One in which Catholics, Protestants and Jews work together for a common cause'. Her motivation, she concluded, was not to 'break up the Association' but to 'give it a good spring cleaning' of communists and subversive elements.[185]

Byrne had a number of allies within the IHA with whom she coordinated her work within the organisation. Kathleen Boothman, one ally of Byrne's within the IHA, was asked by Sheehy-Skeffington and MacLarnon-Wells to attend a meeting of the IHA's executive committee on 30 March regarding a letter she wrote to the *Evening Mail* criticising the IHA's stance on the 1953 Health Bill.[186] A note amended to a reply Boothman sent to the committee noted that 'she says that she gave nothing away ... from the several letters to the papers and the various summonses to members to appear before them, it would seem that the committee are a bit rattled. Our members should now play very canny'.[187] Byrne's allegation that Hilda Verlin, née Alberry, should be

[184] Notes on meeting of IHA, 13 Mar. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/905).
[185] Copy of statement given by Mrs Úna Byrne at meeting of IHA, 18 Mar. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/904).
[186] Copy of letter from Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington and Kathleen MacLarnon-Wells to Kathleen Boothman, 26 Mar. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/907).
[187] Note affixed to copy of letter from Kathleen Boothman to Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington , undated but in response to letter of 26 March (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/908).

expelled because she was a communist was dismissed by the IHA executive committee later that year, MacLarnon-Wells informing her that it had 'no evidence that Miss Alberry has broken the constitution and none has been supplied by you'. She further warned Byrne that through her invites 'to the committee to interest itself in the personal convictions of its members you are inviting it to commit a breach of the constitution'.[188] Byrne noted that she was not privy to how the committee had reacted to the letter internally, as a Mrs MacAulay, an ally of hers within the committee, had failed to attend the meeting. Byrne assured Martin: 'I pointed out to her the necessity of attending every meeting and giving out the news … I will have to try a bit of flattery on her to get results'.[189] Ultimately, the IHA settled the case against the *Roscommon Herald* out of court on 28 July 1953, the day the case was due to be heard.[190] The paper published an apology the following month, asserting that 'the Irish Housewives' Association has no connection whatever with any form of Communism, and that it is not being, nor has it at any time been used as a medium of expression by persons being either Communists, or persons with Communist sympathies'.[191]

Byrne's change of tack, and the International Alliance of Women

James de Haan has correctly noted that 'a noticeable shift in Byrne's infiltration of the IHA' occurred after this experience, as she adopted a more 'nuanced' and less antagonistic position towards its committee.[192] It should be added that this change of heart was not just on Byrne's part but was emphasised by the Archdiocese, which was anxious that its involvement in anti-communist infiltration be kept discreet. Byrne's understanding of this was illustrated when she informed McQuaid in November 1953 of the activities of a schoolteacher named Miss Blake, 'a dangerous woman' whose contributions, Byrne felt, 'leaves one in no doubt as to her Marxist sympathies'. Byrne claimed to have received a dossier alleging that Blake regularly visited the home of Geoffrey Palmer. In contrast to her earlier public denunciations, Byrne instead assured McQuaid that she realised 'the matter is a delicate one'.[193] In 1954, Byrne put herself forward to participate on several of IHA's sub-committees, an indication of her changed attitude. Unsurprisingly, given the bitterness of the previous year, she encountered suspicion from Sheehy-Skeffington and MacLarnon-Wells,

[188] Copy of letter from Kathleen MacLarnon-Wells to Úna Byrne, 6 Sept. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/912).
[189] Letter from Úna Byrne to Fr Martin, 23 Nov. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/915).
[190] Tweedy, *A link in the chain*, p. 70.
[191] Clipping of *Roscommon Herald*, 15 Aug. 1953 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/5/2/3). Prominent civil servant C.S. 'Todd' Andrews, Mary Andrews's husband, claimed in his memoir that he was unaware of her involvement in the case until he returned home to find her 'triumphant' about the legal victory, 'all the more so because the whole proceedings had been masterminded by Mrs Sheehy-Skeffington and herself without reference to me. Mary was far from being a communist and she resented being labelled as one in those halcyon days of Catholic extremism'. Andrews, *Man of no property*, pp. 330-331.
[192] De Haan, 'McQuaid's old granny', p. 42.
[193] Letter from Úna Byrne to McQuaid, 3 Nov. 1953 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/913).

who insisted she first apologise in writing for a statement she made on 23 April 1953 that the Committee could expect 'no quarter or consideration' from her.[194]

A continuing Catholic suspicion of the IHA was highlighted when the *Irish Rosary* criticised the few references to religion in the *Irish Housewife Annual*'s 1957 edition.[195] Given the controversy surrounding the IHA, it is unsurprising that the association had been listed in the very first report of the Vigilance Committee as being amongst a number of 'legitimate organisations' which were vulnerable to 'being used by communists or liberals or that are likely to be used by them for their own ends'. The Vigilance Committee's proposed solution to combat the threat was to support Byrne's actions within the IHA.[196] O'Halloran informed McQuaid the following year that Fr Clarke, who had been assigned to monitor the IHA by Vigilance and maintained a file on the group, noted, after a conversation with two of the IHA's members, that 'membership has been greatly reduced and he thinks the movement is under control'.[197] The proposed talk of a Mrs O'Connell, an 'agitator re cruelty to children in schools' to the IHA was raised by the Vigilance Committee a fortnight later, which responded by making arrangements 'to brief some of the members' on the issue.[198]

Following her more conciliatory stance towards her fellow members, Byrne soon involved herself in the IHA's International Sub-Committee. In an undated letter likely from 1956 or 1957, she assured McQuaid that eight of the Sub-Committee's twelve members were now '"ours" – how strongly I can't say, but at any rate better than those who were there'. The IHA's new Chairwoman, Miss Dixon, who had been educated by Ursuline nuns, was praised for 'having enough gumption to get priest's advice in the past on such subjects as Health Bill'. Byrne warned that Mrs Blake, whom she continued to regard as suspect, was to represent the IHA at an IAW meeting in Denmark. She informed McQuaid that she would ask a Mrs McCarthy to make enquiries into Blake's contribution in Denmark: 'McCarthy had previously been 'great against "reds" and "fellow travellers" and might be able to find out what is being said in our name'.[199]

When the opportunity arose for the IHA to attend an IAW Congress in Athens from 7 August to 7 September 1958, the IHA initially declined, citing the prohibitive cost. 'Fearing that some undesirable member of the IHA might go and pay her own way', Byrne proposed a resolution which meant only members of the International Committee could attend the Congress and required any

[194] Letter from Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington and Kathleen MacLarnon-Wells to Úna Byrne, 7 Jan. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/916.)
[195] Anon, 'The Irish Housewives' Annual, 1957' in *Irish Rosary*, lxi, nos 7-8 (July/Aug., 1957), pp 252-253.
[196] 'Objects of the Committee', 30 Apr. 1954 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/2.)
[197] Letter from Michael O'Halloran to John Charles McQuaid, 24 Jan. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/4.)
[198] Typed minutes of Vigilance Committee meeting, 9 Feb. 1955 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/9.)
[199] Typed note in Úna Byrne to McQuaid, undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/917.)

potential delegate to be ratified by the IHA's executive. The IAW urged the IHA to reconsider its decision, offering monetary support to travel. After Tweedy suggested Byrne attend, Byrne wrote to McQuaid appealing for advice. Arguing that 'Ireland will be represented spiritually and politically by someone with different views with that of Catholic Ireland' should she not go, and noting that time was too short to ask the government for assistance – a recent house purchase meant she herself could not afford it – she appealed to McQuaid for help with funds.[200] McQuaid approved of Byrne visiting Athens, donating £75 to facilitate her attendance. Given the urgency of the decision, McQuaid took the decision without consulting trusted anti-communist lieutenants like Crean and O'Halloran.[201]

By 1959, Byrne was able to boast that the IHA's International Sub-Committee was under her control, with her allies Curren and Boothman serving as Chairwoman and Secretary respectively. Byrne felt that Tweedy, who was the incoming Chairwoman of the IHA Central Committee, would be poor in the role, and also informed McQuaid that the IHA's two secretaries were 'useless', vulnerabilities she promised to exploit: 'I will go in with the demolition squad when I think it is wise'. While Byrne felt that she did not yet have enough support to defeat Tweedy to become the IHA's Chairwoman, persuading another fifty Catholics to join would lead, in her view, to her and her allies having the IHA 'under control in about two years'.[202] McQuaid continued to keep a close eye on Byrne's reports on the IHA. She reported in 1959 that its Drogheda branch intended to write to the Minister for Health on behalf of the IHA as a whole protesting the insistence of the Lourdes Hospital, run by the Medical Missionaries of Mary, that all maternity cases be dealt with in the home of the woman.[203] Alarmed by the development, McQuaid requested that he be furnished with more information on a Miss McAuley, who had been noted as vocally supporting the proposal.[204] A subsequent note on McAuley described her as 'a Catholic, but is well-known in being Socialistic in her views, anti-clerical and anti-nun'.[205]

The following year, McQuaid granted permission for the IAW to hold its 1961 Congress, scheduled from 21 August to 2 September, in Dublin, allowing the DICS's premises to be used for the purpose. Tweedy, on behalf of the IHA, thanked McQuaid for his 'generosity' in granting them use of the DICS: 'we can now go ahead in our plans assured of success in this respect'.[206] An

[200] Ibid.
[201] Typed notes on Úna Byrne's proposed visit to Athens, with handwritten note from James Ardle MacMahon recording McQuaid's decision, 17 July, 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/918).
[202] Letter from Hilda Tweedy to Fr Diffney, 11 June. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/921).
[203] Report of meeting between the Drogheda branch and the Central Committee of the Irish Housewives' Association, 5 May. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/922).
[204] Handwritten note by McQuaid on Secretary's note affixed to previous item (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/923).
[205] Note on Mrs McAuley, undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/923).
[206]Letter from Hilda Tweedy to John Charles McQuaid, 1 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/927).

exultant Byrne additionally thanked him as giving 'a great boost to the members of the Irish Housewives' Association and to me in particular, you have made me very happy'. Byrne warned that there remained a communist element in the IHA, notably in the International Sub-Committee – 'I usually feel as if I am sitting on a volcano with all the reds waiting to pounce on me, the witches of Macbeth have nothing on Kingston, Jacob and Chevenix'. Byrne expressed optimism at the fact that a visit with Fehily to the DICS alongside Curren, Fehily and Chevenix had meant support within the IHA for the site of the Congress was unanimous. 'Would it be expecting a miracle if we got Lily O'Rourke back to the Church and the others to mend their ways', she mused.[207]

In January 1960, nineteen months before the IAW came to Dublin, the Vigilance Committee argued that 'a strong Catholic presence should be in position [in the IHA] by the time the Congress is held in 1961'. To ensure this, the Committee decided that members of the Catholic Women's Federation and the DICS should be directed to join the IHA 'quietly and singly'.[208] Byrne continued to keep McQuaid updated on the Congress' progress in the month prior, noting satisfactorily that many of the over 200 international delegates – notably those from West Germany, Canada, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan – had strong anti-communist credentials. She informed McMahon that the 'excellent' talk the noted lay Catholic Tomas Rosingrave recently gave the IHA had boosted its Catholic element and meant efforts to pass motions in favour of 'peace' within the organisation were now less likely. While McQuaid continued to support the Congress, he declined Byrne's offer to his secretary to set up a meeting between the Archbishop, whom Byrne labelled in her correspondence to diocesan officials as 'the Boss', and Tweedy at the Congress.[209] McQuaid, who seemed amused rather than insulted at Byrne's seemingly flippant nickname for him, dryly annotated that 'the Boss will be in Lourdes – mercifully'.[210] Instead, James Kavanagh oversaw contact between the Church and the Congress, with McQuaid affirming that O'Halloran give direction to Kavanagh in his absence as he had dealt with the Congress in the Vigilance Committee.[211] The *Standard*'s front page

[207] Letter from Úna Byrne to John Charles McQuaid, 11 Dec. 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/926).
[208] Note on meeting of Vigilance Committee, 11 Jan. 1960 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/84).
[209] Letter from Úna Byrne to James Ardle McMahon, undated but affixed to previous item (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/930).
[210] Note from James Ardle McMahon to John Charles McQuaid affixed to previous item and annotated by the Archbishop, 4 Aug. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/931). Byrne had a tendency to use pseudonyms – she regularly signed her reports as 'Grandmother' or some variation thereof, hence the title of De Haan's article. De Haan, 'McQuaid's old granny', pp. 42-44. Her correspondence sometimes touched on personal matters, revealing a degree of informality in their relationship. For instance, Byrne ended one lengthy report on the IHA by mentioning ,as an aside, that a teenager of hers, Michael, had just sat his Intermediate exam and was looking for a job, 'as it is necessary to keep boys employed at something during the long summer'. The Archbishop annotated the letter quizzically 'Is it wise, at that age?' Letter from Úna Byrne to John Charles McQuaid, 11 June, 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/921).
[211] Note to John Charles McQuaid annotated by the Archbishop, 4 Aug. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/932).

three days before the Congress commenced highlighted that it was coming to Dublin, the issue's editorial expressing hope that the Irish women's movement would take inspiration from Our Lady.[212]

Byrne was active in the IHA until the late 1960s, according to Tweedy's papers. In 1966 she informed McQuaid that she now represented the IHA on the Joint Committee of Women's Societies, McQuaid instructing his Secretary to convey congratulations to Byrne.[213] It would appear that, as the red scare atmosphere of the 1940s and 1950s waned in the aftermath of Vatican II, so did her involvement in the IHA. A list of International Sub-Committee members for the year 1967/68 shows her name crossed out alongside a number of other committee members, with a scribbled instruction to contact them to establish if they were still interested in being involved.[214]

Irish Association of Civil Liberty and anti-communism

Amidst broad support for maintaining Irish neutrality during the Emergency, the security measures introduced by the state to tackle internal subversives largely enjoyed a lack of public opposition, despite they fact they represented, in Eunan O'Halpin's words, 'a considerable diminution of domestic liberty'.[215] In the post-war era, public concern at their continued existence manifested itself in efforts to set up an Irish civil liberties organisation. A meeting to establish a group 'which will work for the restoration of what we have lost in this field, the preservation of what we hold, and the achievement of further civil liberties' was held in Dublin on 22 October, 1947. An attached list of potentially interested members included figures who were or would become figures of suspicion to Catholic anti-communists, such as Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, Peadar O'Donnell and Hilda Tweedy, alongside reliably Catholic figures like Peadar O'Curry, James Dillon and Alfred O'Rahilly.[216] On 22 March 1948, the Irish Association for Civil Liberty was formed in Dublin, with Christo-Gore Grimes as Acting Secretary.[217] Sheehy-Skeffington and Tweedy, who were active in the IACL in its earliest stages, both became involved on its Council,[218] while the Earl of Wicklow, a prominent convert to Catholicism, was one of its first Vice-Presidents, alongside, amongst others, Seán Ó Faoláin.[219] John A. Costello, who would soon become Taoiseach, was also a founding member.[220]

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[212] *Standard*, 18 Aug. 1961.
[213] Note from Úna Byrne to John Charles McQuaid, 15 Oct. 1966 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/496).
[214] Irish Housewives' Association, International Sub-Committee, 1967/68 (NAI, Hilda Tweedy Papers, 98/17/2/5/3).
[215] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 203.
[216] Circular letter with details of meeting and list of members to approach (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/5).
[217] *Irish Times*, 24 Mar. 1948. Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington gives an account of the IACL's founding in her biography of her husband Owen Sheehy-Skeffington which tallies with contemporary articles, though she mistakingly names 1947 as the date of its founding. Sheehy-Skeffington MS, pp. 133-134.
[218] Civil Liberties Association, list of names to be proposed for election to Council at meeting, 22 Mar. 1948 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/2).
[219] Irish Association for Civil Liberty constitution, 22 Mar. 1948 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/5).

From the outset, the IACL was accused of having a communist element. The Knights' 1948 report noted that while figures like Costello and James Dillon had shown an interest in the body at its formation, people associated with FF and FG had 'retired into the background when they saw a leftist element striving for control'. Owen Sheehy-Sheffington, Hilda Tweedy, Dorothy McArdle, E. M. Wood, S.C., and Rosamund Jacob were noted by the Knights as being amongst the leftist members of the IACL's committee. The order advised that 'an organisation of this kind can only be kept in bounds by keeping a majority of the right type on the Committee'.[221] A letter published under the pseudonym 'Irishman' in the *Irish Independent*'s 20 March issue, which subsequently came to the attention of state authorities, warned attendees about the '"Very Far-Left" character of many of [the] chief members and chief activities' of the IACL's British counterpart, the National Council of Civil Liberties, alleging Hewlett Johnston was prominent in the group.[222] The letter was directly referred to and condemned at the IACL's founding meeting, Wood stating that 'neither he nor any of the persons associated with him had the slightest intention of implementing communism in any way in this country'.[223] The 'rather confused' meeting witnessed disagreement on whether the Association should condemn the post-war governments of Czechoslovakia and Russia, and a proposal by a Mr Devitt that five seats on the IACL's Committee be set aside for the Catholic hierarchy to select was defeated.[224] For its part, a Garda report felt that Sheehy-Sheffington was 'the only left-wing agitator' amongst the IACL's founders.[225]

Not everyone was convinced by the IACL's denials. FitzGerald's *Cavalcade* article accused the IACL of having been created by communists in order to defend their free speech. Sheehy-Skeffington's participation in a cancelled UCD debate on the *Communist Manifesto* was instanced as an example of the IACL's sympathies.[226] This was despite the fact, as FitzGerald later admitted, that both he and his brother Fergus had attended the IACL's founding meeting, and hence were presumably aware that his characterisation of it was wide of the mark.[227] The IACL took swift action in response to the article. Gore-Grimes brought the matter to MacBride's attention.[228] The Minister

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[220] McCullagh, *The reluctant Taoiseach*, p. 320.
[221] 'The Background of Communism in Dublin', July. 1948 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/548).
[222] Clipping, *Irish Independent*, 20 Mar. 1948 (NAI, TSCH/4/97/9/825, 'Irish Association of Civil Liberties').
[223] Clipping, *Irish Independent*, 20 Mar. 1948 (NAI, TSCH/4/97/9/825, 'Irish Association of Civil Liberties').
[224] *Irish Times*, 24 Mar. 1948.
[225] Garda Síochána Detective Branch report, 20 Mar. 1948 (NAI, TSCH/4/97/9/825, 'Irish Association of Civil Liberties').
[226] *Cavalcade*, 23 June. 1949 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 550/11).
[227] FitzGerald, *All in a life*, p. 47.
[228] 'Unfavourable article published about the Irish Association of Civil Liberty by "The New Cavalcade"', letter from C. Gore Grimes to Seán MacBride, 20 July, 1949 (NAI, DFA, 6/414/40).

for External Affairs recommended that the IACL seek an apology and retraction.[229] It was advice the group successfully followed, with Sheehy-Skeffington's solicitors informing *Cavalcade*'s publishers that their client would be content with a 'full withdrawal and apology' for the allegation he and the IACL more broadly were communist.[230] The IACL reprinted the apology in a subsequent bulletin.[231] Gore-Grimes, who was related to a brother of FitzGerald's through marriage, personally confronted him about the article when the author's identity was revealed. FitzGerald recalled gratefully that, like Tweedy, Sheehy-Skeffington, alongside whom he later served in Seanad Éireann, accepted his apology and did not hold it against him in his subsequent political career.[232]

Elsewhere, drawing heavily on a 1948 report by the Tenney Committee, *Fiat* 25 alleged in its lead article that 'communist fronters' regularly engaged in 'spurious activities connected with "civil liberty"' which aimed 'not to safeguard legitimate civil liberty but to extend it to the docile hirelings of Moscow so that they in turn may destroy all liberty and "unfurl the Satanic banners"'. The American Civil Liberties Union, it alleged, was one such front. A separate article in the issue singled out the IACL for criticism, noting that while it was to be expected that the *Irish Times*, as the 'organ of Masonic opinion in Ireland', would praise the IACL, the *Standard*'s past praise for the body was to be deplored. It criticised the IACL for its involvement in the 'Judaeo-Masonic' International League of the Rights of Man, an international body which the American Civil Liberties Union – a body *Fiat* claimed was a communist front – was also a member of. In seeking to identify the IACL as communist, *Fiat* also seized on an October 1950 *Irish Democrat* editorial which, alluding to incidents such as the Cabra attack on the IWL's women petition-collectors and the CCTPA's protests, argued that the 'Civil Liberties Committee must be strengthened' as a counterweight against such abuses.[233] Maria Duce would continue its attacks on the IACL into its Fírinne incarnation, producing a leaflet which repeated its earlier allegations that the body's links to the International League for the Rights of Man, a group allegedly headed by a 'notorious Soviet sympathiser', rendered it suspect.[234]

While the IACL was initially divided on whether it should respond to *Fiat*'s claims, it decided to do so, attributing *Fiat*'s accusations to 'our criticism of its anti-Semitic tone', and claiming that 'the International League for the Rights of Man refuses to admit communist or even

[229] 'Unfavourable article published about the Irish Association of Civil Liberty by "The New Cavalcade"', letter from Seán MacBride to C. Gore Grimes, 7 Sept. 1949 (NAI, DFA, 6/414/40).
[230] Letter from Hickey and O'Reilly, solicitors to the proprietors, the Illustrated Publications Ltd, 17 Aug. 1949 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40,550/11).
[231] Irish Association for Civil Liberty report, 'Work in Progress', undated, but c. late 1949.
[232] FitzGerald, *All in a life*, p. 47.
[233] *Fiat* 25. See also *Irish Democrat*, Oct. 1950.
[234] Fírinne leaflet (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS, 40, 551/4).

fellow-traveller associations'.[235] Having made Baldwin aware of the periodical's accusations, its 1952 report later published a letter from him denying them one by one. The issue also included a letter Seán Ó Faoláin, the IACL's President, had originally sent to the *Evening Mail*,[236] which argued that 'organisations which behind the parade of alleged Christian principles tend to foment unChristian bitterness and to undermine the country's Constitution' – an indirect but unmistakable reference to Maria Duce – were greater threats to Irish democracy than Ireland's 'far weaker' communist movement. It further asserted that the presence of Gabriel Fallon and Peadar O'Curry on the IACL's Council indicated the absurdity of *Fiat*'s accusations, and praised the *Standard*'s reportage of the body, noting that it would have been easy for the *Standard* to respond to Maria Duce's claims by 'playing safe' and avoiding 'identifying themselves in any way with the Association's work'.[237] An IACL 1953 report noted that O'Curry, while ostensibly on the committee, had not attended a single meeting of the body that year, while Fallon was not even listed as a paper member – suggesting the engagement of figures associated with the *Standard* with the IACL was generally nominal.[238]

Partly due to *Fiat*'s attacks, the IACL went to some lengths to avoid associating with communism, paralleling its American counterpart, which was 'hesitant' in challenging the increasing McCarthyist hysteria,[239] in large part due to accusations, such as those made by the Tenney Committee, that it itself had been infiltrated by communists.[240] For example, in 1949 the IACL declined an opportunity to visit a civil liberties congress in Prague as it was decided its presence 'might well be used for propagandist purposes' by Czechoslovakia's communist regime. A minority disagreed with the decision, feeling that not taking up such opportunities to travel behind the Iron Curtain weakened western knowledge of events there.[241] The IACL's anxiety to avoid any link with communism was highlighted when the IWL sent a written submission to it in order to test whether the IACL accepted the viewpoint of the 'propertied classes' or rather would defend 'those working men and women who dare to assert a policy and outlook contrary to the ruling classes'. The League's submission claimed that a series of *Sunday Independent* articles decrying the IWL's activities, published on 15 May and 17 July, had prompted attacks on New Books and several public IWL meetings. An attack on an IWL meeting in Middle Abbey Street, Dublin on the day the latter article

[235] *Irish Association for Civil Liberties, Bulletin*, Nov. 1950 – June 1951 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/7).
[236] Clipping, *Evening Mail*, 30 May 1952 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS, 40, 551/4).
[237] IACL 'work in progress' report, 1951-52 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/2).
[238] Report by Hon. Secretary Christopher Gore-Grimes, 19 May. 1953 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/2).
[239] Samuel Walker, *In defense of American liberties: the American Civil Liberties Union* (Carbondale, 1999), p. 176.
[240] Ibid, p. 182.
[241] *Irish Association for Civil Liberties, Bulletin* no. 3, 28 Mar. 1949 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS 40, 551/2).

was published reputedly hospitalised one IWL member with an eye injury. While none of the assailants were arrested, an IWL member was fined while another was bound to the peace.[242] While the Garda report on the incident extensively detailed the violence of the IWL's assailants, a hostile crowd having been swelled by people leaving from Mass in the pro-Cathedral – one Garda was accused of being a communist and attacked, despite offering to show identification – it primarily placed blame on the IWL's holding of public meetings for causing the incident. Claiming that the meeting showed that the IWL planned 'to use force on their opponents' – despite the fact the anti-communists had initiated the scuffles – it also claimed that Dominic Behan's assertion that the attackers were 'fascist bastards' had aggravated the situation.[243]

Following the assault on the Stockholm petition-collectors in Cabra, Rosamund Jacob had formally referred the incident to the IACL.[244] After the *Irish Times*' Aknefton columnist commented that the IACL, which had allegedly hitherto 'concentrated almost entirely on protecting individuals from quasi-legal injustice', should in the wake of the incident 'attempt to educate the general public in the elementary concepts of liberty',[245] Gore-Grimes justified the IACL's perceived lack of outspokenness by claiming that as the Gardai 'acted not only properly, but with efficiency and intelligence' in responding to it, there was 'no organisation on which this injustice can be pinned'. He also was careful to criticise the attack on the petition-collectors in a manner which made it clear he was not a communist sympathiser, asserting that 'it is not the best way to fight the communist threat to employ their weapons, and thereby create the turmoil on which their tyranny thrives'.[246] Hence, it is unsurprising that the IWL's submission was ignored by the IACL, which, while stating it shared the IWL's 'concern that intolerance may be on the increase in this country', expessed mock surprise that the submission did not instance an incident at TCD's Fabian Society where 'a speaker' – Sheehy-Skeffington – was heckled by IWL members.[247] Nolan promptly wrote to the Fabian Society for clarification, noting that the IWL had recieved no complaint regarding the conduct of its membership,[248] and assured Gore-Grimes that while the IWL had 'no issue disciplining members if wrongdoing had occured', it had no other knowledge of any such allegation, and expected the IACL

[242] *Sunday Independent*, 15 May. 1949, 17 July. 1949; Memorandum from the Irish Workers' League to the Irish Association of Civil Liberty (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 3, item 18).
[243] Garda report, 17 July, 1949 (NAI, Jus/8/976, 'Unemployed Workers' and Irish Workers' League: meeting at Labour Exchange, Werburgh Street, Dublin').
[244] Irish Peace Movement minutebook, 27 July. 1950 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 35).
[245] *Irish Times*, 29 July 1950
[246] Clipping from *Irish Times*, 1 Aug. 1950 (NLI, Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, MS, 40, 551/3).
[247] Letter from Cecil Gore-Grimes to Seán Nolan, 23 Jan. 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 80).
[248] Letter from Seán Nolan to Secretary, TCD Fabian Society, 29 Jan. 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 82).

to 'unreservedly withdraw' its claims if it could not provide 'well-founded' information.[249] Internally, Gore-Grimes' letter was described as being 'hostile and contemptuous' in tone.[250]

As Treacy notes in reference to these exchanges, awareness in Ireland 'of what Stalinism meant' influenced the IACL's decision to reject the IWL's perception of itself as 'a courageous opponent of cultural repression in Ireland'. He ignores the fact that the anti-communist attacks on the IACL were an additional motivating factor.[251] For instance, it was in the context of responding to the *Fiat* article, which it claimed had been inspired 'presumably by our criticism of its anti-Semitic tone', that the IACL assured observers in 1951 that after internal discussion it had decided against permitting communists to be members. Communist views, it claimed, were incompatible with those of the IACL: 'screening, however obnoxious in principle, has proved necessary in practice as the lesser of two evils'.[252] Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington's unabridged manuscript confirms Treacy's suggestion that her husband supported the IACL's decision in this regard due to his being marginalised by the communist element within TCD's Fabian Society,[253] though she asserts that the proposed 'screening' was never implemented.[254] Despite Ó Faoláin expressing sympathy to the Ballyfermot co-operative's members when he was approached about their case,[255] the IACL refused to involve itself in that controversy either. The *Irish Workers' Voice* was scathing about the decision, claiming that it demonstrated that the title 'Mr. Gore-Grimes and his associates' used for their organisation was 'pure fraud and deception', and reminding them that 'although witch-hunts begin with the communists, they end by swallowing even faint-hearted liberals',[256] words mocked by the *Standard*. The paper asserted it 'understood the irritation of our local reds at coming across a group of liberal-minded but intelligent people who are so well-aware of the digestive capacity' of the Irish Workers' League.[257]

The IACL was still under surveillance throughout the 1950s. A December 1956 Garda report on the IWL sent to the Archdiocese highlighted continued communist interest in the body, noting the attendance of George Jeffares and Philip Carmody at an IACL meeting on capital punishment held on 4 December, 1956. IACL President Seán Ó Faoláin, the British Labour MP Sydney Silverman, the former Conservative MP and contributor to the English Catholic periodical *The Tablet*,

[249] Letter from Seán Nolan to Cecil Gore-Grimes, 29 January, 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 13, item 81).
[250] IWL executive committee minutes for 7 Feb. 1951 (DCLA, CPI Collection, Box 6, item 2).
[251] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, pp. 238-240.
[252] *Irish Association for Civil Liberties, Bulletin*, Nov. 1950 – June 1951 (UCDA/P29a, De Courcy Ireland Papers, 136(2)).
[253] Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland*, p. 239.
[254] Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff* manuscript, p. 343.
[255] 'The Ballyfermot co-operative' (RTÉ, 2001).
[256] *Irish Workers' Voice*, Nov/Dec. 1952 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1155).
[257] *Standard*, 23 Jan. 1953.

Christopher Hollis, and Brendan Behan were also noted as being present.[258] A typed report of IACL's June 1958 AGM, likely written by Byrne, noted that several figures within the IHA accused by her of being associated with communism, such as Kingston and Wood, were also active in the IACL. Roy Johnston was also noted as being present. Assaults on members of the Jehovah's Witnesses in Sixemilebridge, Co. Clare and Granard, Co. Longford – with the AGM receiving a deputation from the sect – the interning of IRA volunteers in the Curragh, and censorship of the theatre were discussed.[259]

A May 1956 letter from Byrne amongst McQuaid's papers suggests the Knights' advice was not wholly ignored. Noting several recent high-profile resignations from the IACL and highlighting that its next AGM was at the end of the month, Byrne echoed the Knights in arguing that 'it would be well to get a few people to join that Association'. She instanced IACL members Maurice Boothman, a husband of her IHA ally Kathleen Boothman, and John Murtagh as examples of reliably Catholic members of the IACL, but observed that they were 'very much outvoted'.[260] The fact the Earl of Wicklow, a noted Catholic layman, was a Vice-President if the IACL, illustrates continued lay Catholic involvement within it.[261] Likewise, a list of members of the IACL's Council from an unspecified time in the 1950s notes that Peadar O'Curry remained a member.[262] Ahead of the IACL's 1959 AGM, held in the Shelbourne Hotel on 4 June, Byrne succeeded in having Kathleen Boothman co-opted onto the IACL's committee in farcical circumstances following her husband's death. As Boothman got 'cold feet' in asking the IACL's Miss Le Brocquey if she could join the Committee, Byrne rang Le Brocquey herself. Adopting a 'ladylike pitch', Byrne imitated the Boothman's daughter, Colette, and asked Le Brocquey if Boothman could attend the IACL's forthcoming meeting as 'Mammy' was allegedly becoming isolated after her husband's death. This ruse apparently worked, and Byrne later reported to McQuaid that 'the red carpet was put down for [Boothman]' at the meeting. As Boothman her 'played her cards well', she apparently impressed

[258] Typed report on CPI and KO activities, 2 Dec–8 Dec. 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/220).
[259] Typed report of Irish Association of Civil Liberty AGM, 10 June 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/843). Anti-Jehovah's Witness sentiment in post-war Ireland was common, and often overlapped with Catholic concerns about communism. Jehovah's Witnesses in Blackrock, Cork City, in 1948 were assaulted while engaging in their customary house-to-house calls by locals convinced they were from a communist organisation. *Irish Press*, 20 July 1948. A 1950 Jehovah's Witnesses meeting in Dún Laoghaire was broken up amidst accusations the religious sect was communist. *Sunday Independent*, 16 Apr. 1950. The irony, as Hubert Butler pointed out, was that, while the sect's members 'were attacked in Ireland as agents of communism', many communist countries persecuted Jehovah's Witnesses. While visiting Stepinac in prison in Lepoglava, Yugoslavia, in 1950, the delegation Butler was a part of raised a high-profile case where members of the sect had been convicted in the country as 'agents of foreign capitalism.' The governor claimed not to have heard of the matter. Butler, *Balkan essays*, p. 202.
[260] Letter from Úna Byrne to Fr. Diffney, 9 May 1956 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/412).
[261] *Irish Times* clipping, 21 June 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/612); *Irish Independent* clipping, 23 June 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/842); List of officers of the Irish Association of Civil Liberties elected at AGM, 28 May 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/443).
[262] 'Irish Association of Civil Liberty Council and Officers', undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/613).

Gore-Grimes, Kingston and Jacob sufficiently to be 'promised co-option onto the IACL's committee'.[263] Byrne also reported that in 1961 that UCD's Roger McHugh, formerly the IACL's Chairman, had applied for a scholarship to the United States. McHugh had apparently cut back on his involvement when Scott McLeod was appointed US Ambassador to Ireland, only to become 'active again' when it 'became known that Scott was leaving.' Byrne commented that she had 'cast the nets' and noted that 'it's a long swim to the United States' – implying that, as with Conor Farrington, she had intervened to prevent the scholarship being awarded.[264]

The Vigilance Committee's criticisms of the IACL continued into the mid-1960s, by which time the organisation had renamed itself the National Civil Liberties League (NCLL). On 25 May, 1966, the NCLL held a meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin, with the South African-born anti-Apartheid activist and law lecturer at TCD, Kadar Asmal, urging those present to 'guard against any proposal to resist the right to strike or to raise the licence fees for unions'. The talk also faced contributions from Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, who criticised Garda brutality and conditions in the Brideswell and Store Street Garda Stations, and Donal Nevin, who condemned Ireland's prevailing system of censorship and argued that Irish civil liberties activists should also advocate against South African apartheid and 'the violence visited on priests in Barcelona by the Spanish police'. The writer Uinseann MacEoin also condemned the Offences Against the State Act.[265] McQuaid was forwarded the article the day it appeared by James Ardle McMahon. McMahon highlighted Mac Eoin's contribution as 'interesting' and commented that the NCLL, in contrast to its predecessor, 'has been involved in some of the recent strikes. It looks like a loose collection of liberals, left-wing labour, and left-wing republicans'.[266] Having listened to a report on the Mansion House meeting by McMahon at its subsequent meeting, the Vigilance Committee concluded that the NCLL contained 'the real key to many of the subversive activities going on in Ireland at the present time'.[267]

Catholic responses to communist unemployed agitation

During the 1950s, Ireland's brief post-war economic success gave way to economic stagnation, leading to unemployment becoming a significant societal problem. The numbers unemployed reached 100,000 at the issue's height during the decade, a number which obscures those who had to travel to Britain and elsewhere for work. The blight afflicted urban as well as rural areas, with a

[263] Letter from Úna Byrne to McQuaid, 11 June 1959 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/921).
[264] Typed report from Úna Byrne, c. 1961 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/459).
[265] *Irish Times*, 26 May 1966.
[266] Typed note to McQuaid, 26 May 1966 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/844).
[267] Typed report of Vigilance Committee meeting, 10 June. 1966 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/133).

sizeable decrease in housing construction during the decade contributing greatly to the issue.[268] This situation in turn prompted protest amongst the unemployed, culminating in electoral success for unemployment activist Jack Murphy in the 1957 general election. As with other case studies discussed in this chapter, the involvement of communists in the unemployed movement alarmed McQuaid, and his subsequent perceived role in prompting Murphy's resignation as a consequence has become one of the most infamous examples of the Archbishop's interventions in Irish politics.

Unemployment demonstrations by the Dublin jobless had been an intermittent presence since the 1880s. That the issue was central to communist strategy from the 1930s is evinced by the efforts of communist-dominated groups like the Unemployed Workers' Movement and the National Unemployed Workers' Association, which failed to achieve mainstream success in large part due to their links with communism.[269] This in turn prompted a response from Catholics, and the Knights were active alongside other Catholic Action groups in setting up clubs for the unemployed to 'stave off the dangers of communism' making inroads amongst the jobless.[270] Given Ireland's dire economic situation, it unsurprisingly again became a key area of IWL agitation in the post-war years. The IWL attempted to set up a Dublin Unemployed Association in 1949, with Brian Behan as Chairman.[271] The group held a public meeting in Christchurch Place, Dublin, on 12 May, and Behan, whom the Gardaí observed had been 'given the task of organising the unemployed' by the IWL, addressed the 300 strong crowd, which contained 'a number of members of Democratic Youth Movement and the Irish Workers' League'.[272] The *Irish Workers' Voice* promoted the group in its pages, praising in its July 1949 issue the group's 'virile existence' and condemning 'attacks, some open, some veiled' on the group 'from all parties, including the Labour Party'.[273] The Gardaí succeeded in halting a meeting the association attempted to hold outside Dáil Éireann in July, and it faded away soon after.[274]

A subsequent body for the unemployed formed in 1953, which was also called the Dublin Unemployed Association (DUA), enjoyed more success. It was launched at a public meeting at a labour exchange in Werburgh Street, Dublin. Tom Pearle and William McGuinness, 'both ordinary Dublin men with no political affiliations', were elected Chairman and Secretary respectively. Its

[268] Kilmurray, *A history of the unemployed associations in the 1950s,* pp. 8-10.
[269] Johnston-Kehoe, '"The unemployed TD"', p. 64.
[270] Bolster, *The Knights of Saint Columbanus,* p. 77.
[271] Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate,* p. 13.
[272] Garda report, 12 May, 1949 (NAI, Jus/8/976, 'Unemployed Workers' and Irish Workers' League: meeting at Labour Exchange, Werburgh Street, Dublin').
[273] *Irish Workers' Voice*, July. 1949 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/1130).
[274] Garda report, 8 July. 1949 (NAI, Jus/8/976, 'Unemployed Workers' and Irish Workers' League: meeting at Labour Exchange, Werburgh Street, Dublin').

demands included calls for the provision of work paid at trade union rates and an increase in unemployment benefit. It swiftly gained attention for its visible marches to the Oireachtas; the first one, held on 3 June, 1953, attracted between 50 and 60 participants. Film footage of one such march exists, courtesy of British Pathé, and displays the marchers, led by the starry plough, blocking traffic with sit-down protests,[275] a frequent tactic of the group as Evanne Kilmurray has noted.[276] The organisation distanced itself from communism during its early marches, Labour TD Thomas Kyne telling a rally of the group that their goals were 'not Communism or any other ism' but instead drew inspiration from *Rerum novarum* and Pope Leo XIII.[277]

The group was soon hit by internal fractiousness. Two members of the DUA's executive, Thomas Brace and J. Daly, resigned on 25 June 'owing to the presence of communists on the committee', and indicated they would set up a rival non-communist group for the unemployed. The pair had confronted two other members of the committee on their political affiliations, allegedly receiving the reply that the two were 'proud to be Communists'.[278] Unsurprisingly, the *Standard* soon gave prominence to the story. Under the headline 'Reds exploit Dublin unemployed', it claimed their resignation had been prompted by question marks over the DUA's finances, with the implication made that it was being funded from communist coffers.[279] The *Standard*'s report was picked up by the *Limerick Leader*, which noted in an editorial the widespread suspicion that 'Leftist tendencies in certain quarters have a good deal to do with the inflaming and parading of those who are unfortunate enough to go without regular employment'.[280] Similarly, the *Tuam Herald* warned that the DUA 'must be handled skilfully now before it becomes communist, or rather before communists begin to use it for their purpose'.[281] The CIB also gave credence to claims of communist involvement in the unemployed movement, informing the hierarchy that 'it is clear that the communists are endeavouring to make use of this movement to gain followers'.[282] The *Standard* also claimed that a delegation from the DUA visited its office to protest, McGuinness allegedly stating that he didn't 'give a damn' if the two members who had been challenged 'were Bush Baptists, so long as they were trying to get jobs'. It continued to criticise the DUA, instead promoting Deo Duce, a Catholic organisation for the unemployed, as a respectable body. For its part, the *Irish Workers'*

[275] 'Dublin workless march in protest, 1953' (British Pathé), http://www.britishpathe.com/video/dublin-workless-march-in-protest, accessed 17 Sept. 2017.
[276] Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate*, pp. 16-18.
[277] *Irish Independent*, 11 June 1953.
[278] *Irish Press*, 26 June 1953.
[279] *Standard*, 3 July 1953.
[280] *Limerick Leader*, 8 July 1953.
[281] *Tuam Herald*, 11 July 1953.
[282] Catholic Information Bureau sixth annual report, 1953 (OFMLA, D'Alton Papers, Box 24, 'Catholic Information Bureau').

Voice roundly criticised the *Standard*, describing it as a 'gutter rag' which had allegedly supported the Blueshirts.[283] The DUA continued campaigning, and the jailing of its five leading figures prompted a group of Irish railway workers at Marylebone station, London, to formally protest to the Irish embassy in London.[284] It was gradually losing momentum, however, and was defunct by April 1954. In Kilmurray's view, increasing 'police intimidation' was an important factor in this, with both Pearle and McGuinness enduring a three month spell in prison for violating the Road Traffic Act, and DUA activists and the Gardaí enjoying an increasingly tense relationship at the body's marches.[285]

It was not until December 1956 that a protest body for the unemployed was revived, with a number of unemployed men forming the Unemployed Protest Committee (UPC). The group shared the DUA's tactics of holding marches and building links with trade unions. Its initiators were predominantly drawn from the construction trade, and it was successful in mobilising construction workers and soon achieved attention in the press, replicating the DUA's brief success. It also had communist members, as IWL organisers prioritised unemployment activism in the highly uncongenial climate they faced in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary. Members like unemployed construction workers Johnny and Steve Mooney, 'Packie' Earley and Liam O'Meara, as well as shop steward Sam Nolan, were amongst those on the body's first committee, working alongside non-communist committee members like Jack Murphy, who would become the group's most significant figure. Born in Dublin in 1920, Murphy emulated his father in becoming both a carpenter and an active trade unionist. He joined the IRA as a sixteen year old, and remained a member of the IRA into the 1950s, enduring internment in the Curragh between May 1941 and May 1944. Murphy resumed his work as a carpenter upon his release, but a construction slump in 1956 left him without work and caused him to leave Ireland for four months before returning – a later cause of suspicion amongst anti-communist observers, echoing the innuendo surrounding Desmond Branigan. Murphy was a shop steward colleague of Nolan's, and accepted Nolan's invitation to join the UPC's committee,[286] while Peadar O'Donnell was a 'moving spirit' of the group.[287]

Given the committee's composition, accusations that the body was communist inspired came swiftly. The DUA's McGuinness, who had evidently reinvented himself as a redoubtable anti-

[283] Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate*, pp. 19-26.
[284] Copy of teleprinter message received from Embassy in London, 20 Aug. 1953 (NAI, DFA, 6/410/181, 'Protests against imprisonment of unemployed demonstrators').
[285] Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate*, pp. 19-26.
[286] Johnston-Kehoe, "The unemployed TD"', pp. 64-69.
[287] Ó Drisceoil, *Peadar O'Donnell*, p. 117.

communist in the years since the DUA's dissolution and had no desire to work alongside IWL members again, publicly urged the unemployed to boycott the UPC's marches within days of its founding. He claimed that the UPC was evidence that 'a communist element in Dublin [was] creeping in and hoping to exploit the plight of the unemployed. As one who was used before, I realise that the answer to unemployment does not lie in Communism.'[288] The Catholic Unemployed Association, which McGuinness was subsequently involved in, enjoyed little success, a 1959 Garda report claiming that 'it is doubtful if this Association will get much support or make any progress'.[289] Garda reports sent to the Archdiocese continued to forensically detail involvement in the unemployed movement. A February 1957 report noted that IWL members Seán Nolan and Seán Mooney had addressed rallies at Werburgh Street on 31 January and 4 February, and that IWL members were central to efforts to organise an unemployment rally in O'Connell Street on 10 February – later postponed to 17 February on Middle Abbey Street – with George Jeffares and Cyril Murray donating a lorry and loudspeaker from their motor trade firm for Nolan's use.[290] Further reports noted that Nolan and Mooney addressed rallies at Werburgh Street and Gardiner Street on 11 February,[291] and that they had helped organize a march from Werburgh Street to Gardiner Street on 13 February.[292]

The collapse of the FG-Labour government in February 1957 due to the withdrawal of Clann na Poblachta support presented an opportunity to the UPC. It decided to run a candidate in Dublin South Central in the following month's general election; the constituency was chosen as the UPC's offices were situated there, and it was also the constituency that Werburgh Street, the city's largest labour exchange, was situated in.[293] The matter was a key matter of discussion within the League, being the matter of several internal meetings, and its importance to the body is indicated by the fact that it was reportedly a key matter of discussion between Seán Nolan and CPGB figures when the former visited London that month, according to a Garda report on the IWL sent to the Archdiocese. The report recorded that Sam Nolan had told an IWL meeting held on 13 February that Murphy had been settled on as the UPC's candidate in the forthcoming election. When Verlin noted with concern the question of raising an electoral deposit for Murphy, Jeffares asserted that Peadar O'Donnell had the matter in hand: 'what really mattered was the assistance the league could give through other channels, such as house-to-house canvassing, provision of transport, etc'. Murphy's candidacy was

[288] *Cork Examiner*, 15 Jan. 1957.
[289] Letter from Garda Commissioner's office to the Secretary, Department of Justice, 18 July. 1959 (NAI, JUS/8/1106/, 'Catholic Unemployed Association').
[290] 'Report on Communist Party and kindred organizations, week ended 4 Feb. 1957' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/223).
[291] 'Report on Communist Party and kindred organizations, week ended 11 Feb. 1957' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/225).
[292] 'Report on Communist Party and kindred organizations, week ended 18 Feb. 1957' (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/228).
[293] Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate*, p. 33.

formally announced at the 17 February rally, the candidate speaking from the van provided by Murray and Jeffares.[294] While many on the UPC committee had favoured Sam Nolan standing on the body's behalf, both Nolan and Peadar O'Donnell counselled against it, foreseeing that Nolan's IWL membership would prove too much of a distraction if he did choose to stand. Fr Thomas Counihan was amongst those who donated in Murphy's support, the Jesuit covering a quarter of Murphy's £100 election deposit. On polling day, Murphy received 3,036 votes, securing a seat.[295]

Following his selection, Murphy attracted the Vigilance Committee's attention. The Archdiocese had received a letter from Detective Sergeant Martin Lanigan, which noted that IWL members Sam Nolan, Seán Mooney and John Clinton had been amongst the UPC members who had accompanied Murphy to the returning officer's office to present his nomination papers, that Donal Nevin, an alleged 'member of the communist organisation' had co-nominated him, that Cyril Murray and Jeffares had helped fund Murphy's campaign, and that active IWL members were present 'daily' at Murphy's campaign headquarters at the Werburgh Street office. It noted with concern Counihan's fundraising support for Murphy's campaign; Counihan had previously been credited with the 'conversion from a pro-communist outlook' of the late former WUI organiser Christy Ferguson, and Lanigan speculated that Counihan had similarly befriended Peadar O'Donnell in order to win him away from communism. However, it was suggested that Counihan's donation showed he was 'allowing himself unwittingly to be used to a certain extent' by O'Donnell.[296] Fr Kent investigated Lanigan's letter, concluding that it was 'not accurate'.[297] The Vigilance Committee observed that 'it was difficult to understand how [Murphy] had organized such support', given it was alleged he had only returned to Ireland six weeks before the vote.[298]

The belief that Murphy was a communist endured. Kent reported at a Vigilance Committee meeting that James Staunton, the Bishop of Ferns, had told a friend that Murphy was a communist.[299] A letter in McQuaid's archive notes that 'the police are convinced that he is a communist', asserting that he had attended communist lectures while in the Curragh and additionally had 'attended lectures and received instructions in Communism' while subsequently living in England.[300] Murphy himself

[294] Report on Communist Party and kindred organizations, week ended 18 February, 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/228).
[295] Kilmurray, *Fight, starve or emigrate*, pp. 33-35; In so doing, he ended the Dáil career of Roddy Connolly, who received a disappointing 1,932 votes. Ironically, given the IWL's support for Murphy, Connolly was a founding member of the CPI's original 1920s incarnation who retained a stance of 'support for the USSR generally' even after his move from the CPI to Labour. Charlie McGuire, *Roddy Connolly and the struggle for socialism in Ireland* (Cork, 2008), pp. 213-214.
[296] Letter from Detective Sergeant Martin Lanigan, 22 Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/230).
[297] Note affixed to previous item (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/229).
[298] Typed report of Vigilance Committee meeting, 11 Mar. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/29).
[299] Typed report of Vigilance Committee meeting, 29 Apr. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/32).
[300] Typed report on John Murphy TD, 8 July 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/317).

was no communist, however. Jim Savage, who had known him in the Curragh, later recalled that Murphy, while 'a decent chap', was 'just a republican with no fixed political outlook', and had not participated in the Connolly Group while in the camp.[301] Savage's recollection was supported by other anti-communist sources of McQuaid's, who nonetheless were still disturbed by the IWL's role in his campaign. A letter sent to McQuaid from Diskin affirmed that Murphy was not a communist, but claimed that 'his electioneering (lorries, posters, etc) is being done by Workers' League'. Jeffares, Nolan, Carmody and Cyril Murray were listed as being particularly active.[302] Following an investigation by Vigilance member Fr Tuohy, the Committee swiftly reached the conclusion that Murphy was not a communist. It warned, however, that 'there was the danger that he was or would be used by members of the party'.[303] The Connolly Association's reputed support for his selection as candidate served to deepen these suspicions. The Committee also kept an eye on other figures associated with the campaign, noting that a Labour councillor named FitzGerald, 'a decent man' had attended a rally of the unemployed attended by between 5,000 and 10,000 people.[304]

Following his election to Dáil Éireann, Murphy remained a figure of interest to McQuaid's anti-communist observers. A typed report of a 'victory rally' in Murphy's honour written by Diskin was sent to McQuaid, with Sam Nolan reportedly laying heavy emphasis on the support Murphy had received from several trade unions.[305] In April, Diskin claimed to the Archdiocese that Murphy had visited a labour college in Belfast, and it was speculated that Noël Browne was attempting to woo Murphy to join his embryonic group.[306] This did not materialise. As shall be discussed, Murphy resigned from the Dáil four days before Browne's National Progressive Democrats were founded on 16 May, 1958, the party unsuccessfully contesting the subsequent by-election.[307] By the end of 1957, it was reported by Diskin that Murphy had fallen out with his 'red friends' and broken with the UPC's IWL members. The decision was reported as being 'the biggest blow they could get. They are very worried and disappointed over it. Believed clergy got at him'.[308]

In May 1958, Murphy asked for a meeting with McQuaid seeking the Archbishop's advice on Murphy's 'continued participation in Dáil Éireann'. McQuaid assented to Murphy's decision to leave public life, annotating the letter to state that he advised Murphy to resign as he was 'in poor health,

[301] Copy of letter from Jim Savage to Kieran Burke, Local History Librarian, Cork City Library, c. 1989 (Cork City Library, Local Studies Department, 'James Savage/Cork Socialist Party' file).
[302] Letter from Gabriel Diskin, 24 Feb. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/351).
[303] Typed report of Vigilance Committee meeting, 25 Mar. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/30).
[304] Typed report of Vigilance Committee meeting, 20 May 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/33).
[305] Typed report by Diskin of Jack Murphy victory rally, undated (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/354).
[306] Letter from Diskin to Archdiocese, 10 Apr. 1957 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/355).
[307] Horgan, *Noël Browne*, pp. 193-196.
[308] Letter from Diskin to Archdiocese (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/366).

unable to work on TD work, disillusioned, pursued by the communists.'[309] A report attached to the letter compiled on Murphy by Fr Crean, relying on information by Colonel Harrington, indicated the suspicion that he was close to splinter groups of the IRA, highlighting continuing concerns about his republican past. He had attended a meeting in Donegal alongside Senator Liam Kelly, a former IRA member who founded the breakaway Tyrone dissident republican group Saor Uladh, and members of another unspecified 'splinter group of the IRA' were 'believed' to have attended a meeting of Murphy's in Dublin. However, Murphy was neither in contact with the IRA or the IWL, its members reportedly having 'no further use for Murphy particularly since he went to see the Archbishop', and military intelligence believed that Murphy 'is not engaged in subversive activities'. Harrington's information was supported by Father Daly, Murphy's local priest, who told Crean that the 'not very intelligent, not unfriendly' Murphy had been seen several times at Mass, but had not received the sacraments in several years. Daly was in regular contact with a neighbour of Murphy's named Devoy, who regularly reported to Daly on Murphy's activities; Crean reported that 'if Murphy had any suspicious visitors Devoy would have reported it, and he had not'.[310] The Vigilance Committee discussed the 'possible meanings' of Murphy's resignation on 12 May, though details of the discussion were unfortunately not recorded.[311]

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how Catholic concern at communist activity impacted on a range of distinct – but often overlapping in membership – civic society organisations in mid-twentieth century Ireland. As with the question of Irish trade unions affiliating to the Christian International, it again shows differences between the Catholic hierarchy in the period, with McQuaid antagonistic to peace and nuclear disarmament movements due to concerns about communist infiltration while D'Alton was, initially at least, friendlier to peace activists. McQuaid showed no leeway towards Ireland's peace campaigns, deeming them inherently communistic even in cases, such as that of the Irish CND and the Irish Pacifist Movement, where communists had not initiated those campaigns but were minority presences within them, and he succeeded in mobilising fellow members of the hierarchy, including D'Alton and Mageean, to take identical stances. As with the case of Desmond Branigan, the question of the Irish Housewives' Association illustrates McQuaid's ability to intervene within specific organisations in order to counteract communist infiltration, real and perceived, while also being anxious to keep these interventions discreet. In contrast to his attitude towards peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns, McQuaid was supportive of lay Catholic campaigners, such as Úna

[309]Typed letter from Crean to McQuaid, 7 May 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/322).
[310] Typed letter from Crean to McQuaid, 9 May 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/322).
[311] Typed report of Vigilance Committee meeting, 12 May 1958 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/58).

Byrne, being active within the IHA, and the IAW's 1961 congress, which was held in the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology with McQuaid's blessing, marked the high point of Catholic engagement with the IHA. The event was perceived as marginalising 'communist', liberal and other anti-Catholic influence within the IHA. Differing responses within Irish Catholicism in the era to allegations of anti-communist infiltration are illustrated by the *Standard*'s defence of the IACL in reponse to *Fiat*'s allegations against it, though this did not prevent the IACL and its successor group becoming an object of the Vigilance Committee's attention. The strongly transnational nature of many of the groups discussed is also of note, as is evinced by the many contacts between Irish and international peace activists and the IAW's congress coming to Dublin.

Conclusion

Irish Catholic anti-communism in the first two decades of the Cold War was, of course, part of the broader anti-communism of global Catholicism. Yet it was also shaped by Irish factors, notably the historic paucity of Ireland's communists and the broader left. Leading Irish bishops gave contradictory indications of their views of the strength of Irish communism, emphasising the threat of communism to Irish audiences while downplaying the movement's strength on other occasions, particularly to foreign observers. The existence of groups like the CIB and the Vigilance Committee, which are indicative of a desire on the part of the hierarchy to possess a comprehensive understanding of the communist movement in Ireland, suggest, however, that the Church's concerns about communism in Ireland were to some extent genuine, if disproportionate and hyperbolic. The causes of the hierarchy's insecurity in this regard are only understandable within the international context of the immediate post-war period, where Soviet influence had vastly increased and western victory in the broader Cold War was far from certain. This international context revived inter-war Irish Catholic fears about Irish communism; in the eyes of many Irish Catholics, even Ireland was not immune from the Soviet communist virus. It should also be emphasised that these fears of communism were on a continuum with broader Catholic concerns about liberalism and the expansion of the welfare state, the latter instanced by the introduction of the National Health Service in Britain and Northern Ireland and the attempted introduction of the Mother and Child Scheme to Ireland. Suspicion of Protestant, liberal or secular ideologies generally overlapped with Catholic concerns about communist infiltration of certain organisations, notably 'alien' British-based trade unions and the Irish Housewives' Association, an organisation primarily initiated by Protestants. In McQuaid's view, even non-communist peace activists were suspect either as 'fellow travellers' or as individuals unwittingly allowing themselves to be exploited by communists, a belief which explains his attempts to hinder the visits of Catholic peace activists such as Hildegard Goss-Mayr and Thomas Roberts to Ireland.

Despite the undoubted influence of Catholic anti-communism in twentieth century Ireland, this thesis has shown that its influence was uneven. It was undoubtedly less influential in Northern Ireland, due to the minority position of the Catholic community there. The prominence CPNI members gained within the Belfast trade union movement is indicative of the lack of influence of the Church on the city's trade unions. This contrasted with the rest of the island, where it would be unthinkable for a trade union official to be an IWL member. There are also no indications that the

security services in Northern Ireland provided intelligence on communism to members of the Catholic hierarchy as happened in the south. However, the anti-communism of the Catholic Church in Northern Ireland was no less intense than the anti-communism of the Irish Catholic Church as a whole, as the paucity of CPNI members from Catholic backgrounds, the rhetoric of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy in Northern Ireland and the childhood memories of Eamonn McCann and Mary McAleese suggest.

Nor was Catholic anti-communism all pervasive in the south. Catholicism undoubtedly permeated Irish foreign policy in the era, as the considerable diplomatic effort the Department of External Affairs applied to the cases of Mindszenty and Stepinac illustrates. The fact that the friendly soccer game between Ireland and Yugoslavia in 1955 successfully went ahead in Dublin showed a relative mellowing of broader Irish attitudes to the Cold War, though the fact that match attendance was well below the average for a team of Yugoslavia's international stature demonstrates the continuing influence of Catholic anti-communism. Catholic anger about Aiken's attitude towards China in the United Nations was also unable to substantively sway the government's stance on the issue, again illustrating the limits of the Church's influence on Irish foreign policy as the 1950s wore on. As we have seen, attempts to use anti-communism to persuade Irish members of British-based unions to defect to unions with their headquarters in Dublin largely failed, running aground on the general hesitancy of Irish workers to leave unions which were broadly representing their interests to their satisfaction. McQuaid was therefore pragmatic on the question of intervening within the trade unions, and, while in some instances he was able to exert influence within the unions to great effect as the case of Desmond Branigan showed, his differences with D'Alton on the proposed affiliations of Irish trade unions to the Christian International illustrate his belief that the Church should tread cautiously lest it divide the Irish trade union movement further, possibly leaving elements of it more vulnerable to anti-clerical or communist influence.

The period discussed by this thesis was in many respects the beginning of the end for anti-communism as a major focus of Catholicism, both in Ireland and internationally. The pontificates of John XXIII and Paul VI – in particular, the Second Vatican Council – marked a striking diminution of the Church's anti-communism, highlighted by instances such as the November 1970 visit of Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, to the Vatican. Gerald Fogarty, while noting that some now perceived the Holy See as friendlier to the Soviet Union than the United States due to the Vatican's concerns about the Vietnam War, warns against the view that either John XXIII or Paul VI

were ‘soft on communism – and therefore anti-American’.[1] Before it commenced, McQuaid had wished to see the Vatican Council renew the Church’s condemnations of socialism, communism and existentialism.[2] Uneasy with the Vatican Council’s reforms, he was cautious about implementing them, assuring Dublin’s Catholics that the changes in the Church would not worry ‘the tranquility of your Christian lives’.[3] The Archdiocese of Dublin continued to receive Garda intelligence on communism from a Garda contact, Chief Superintendent Philip MacMahon.[4] A March 1969 document on Vigilance amongst McQuaid’s papers advised that the committee ‘should not be disbanded at this time’, claiming that diocesan priests were ‘the finest potential source for information in this country’.[5]

Other leading members of the Irish hierarchy contined to condemn communism. In 1969 Cardinal William Conway, D’Alton’s successor as the Archbishop of Armagh, instanced the 1968 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia along with the prevailing situations in China, Cuba and Yugoslavia as examples of his contention that Marxism led to ‘a worse form of slavery than its alternative’.[6] The same year, Bishop Browne denounced a number of Trinity College students who had distributed Maoist literature,[7] and his papers contain a leaflet from the following year protesting the arrest of a Maoist student from UCG, indicating a continued interest in monitoring communism.[8] Nonetheless, as O’Connor notes, ‘fear of communism declined with the Second Vatican Council’, despite continuing occasional manifestations of anti-communism asserting themselves, such as a Fianna Fáil-encouraged ‘red scare’ aimed at Labour in the 1969 general election.[9] The

[1] Gerald P. Fogarty, ‘Vatican II and the Cold War’ in Piotr H. Kosicki, *Vatican II behind the Iron Curtain* (Washington DC, 2016), pp. 46-48.
[2] Carty, *Hold firm*, p. 46.
[3] Ibid, p. 95.
[4] For example, a 1967 report on the communist-aligned Connolly Youth Movement noted that Declan Bree, a teenager from Sligo town, was interested in setting up a branch of the the Movement there along with a number of friends. Garda report on Connolly Youth Movement, 22 Nov. 1967 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/259). Bree and his friends, while still in the local Legion of Mary, gained an interest in communism after seeing recruitment ads for the CPGB's Young Communist League in the British music magazine *Melody Maker*. A local priest subsequently called around to Bree’s home and accused the Sligo CYM of being funded by 'Moscow gold'. Stated by Declan Bree at meeting entitled ‘Civil rights and union rights: veteran voices from the west of Ireland’, held at the Mechanics’ Institute, Middle Street, Galway, 19 June 2015 as part of the ‘From civil rights to the bailout: social movements, workers agitation, and left-wing activism in Ireland, 1968-2010’ conference.
[5] Document entitled ‘Vigilance’, 10 Mar. 1969 (DDA, AB8/B/XXIII/169).
[6] *Irish Independent*, 30 June 1969.
[7] *Connacht Tribune*, 18 July 1969. Ireland’s miniscule Maoist presence, which emerged in the late 1960s amidst a wider growth of Maoist movements in western countries, caused a disproportionate amount of hysteria. A Maoist bookshop in Limerick, for example, endured a number of attacks throughout 1970, including attempted arson and a gun attack. Brian Hanley, ‘The 1970 Springboks tour and local politics in Limerick’ in *Old Limerick Journal*, xliii, no. 43 (Summer. 2009), p. 11.
[8] Leaflet from the ‘People’s Democratic Front’ (GDA, Michael Browne papers, B/12/189). Luke Delaney, a priest and *Kerryman* columnist, praised Browne’s statements on the Maoists, and favourably quoted a Catholic layperson who told Delaney that most Catholic clergy were now ‘asleep’ to the threat of communism. *Kerryman*, 14 Mar. 1970.
[9] O’Connor, ‘Anti-communism in twentieth century Ireland’, p. 59

aforementioned 1969 Vigilance Committee memorandum is the last document related to the Committee in McQuaid's papers, suggesting that it was part of an era of Irish Catholicism which was coming to an end. Events such as rosary rallies against communism – while still in evidence – were becoming more and more rare as aspects of Irish Catholicism.[10] The Irish Workers' Party (IWP), as the IWL renamed itself in 1962, welcomed the changes in the Church and the relative détente they offered,[11] and the appearance of Michael O'Riordan on television in 1968 alongside Michael Sweetman, a Jesuit outspoken on housing issues, was a remarkable indication of how much the climate in Ireland had shifted.[12] Jim Fitzgerald, a target of the *Standard*'s public namings of IWL members in the 1950s, stated in 1968 that he felt the climate in Ireland had changed to the extent he felt such red-baiting would now be impossible.[13] Yet the fact O'Riordan received a mere 180 votes in his 1965 Dail run, less even than at the apex of McQuaid's influence in the 1950s, was a sobering reminder that Irish communists would not readily overcome their historic weakness.[14]

The experience of Irish Catholic anti-communism in the Cold War demonstrates that Ireland's Catholicism connected most Irish people emotionally to the conflict, despite the country's status as a Cold War periphery. While the cases of Mindszenty and Stepinac are most striking in this regard, this thesis has also demonstrated that the Cold War in Asia and anti-communist campaigns in Canada, the United States and Australia also made an impact on the anti-communist conciousness of Catholics in Ireland. In the eyes of many Irish clergy, communism was amongst a number of moral evils which the Irish community in Britain faced, and this thesis has outlined that it was a central part of McQuaid's attempts to ensure Irish Catholics in Britain were adequately catered for by the Catholic authorities in both Ireland and Britain. An important factor in Irish Catholic concerns in the period was the potential of communist ideology to come to Ireland via foreign channels, particularly from Britain, and the fear that the return of 'communised' Irish emigrants to Ireland after an economic downturn in Britain was one aspect of this. This concern was also reflected by the question of British-based unions, as well as the activities of the Irish nuclear disarmament movement, which was in close contact with, and took inspiration from, activists abroad, particularly from Britain. The Catholic clergy and Irish Catholic journals paid close attention to the communist movement internationally, and their awareness of the emphasis Moscow placed on communist peace activity in the post-war era helps explain their particular hostility to groups such as the Irish CND. For leading

[10] Such rallies were held weekly in Eyre Square in Galway in 1970 by an unnamed group of individuals to oppose the alleged growth of communism in the city. *Cork Examiner*, 9 Apr. 1970.
[11] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 247.
[12] Dermot Keogh, 'The Catholic Church in Ireland since the 1950s' in Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *The Church contfronts modernity: Catholicism since 1950 in the United States, Ireland and Quebec* (Washington DC, 2007), p. 116.
[13] *The Rocky Road to Dublin*, dir. by Peter Lennon, 1968.
[14] Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland*, p. 248.

Irish bishops like Kinane, Ireland was indeed not outside the Cold War struggle, and the fact Ireland was ‘in daily, hourly contact with Europe and the world’ meant that communism was a threat to the Irish people also.

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