

Hiberno-Jewish Communities: Ireland, Zionism and the creation of Israel

by

Caroline Walsh BA (Hons)



Waterford Institute *of* Technology
INSTITIÚID TEICNEOLAÍOCHTA PHORT LÁIRGE

Research Supervisors

Jonathan Culleton MA and Peter Simpson MA

Thesis submitted to WIT for the Award of MA by Research

2021

Declaration

The author hereby declares that, except where duly acknowledged, this thesis is entirely her own work and has not been submitted for any degree in Waterford Institute of Technology or in any other technical college or university.

Signed

Caroline Walsh

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the following people for their support, and without whose help this thesis would not have been possible.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors Jonathan Culleton and Peter Simpson for the incredible support I received during the course of my thesis. I benefited greatly from the advice they both gave me.

As the principle supervisor I would like to extend my gratitude to Jonathan Culleton for his continuous guidance and encouragement. His invaluable mentoring and enthusiasm for my research throughout my time in Waterford Institute of Technology was vital in making this thesis a reality.

A special thank you to the all the library staff in Waterford Institute of Technology, whose expertise and knowledge were invaluable to me over the two years. I would especially like to thank Kieran Cronin for his assistance, and Maria and Patricia in inter - library loans, who always made sure I had the books I required for my thesis.

My sincere thanks to Ben and Carol Briscoe for allowing me not only access to the private papers of Ben's father Robert Briscoe, but for opening their home to me and making me feel like part of the family, and who have become very dear to me.

I am also grateful to my dear friends Anna and Norman Adler who always made me feel welcome in their home, and who have come to mean so much to me. Especially Anna's lovely pea soup.

I would also like to extend my thanks to members of the Jewish community both in Ireland and Israel. To Alan Shatter for inviting me to his home and taking the time to speak with me. The Jewish Museum in Dublin and the volunteers who work there, thank you for making me feel welcome and for assisting me with my research.

I would also like to thank Isaac Herzog who always took the time to reply to my emails and assisting me with my research. Thank you also to Malcolm Gafson for having such enthusiasm in my research, and the interesting phone conversations we have had.

To the various archives that have been so accommodating to me while I was researching, The National Archives of Ireland, The National Library, to Noelle Dowling the diocesan archivist in The Archdiocese in Dublin. The staff in the library archives in University College Cork and University College Dublin.

To my friends who have supported me and encouraged me throughout my research, thank you for been there. For the friends I have made in the postgrad room in WIT, my fellow students Caroline, Katie, Ann and John who became my college family. Thank you for the chats, and for so many laughs along the way and making every day a good day regardless of the work load we all had to get through. Most of all thank you for so many happy memories.

Finally, to my family, thank you for your love, support and encouragement throughout my journey. To my children whom I dedicate this thesis to, thank you for making me stay in college when I wanted to leave the first day of my undergrad because I couldn't understand the timetable! Your support and belief in my ability has allowed me to overcome my fears and has enabled me to sit here today and say thank you as I complete my master's thesis. Words can never express my gratitude and love, thanks for always been there for me.

Abstract

The main objective of this research project was to address some of the ‘gaps’ in the narrative of Ireland’s Jewish community. Although previous literature has contributed much to the account of this ethnic group, the research pertaining to this section of Irish society has for the most part remained underdeveloped. Therefore, to explore this narrative further the research project required that an archival based approach was utilised in order to examine the various historical eras discussed in this thesis. Moreover, this research project will illustrate how adopting an archival based research approach has facilitated the dissemination of new knowledge in relation to political discourse and policies during the Second World War era in Ireland.

Our point of departure for this research study will commence with the early Jewish settlers who arrived from the 1880s onwards and conclude with the foundation of Israel in 1948. Although anti-Semitism was not as evident and widespread in Ireland as in other European countries, sporadic displays of antagonism towards the Jewish communities such as the Limerick pogrom in 1904 did occur. Whereas Catholicism was viewed as ‘the main ingredient in the Irish personality’ (McCaffery 1973, p.527), the nationalist cause was viewed as being exclusionary to minority groups such as the Irish – Jewish population.

The World War Two era would also witness Ireland’s exclusionary immigration policies which were specifically implemented to keep Jewish refugees out of Ireland, regardless of the Irish government’s awareness to the use of concentration camps and the mounting refugee crisis. The end of World War Two left millions of displaced people across Europe and the Irish government’s solution to the crisis was to tighten further the immigration policies with the introduction of the Alien Order, 1946.

In response to the founding of Israel in 1948, Ireland would withhold *de facto* recognition until 1949. Indeed, whilst Zionism was embraced by the Irish – Jewish community, conversely, immigration figures suggest, that Irish Aliyah to Israel was significantly lower than previously proposed.

Table of Contents

<i>Declaration</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acronyms</i>	8
<i>Chapter One: Introduction</i>	9
1.1 Summary of Findings.....	10
1.3 Overview of Chapters	11
<i>Chapter Two: Methodology</i>	15
2.1 Methodological Approach	15
2.2 Vignettes as Storytelling	20
2.3 Research Limitations	20
2.4 Ethical Issues	21
2.5 Conclusion.....	22
<i>Chapter Three: Ireland’s Early Jewish Community</i>	24
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 Jews and the Russian empire	24
3.3 The Russian Pogroms and May Laws 1881-1882.....	25
3.4 Jewish Migration and Ireland 1881	27
3.5 Emigration begets Emigration	29
3.6 Limerick’s Jewish community and the Boycott/Pogrom of 1904	34
3.7 Conclusion.....	38
<i>Chapter Four: Ireland’s Independence and Jewish Identity</i>	40
4.1 Introduction	40
4.2 Ireland’s Independence	41
4.3 Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association	42
4.4 1916 Rising.....	44
4.5 Irish Recognition at the Paris Peace Conference: War of Independence 1919-1921	47
4.6 Ireland’s Jewish Community and the Revolutionary Years in Ireland	49
4.7 The Irish Free State and the Irish Civil War	55

4.8 Conclusion.....	57
<i>Chapter Five: World War Two, the Holocaust and the Irish Response</i>	<i>59</i>
5.1 Introduction	59
5.2 Background of Events Prior to the Second World War: Germany and Ireland	60
5.4 Censorship	64
5.5 Pre - War Immigration Legislation	70
5.6 Political and Church Response to the Jewish Refugee Crises.....	71
5.7 D-day and Wars End	88
5.8 Ireland’s Response to the Holocaust, the 1946 Aliens Order and Relief Aid.	90
<i>Chapter Six: Zionism and Ireland.....</i>	<i>99</i>
6.1 Introduction	99
6.2 Zionism and Theodor Herzl.....	100
6.3 Irish Nationalism and the Zionist Movement: Parallels.....	104
6.5 Irish-Jewish Response to the Creation of the State of Israel in 1948: Irish-Jewish Settlement in Israel.....	112
6.6 Conclusion.....	113
<i>Chapter Seven: The Creation of the Jewish State in Palestine 1948.....</i>	<i>115</i>
7.1 Introduction	115
7.2 Balfour Declaration and British Mandate for Palestine.....	116
7.3 The Peel Commission.....	118
7.4 The Holocaust, International Response and the Creation of Israel	119
7.5 Ireland and the Creation of a Jewish State in Palestine	121
7.6 Conclusion.....	131
<i>Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Further Research Areas.....</i>	<i>134</i>
8.1 Introduction	134
8.2 Overall Conclusions	134
8.3 Future Research Areas	138
<i>Secondary Sources</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Appendix A - Office of the Historian no. 632, Mr. Foster to Mr. Blaine, dated, St Petersburg, May 24, 1881.</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>Appendix B – The Evening Herald dated 30th January 1939.....</i>	<i>166</i>

<i>Appendix D - Telegram dated 4th July 1944, Bewley in Germany suspected of working for the Ministry of Propaganda.</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Appendix E - DFA/10/2/57, Activities of Charles Bewley, G.2 Branch Department of Defence (Irish Military Intelligence), dated 12th December 1945 to Joseph P. Walsh.</i>	<i>172</i>
<i>Appendix F - Correspondence from The Department of Foreign Affairs.</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Appendix G - The Tablet (1950), 'The Unwanted'.</i>	<i>174</i>
<i>Appendix H - Government meeting 26th September 1950.</i>	<i>176</i>
<i>Appendix I - Document entitled Bertha Weingreen.</i>	<i>178</i>
<i>Appendix J - Central Bureau of Statistics Israel.</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Appendix K - Ethical Clearance.</i>	<i>180</i>
<i>Appendix L - Research Integrity – Arts and Humanities, Epigeum Online Course.</i>	<i>181</i>
<i>Appendix M - Response Tánaiste's Office Dated January 1st 2020.</i>	<i>182</i>
<i>Appendix N - Instructions from de Valera regarding letter to the Papal Nuncio.</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Appendix O - Draft letter for the Papal Nuncio dated April 6, 1939.</i>	<i>184</i>
<i>Appendix P- Seán McEntee to Patrick Rutledge May 24, 1939.</i>	<i>185</i>

Acronyms

JRFM- Justice for Magdalenes Research

FOI- Freedom of Information

NAI- National Archives of Ireland

NLI- National Library of Ireland

DFA- Department of Foreign Affairs

DOJ- Department of Justice

MAI- Military Archives Ireland

UCC- University College Cork

UCD- University College Dublin

ISA- Israel State Archives

DJM- Dublin Jewish Museum

Chapter One: Introduction

The broad purpose of this thesis is to conduct an exploration of Ireland's Jewish community from the 1880s to the foundation of Israel in 1948. Therefore, the periods which inform this research study are as follows:

- Ireland's early Jewish communities.
- Ireland's independence and Jewish identity.
- Ireland's response to the Second World War and the Holocaust.
- Zionism and Ireland.
- The creation of the Jewish state in Palestine in 1948.

Irish history in general has produced a vast amount of literature, centralising themes such as rebellion, migration, nationalism and nation building (Kinealy 2008). Yet in constructing the national narrative historians have focused largely on the wider Catholic population, therefore, minority communities such as the Irish - Jewish community were, in the main, excluded from this narrative.¹ While various publications such as Dermot Keogh's seminal work *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland* (1998), which expanded the work of Louis Hyman's, *The Jews of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (1972), and paved the way for subsequent academic and popular contributions on Ireland's Jewish community, (Ó Gráda, (2006), Rivlin, (2003), Rivlin, (2011), Harris, (2002). However, this area remained underdeveloped. Therefore, themes such as migration, ethnicity, identity and belonging will form part of this exploration. Indeed Dermot Keogh (2008), alluded to the need for further research on the narrative of Ireland's Jewish community. Likewise, Natalie Wynn (2015), addressed the 'many flaws in the existing historiography of Irish Jews' (Wynn 2015, p. vii). In fact, the limited resources and the apparent knowledge gaps due to the lack of scholarly attention in the overall story of the Irish – Jewish community was identified during my undergraduate thesis, thus, becoming the rationale for this contribution. Indeed, the identified knowledge gaps will be supported through the findings in this research project. Thus, broadening our understanding and adding a new perspective on Ireland's Jewish history.

¹ The exclusion of minority groups from Irish history can be extended to include for example the Irish Travelling community and the Protestant community.

1.1 Summary of Findings

In attempting to analyse the wider history of the Irish- Jewish community within this period two core concerns became apparent early in the research. Firstly, the study revealed that Jewish immigration to Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s did not align with previous literary accounts of an influx of Jewish migrants into Ireland brought about by the Russian pogroms of 1881. We have found by not adhering to the accepted narrative and utilising the statistical evidence obtained from the census records from between 1881-1911, the findings would lead us to reject this notion. Our evidence suggests that the increase actually occurred over a thirty-year period. Therefore, if we presume the census figures are correct, we can conclude that no influx transpired. Moreover, this research has determined that chain migration was a factor for Jewish immigration to Ireland during this period, thus, the decision to migrate was in most cases autonomous.

Secondly, the research has also shown that support for Zionism in Ireland was, in the main, financial. Therefore, we will develop these two lines of enquiry as far as sources allow with the intention of shedding further light on the broader themes noted above.

A further consideration in this study was the social interaction between Ireland's Jewish communities' and the wider Catholic society. For the most part intergroup relations were positive, if we exclude the occurrences in Limerick in 1904. In fact, what this study did reveal was the distinct correlation between the newspapers depiction of the Jews in Russia and Limerick. In both cases the print media engaged in what Breen et al. (2005, p.2), refer to as 'media framing' an approach adopted by contemporary print media to 'set public agendas' i.e. asylum seekers and migrant workers (ibid:3). This form of media framing ultimately fuelled the anti – Semitic riots.

This particular methodological approach allowed for the discovery of unreleased government documents pertaining to the Second World War era in Ireland held by the Department of Justice in Dublin. My analysis of these unreleased documents is an original contribution to understanding this period in Irish history. The majority of the files consist of visa applications made by Jewish refugees, or in some cases family members in order to secure a safe haven from the Nazi regime and the concentration camps. An examination of the documents revealed that the majority of the applications were not only denied but

explicitly denied on the grounds of religious beliefs and ethnicity. These documents along with additional archival material obtained from the National Archives of Ireland exposed the level of institutional racism that existed within the Irish government during the Second World period. Indeed, the process of gaining access to the unreleased files from this era certainly raises questions regarding the ongoing government silence on the matter in modern day Ireland.

A further revelation to come out of this study was in relation to Irish – Jewish immigration to Israel in 1948. Again, the statistical information obtained from census records reveal surprisingly low migration figures from Ireland to Israel. Furthermore, the census also indicated that this trend continued throughout the following decades. While there was a natural assumption on the part of the researcher that the foundation of Israel would have had a significant impact on immigration to Israel, however, these low migration figures would imply a different scenario.

1.3 Overview of Chapters

Chapter Two sets out the methodological approach which will direct this research study. While an archival based approach was employed in order to facilitate this exploration of Ireland’s Jewish community. Moreover, the personal journey of the researcher, in essence, became the methodology, which forms part of this chapter.

Chapter two will also discuss the various primary data that were sourced from a variety of locations to address the knowledge gap pertaining to this minority group. Additionally, while archival material was employed to generate information vignettes were used throughout this thesis to communicate the personal accounts of individuals. Finally, this chapter will consider the limitations encountered while conducting this research study which includes financial constraints, research scope, and language barriers.

Chapter Three will focus on the push and pull factors and the motivation behind Jewish migration to Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s, including the interaction between this minority group and the wider Irish Catholic community throughout this period. This chapter will also provide an historical overview of Russian history in order to contextualise the Jewish population within the Russia empire at this time. While previous contributions regarding the meta-narrative of Jewish migration to Ireland has produced

opposing arguments, this chapter will consider chain migration as one of the factors which prompted Jewish migration from Russia to Ireland.

An additional question central to this chapter was the relationship between the Jewish population and the wider Catholic society. The assertion that ‘Ireland is the only country in the world where Jews have never been persecuted’ (Beatty and O’Brien 2018, p.65), will be addressed in this chapter, by examining the events in Limerick in 1904, including the role of the media in both the Russian pogroms of 1881 and the occurrences in Limerick in 1904.

Chapter Four focuses on Irish independence and Jewish identity including the contribution of the Jewish community to the nationalist cause. While Irish nationalism and Catholicism became a fixed national identity and viewed as exclusionary to minority groups such as the Irish – Jewish population, for some members of the Jewish community religion did not factor in securing Irish Independence, as the four case studies presented in this chapter will illustrate. This chapter will also consider the critical views held by some commentators as to the realities of Irish - Jewish history within the broader context of the narrative of Irish independence.

Chapter four will also discuss the end of World War One, including the international assembly which met in Versailles, Paris to negotiate terms for peace. The Paris Peace Conference established the The Fourteen Points for world peace, which was intended to entitle small European nations to statehood. For Ireland this was an opportunity to advocate for sovereignty. In a bid to secure an international audience Irish delegates attended the Paris Peace Conference; however, this would turn out to be purely symbolic as the Irish representatives were excluded from the talks. The failure of Ireland’s diplomatic approach at the Peace Conference witnessed the ensuing War of Independence along with Britain’s solution to the violence with the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, in 1920. This chapter will conclude with the the Irish Civil War in 1923.

Chapter Five moves beyond the revolutionary years and enters the pre-war era of the Second World War, ‘possibly the most shameful period in the history of Irish immigration policy’ (Culleton 2004, p.57). Although Ireland’s isolationism during the Second World War era has been referred to as ‘Plato’s cave’ (Evans 2014, p.3), this chapter will argue

that, regardless of the ‘information vacuum’ (Drisceoil 1996, p.301), created by the Emergency censorship, Ireland was not so politically removed from the atrocities unfolding across Europe. Therefore, Ireland’s response to the Jewish refugees prior to, during, and in the aftermath of the Second World War will be the focus of this chapter. While Ireland’s anti – immigration policies were clearly opposed to Jewish refugees, in contrast Irish post – war relief aid was more liberal, as this chapter will illustrate. In addition, we will also argue that in relation to the Second World War period censorship never fully ended.

Chapter five will also examine the role of the Catholic church in Ireland during the Emergency years, more specifically, Archbishop John Charles McQuaid. As this chapter will illustrate, the church in Ireland adopted the same policy of silence as the Vatican by not speaking out in defence of the Jews.

Chapter six will discuss the Zionist movement in Ireland including the relationship between Zionism as a national movement and Irish - Jewish migration to Israel in 1948. This chapter will also explore the commonalities that exist between Irish nationalism and Zionism as both ideologies shared a common aspiration of raising the status of a people viewed as ‘inherently inferior’(Walter 2002, p.22). Indeed, while Ireland’s Jewish community was viewed as an ‘outpost’ far removed from the wider Jewish diaspora, this chapter will discuss the role the woman’s Zionist movement in Ireland, the Daughters of Zion, whom contributed to the founding of the Women’s International Zionist Organisation. Furthermore, as this chapter will illustrate, the Irish - Jewish community advocated for the establishment of a Jewish state, however, this chapter will illustrate that the Zionist cause in Ireland was focused on a financial commitment.

Finally, while Irish – Jewish migration to Israel in 1948 had remained somewhat ambiguous, immigration statistics obtained from the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics for Irish – Jewish migration to Israel will demonstrate the low numbers of migration to Israel from the Irish – Jewish community during this period. It is a tacit assumption that not all Jews felt compelled to move to the New State of Israel. Arguably, the sources would suggest while Ireland’s Jewish community did embrace the Zionist movement, however, these immigration figures will offer a new perspective regarding Irish - Jewish migration to Israel.

Chapter Seven will discuss the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine in 1948, including Ireland's political attitude to this fledgling state. In order to understand the political complexities surrounding the events which lead to the creation of Israel in 1948, this chapter will discuss the broader historical narrative of this particular period within an international context. Events such as the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the British Mandate for Palestine, including the international response to the Holocaust will be examined. Although the new Jewish State received international recognition following David Ben – Gurion announcement on May 14, 1948, Ireland withheld *de facto* recognition until 1949. Moreover, archival documents will be utilised to illuminate why Ireland's recognition was strategically important to Israel due to its Catholic connections both in Rome and America.

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 Methodological Approach

The overall aim of this project is to add to the store of knowledge and gain a deeper understanding of Ireland's Jewish community. Although sociology is the home discipline of this researcher, an historical exploration was undertaken in order to approach the various periods central to this thesis, thus, the obvious methodology was to draw upon the information contained within the archives. As Tamboukou (2013, p.617), has stated, 'archival research in the social sciences is emerging as a vibrant field of qualitative research'. Therefore, adopting this particular method has enabled a), a reinterpreting of documents, b), sourcing of previously unresearched documents, thus, allowing a new narrative pertaining to Ireland's Jewish community to emerge. Due to the specific methodology utilised in this study many archives were visited in Ireland including regular correspondence with museums, and various archives from other countries requesting additional information. The online research expanded to countries such as, Britain, America, Russia, Lithuania, Israel and Switzerland; in order to provide a broader picture of the Irish Jewish community. In order to source the archival documents necessary for the individual chapters every visit to the archives was planned based on the availability of material and the scope of the research at any particular time. It should be noted here, that building a rapport with the archivists formed an important element of the research method and was effective in locating the relevant documents this researcher required. From various conversation with the archivists regarding the research topic their knowledge of the archives informed the researchers choice of documents sought for this project. The following archives were visited to locate the vast quantity of material necessary for this research project.

- Archdiocese in Dublin
- Ireland's Jewish Museum
- National Archives of Ireland
- National Library of Ireland
- University College Cork
- University College Dublin
- Personal papers of individuals: access was provided by family members.

Whereas many of the documents utilised are within the public domain a vast number of unique documents were also acquired. These unreleased documents which are held within the Department of Justice in Dublin are known as the '69 Alien series files. The process of gaining access to the immigration files started in 2018. Contact via emails and phone calls were made to the relevant administrative personnel in the National Archives of Ireland and the Department of Justice enquiring to the whereabouts and indeed the existances of the files (as there appeared to be limited knowledge with regard to the files). Once the whereabouts of the files had been established an official request under the Freedom of Information Act, 2014 was made in June 2018. Following the lack of communication from the FOI Department, the Minister for Justice and Equality Minister Charlie Flanagan was contacted via email in October 2018 requesting access to the files due to their relevance to this research project and equally their historical significance. Following a reply of refusal in December 2018 Taoiseach Leo Varadkar was contacted in 2019, requesting access to the files. The request was passed to the Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr Simon Coveney for his attention and direct reply. The request was then passed from Mr Simon Coveney back to the Department for Justice and Equality Mr Charlie Flanagan. Again, another email was sent for the attention of the Taoiseach in June 2019, stating that contact had previously been made with Minister Flanagan, but to no avail. The correspondence to the Taoiseach requested that he [the Taoiseach] took the time to at least make inquiries on my behalf and not to keep passing me onto departments and ministers who cannot and will not deal with my request. In July 2019 a conformation email was received from the Department for Justice and Equality granting access to the files with certain stipulations set out by the Department for Justice and Equality. Due to the quantity of immigration files pertaining exclusively to visa applications by Jewish refugees this research is still ongoing. Initial findings of this research have been outlined in the introductory chapter.

In order to explore the themes of identity, belonging, and Irish nationalism within an Irish context, data pertaining to Irish - Jewish migration to Israel from 1948 onwards and the Zionist movement in Ireland were necessary. In April 2018 the Israeli State Archives was contacted. It was suggested in their reply that contact should be made with MK Isaac Herzog then a member of the Knesset and son of the former President of Israel, Chaim Herzog. The researcher assumes the recommendation from the Israeli State Archives was due to Isaac Herzog's connections to Ireland. It should be noted here, that, Chaim Herzog

was born in Belfast and raised in Dublin. Chaim Herzog's father was Rabbi Isaac Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Ireland. Following the advice from the Israeli State Archives Mr Herzog was subsequently contacted via email in relation to the Zionist organisation in Ireland. From the initial email contact, a phone call was arranged between Mr Herzog and the researcher, after which, Mr Herzog facilitated with sourcing the Irish Jewish immigration statistics from The Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel. Hence, the method that was utilised in locating the statistics for the Irish Aliya to Israel. However, access to the archival material held in the Zionist Archives located in Jerusalem, were only accessible by personally visiting the archives, this has been addressed in the limitation section of the methodology chapter.

As previously stated, a vast majority of the archival material was sourced in Ireland. Government documents obtained from the National Archives of Ireland reflected the political climate in Ireland from the foundation of the Irish State but more specifically, during the Second World War era especially in relation to Irish diplomats such as Charles Bewley, the Irish envoy to Berlin during the 1930s. Although files concerning Charles Bewley are available in the National Archives of Ireland, a request was made via email to the Department of Foreign Affairs to access the personal HR file of Charles Bewley. This request was made in a bid to establish the reason behind the government's decision to assign Bewley the position in Berlin knowing his anti- Semitic tendencies. This is discussed in chapter five. The request was denied by the DFA (See appendix F). Furthermore, while the researcher was making enquiries regarding the aforementioned HR file, another file concerning Charles Bewley and one previously available in the National Archives was removed by the DFA. This certainly raises questions regarding censorship, freedom of information more specifically in relation to historical documents and the culture of Government silence in contemporary Irish society when we consider the Magdalene Laundries in Ireland (See Justice for Magdalene's Research²).

As part of the research that was conducted for this project, the personal papers of Robert Briscoe, former politician and member of the Fianna Fáil party were sourced with

² JFMR, [online], available: <http://jfmresearch.com/home/preserving-magdalene-history/waterford/> [accessed 2 -8 2019]

permission from his son Ben Briscoe. Ben Briscoe is also a former politician and member of the Fianna Fáil party. Further reference to Robert Briscoe can be found in chapter four and five of this thesis. Contact was made with Ben Briscoe through connections from within the Jewish community which had been established while conducting the research. In contrast to the vast majority of research that was carried out in state and religious institutions, the informal setting of the Briscoe's home including conversations with Ben and Carol Briscoe, Ben's wife, adding valuable contextual insights in relation to the documents.

For the purpose of archival research Scott (1990, p.6), has identified some key points while using archival material, the following is an overview of the four criteria as advised by Scott,

- Authenticity
- Credibility
- Representativeness
- Meaning

Authenticity

Refers to the verification of the document as being of a genuine and reliable source. Therefore, the researcher must ensure the document has integrity. The word integrity in this context means, that documents are original and are what they 'purport' to be (Scott 1990, p.19). This places a certain responsibility on the researcher to ensure that the document in question 'is an original or a copy of, a copy' (Scott 1990, p.19). Indeed, the last decade has brought about significant changes in how we access archival material, with many institutions now providing online accessibility 'through search interfaces' (Chassanoff 2013, p.459). Arguably the digital age has provided access to documents once unattainable, documents can be ordered online or in some cases researchers can avail of digital scans. Conversely, the online availability of archives has brought about particular challenges when considering the authenticity of archival material, as Hamill (2017, pp.63-64), remarks, 'Can you determine who created the file, file size, format, dates created, and are files in their original format'. In order to ensure the authenticity of

all documents utilised throughout this thesis, archival material was procured from reliable sources such as, the National Archives of Ireland and the National Library of Ireland ie. government memorandum files and newspaper's (See primary sources reference list).

Credibility

This refers to the plausibility of the source and whether documents have been falsified. The researcher should also be aware that errors can be made in the original drafting of the document. Establishing the credibility of documents is as essential in archival research as ensuring the reliability in any other form of research methods, such as, surveys and interviews Scott (1990).

Representativeness

Representativeness applies to some documents but not to all. Representativeness means 'whether the evidence is typical of its kind, or if it is not, whether the extent of its untypicality is known' (Ahmed 2010, p.4). A document's representativeness may become inaccurate depending on how much time has passed since the document was first drafted. Another factor pertaining to a documents representativeness is how the document/artefact was preserved (Kridel 2017).

Meaning

The main reason for 'examining documents...', is to arrive at an understanding of the meaning and significance of what the document contains' (Scott 1990, p.28). In order to conduct a 'textual analysis' (Kridel 2017), of a document, it is imperative that the document is legible and comprehensible. This is vital for a number of reasons, firstly, in order to understand the significance of the document, and secondly, in order to gather data from the document pertaining to the research (Kridel 2017). There is, however, another possible consideration which could be a factor when analysing documents. The written text may not always be in a language comprehensible to the researcher, thus, making the documents linguistically challenging. Consequently, translation may be required in order to extract the necessary data from the documents. Therefore, care should

be taken during the course of analysing the data, in order to prevent the meaning becoming lost in the translation (Scott 1990, p.28).

2.2 Vignettes as Storytelling

In addition, to the use of archival documents as a means to capture a moment in time, vignettes were employed as an instrument throughout this thesis, in order to retell the personal stories of individuals as an alternative way to capture, or convey, a moment in history. The term ‘vignette comes from the French word *vigne* meaning small vine’(Hunter 2012, p.92). Hughes (1998, p.381), describes, ‘vignettes as stories about individuals and situations ... generated from a range of sources’. Within the context of this research project, vignettes as storytelling ‘added texture’ (Hunter 2012, p.92), an insight into the ‘conscious and unconscious assumptions, attitudes, opinions, prejudices, and emotions from the ‘letters, diaries, civil records’ ‘of the people that lived then’(Paso 2004, p.373).

2.3 Research Limitations

The historical span of this research was outlined in the introduction chapter; therefore, certain limitations were anticipated. For that reason, this section will provide an account of the limitations experienced during the course of this project. One of the main aims of this research was to conduct an archival based research investigation, however, due to the financial constraints of a self-funded research project, archive material pertaining to this research, which is held in Israel, was beyond the scope of this researcher. In order to overcome this limitation, the researcher sought an alternative by availing of the vast online historical archives freely available through the Israel State Archives. Nonetheless, some archives remained unavailable for this project, such as those held in The Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, therefore, literary sources were utilised to address these issues rather than restrict the outcome of the research.

A further constraint which became apparent during the course of this research was the language barrier. While documents were accessed from online archives in Russia, Lithuanian, and Israel for the purpose of researching a quantity of the material were

written in many languages, and therefore, could not be interpreted. Similarly to the above mentioned limitation, an alternative was sought, hence, secondary sources were drawn upon as a solution. For example, in chapter three of this thesis there was a reliance on previous research carried out by John Doyle Klier, whom conducted extensive research in the Russian and Ukrainian archives. This research is published in his book *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855-1881*, (1995). As Klier, (1995, p.xv), states, 'I have attempted to read all ... material published in Russian relating to the Jewish Question ... the periodical press, books and pamphlets, and official documentation, both published and archival'.

Finally, the extensive historical period under investigation posed its own challenges, specifically chapters three and seven. Due to the limited scope of the overall thesis, each chapter was therefore, structured in order to best utilise the research material conducted for this thesis.

2.4 Ethical Issues

The purpose of ethical guidelines is to ensure that researchers maintain a standard of best practice while engaging in research activity. In keeping with the ethical guidelines set out by Waterford Institute of Technology, ethical requirements were adhered to at all times throughout this research project. As this is an archival based research project, the vast majority of the material that was utilised during the course of this research already exists within the public domain. The unreleased documents that facilitated this research project, the researcher observed the conditions set out by the Department For Justice with regards to Data Protection. At no time throughout this research project were human subjects used. This included, interviews, or interactions with individuals. Hence, there was no ethical issues during the course of this research project.

It is noted that ethical considerations are central to conducting research. In order, to meet the responsibilities as a postgraduate research student, and maintain the ethical ethos fostered within Waterford Institute of Technology (https://www.wit.ie/research/for_postgrads [accessed 17-2-2018]), ethical guidelines such as those set out by The Sociological Association of Ireland were also observed. This,

code of ethics was established to provide guidelines for the ‘professional activities of sociologists in Ireland’, (The Sociological Association of Ireland 2018, www.sociology.ie [accessed 15-2-2018]). Similarly, in 2017, The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (<https://allea.org/code-of-conduct/> [accessed 16-4-2018]), introduced a revised framework, based on the fundamentals of research integrity. This was to insure continued good practice within the field of research. The revised code of conduct stipulates the ethical responsibilities of all researchers as set out in 2011, by All European Academics (ALLEA), and the European Science Foundation (ESF), Some of these guidelines include research procedures, safeguards, research misconduct and other unacceptable practices.

Conversely, while a code of conduct exists for research involving human subjects, there still, appears to be some ambiguity around ethical practices for archival research. Mckee and Porter (2012, p.60), refer to this as the ‘liminal spaces between person and artefact’. Addressing, the ambiguous nature of archival research practice, as noted by, (Mckee and Porter), codes of ethics, and conduct for researchers and archivists, were established in Ireland. Archives and Records Association UK & Ireland whose, principles seek to ensure respect for research ethics. Though measures have been adopted in order to regulate the activities of archival researchers, there are, still certain caveats attached to this form of research. With this in mind, researchers have a certain ‘responsibility that this access can bring’(Moore 2010, p.268).

2.5 Conclusion

The methodological approach that was utilised was the one best suited to the period under analysis and lead to a fascinating personal journey for this researcher. As we can see communication and networking became an integral part of the research methods employed to access the relevant information that was required for this project. In a bid to conduct this archival exploration extensive research and travelling were undertaken. While the majority of the documents utilised were already within the public domain, a large amount of rare documents were also sourced. These previously unreleased documents will contribute new knowledge to this area of research. The arduous process of gaining access to the immigration files and indeed the withholding of further historical documents reflect the current culture of Government silence not only with regard to the

Second World War period, but also in relation to religious institutions in Ireland. In addition, the archival based approach which enabled this research project has been insightful regarding the evolution of contemporary immigration policies, legislation and political attitudes towards refugees including the correcting of societal narratives.

Chapter Three: Ireland's Early Jewish Community

3.1 Introduction

There is a long history of Jewish migration into Ireland. The first record can be found in the *Annals of Inisfallen* 1097 (Hyman 1972). Over the following centuries more Jews subsequently followed some transient, others chose to settle (ibid). As Ireland's Jewish population grew various communities were established in Limerick, Dublin, Cork, Belfast and Waterford (Keogh 1998). However, for the new arrivals from eastern Europe in the 1880s, Dublin was the most popular destination for these migrants (Ó Garda 2006). As to the motivation behind this particular migratory path, which led Jews from Russia/Lithuanian in the 1880s to come to Ireland; this research project will endeavour to answer. What is of particular interest, and in keeping with the overall theme of this research, is the integration, if any, between Ireland's Jewish minority and the wider Irish Catholic society throughout these specified years.

3.2 Jews and the Russian empire

While the remit of this thesis does not permit for an in - depth analysis of Russian history, there is, however, a necessity to integrate aspects into the narrative of Ireland's early Jewish community as both are intertwined. Therefore, the primary focus of this section is to examine the impact of the Russian pogroms of 1881, and the May Laws of 1882, as a push factor regarding Jewish migration to Ireland.

The history of Jewish emancipation was 'nowhere more prolonged and difficult than in the empire of the tsars; and anti - Jewish violence was nowhere more consequential' (Aronson 1990, pp.3-4). The complex relationship that existed between the Russian empire and its Jews, began when St Petersburg annexed eastern Poland at the end of the eighteenth century (Nathans 2002). With such a large Jewish population now occupying parts of the Russian empire, a fusion of state crafted policies and punitive legislation were imposed by various Tsars to subjugate Russia's Jewry. The legal restrictions placed on the Jews was for Klier, (1995, p.4), intended to break the 'very essence' of Jewish culture. The assimilation of Jews into Russian society, thus, became a feature of Russia's official

discourse and Royal decrees³. (Klier 1992, Nathans 2002). One solution during the reign of Nicholas I in 1827, was the forced conscription of Jewish males between the ages of twelve and twenty – five into Russia’s army. (Berk 1985). The aim of the imperial government Berk asserts:

‘that these Jews, by living in a Russian ambiance, would quickly divorce themselves from their Jewish background and begin to experience rapid assimilation. Although the law stipulated that the Jewish recruits should be granted religious freedom, in practice, an extremely brutal process of Russification was initiated...’ (ibid:3)⁴

The most significant of these decrees, would ‘evolved into the notorious “Pale of Jewish Settlement”, a geographical area within the Russian Empire in which the Jewish population were permitted to live. As Klier (1992, p.5) has argued, this was to become the ‘single most destructive legal burden borne by the Russian Jewry’. The Pale of Jewish Settlement not only restrict the geographic mobility of the Jews, but also limit opportunities for economic betterment (Nathans 2002, see also Kuznets 1975⁵). The ‘Jewish Question’ would eventually underpin and give rise to the compatibility of Jews in Russian society (ibid).

3.3 The Russian Pogroms and May Laws 1881-1882

The anti - Jewish violence following the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, has been described as a ‘decisive moment’ in Jewish history (Klier 2011, p.xiii).⁶ Indeed, after the anti - Jewish riots of 1881, the ‘Russian word pogrom (“massacre”, “devastation”), came to be commonly used throughout the Western world to designate mob violence against Jews no matter where it occurred’ (Aronson 1990, p.4). Though, the Jews of Russia had previously experienced ethnic violence, (pogroms⁷), prior to the 1881-82 attacks. Klier

³ Klier’s prefers to use the term, ‘Judeophobia’ in his book, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882*, (2011), to describe the anti-Semitic sentiment within Russian society.

⁴ Between 1827 -1854, approximately 50,000 children, some as young as eight, nine, and ten were conscripted, see Ofek, A. 1993.

⁵ For further reading on Jewish immigration see Simon Kuznets, *‘Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure’* (1975).

⁶ See Klier (2011) *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882*, Klier further claims the pogroms were as much of a crisis for the Russian Empire as were for the Jews in Russian. According to, Klier (2011: xiii), The pogroms threatened to impact the Russian national economy.

⁷ Historians have classified the following as pogroms, see Klier (2011, p. 59.), Kiev 1113; the Cossack uprising in 1648; the *Koliivshchyna* 1768; attacks on Jews in Odessa 1821, 1859, and 1871, Akkerman, Bessarabia province 1865; 1881-1882; the Kishinev and Gomel riots 1903; anti-Jewish violence which occurred during the revolutionary period 1906-1906; the ‘military pogroms’ in 1914-16; attacks on Jews

categorised the pogroms of 1881-82 as ‘Russia’s first *modern* pogroms’, stating they ‘differed in important respects from events that both preceded and followed them...’ (ibid: 58). Firstly, ‘they were essentially an urban phenomenon’, secondly, ‘unlike earlier events in Odessa⁸, which might be considered “proto-pogroms”, they were a mass phenomenon that spread in waves through modern means of communication: the railroads, the telegraphy, and - most of all - the printing press’(ibid:58-59). The latter, according to Klier, ‘provided the newspapers, official broadsides, and printed decrees that expedited the spread of the misinformation and rumor that played such an important role in sparking the pogroms’(ibid:59). The events of 1881 are clearly documented in a correspondence dated May 24, St Petersburg 1881, from John Foster, an American diplomatic in Russia, to James Blaine an American statesman,⁹: (See Appendix A).

‘A disgraceful series of disorders have occurred during the past month in the southwest province of Russia, directed against the Jewish residence, resulting in the loss of a number of lives and the destruction of an enormous amount of property. The scenes of these riots have been at and in the vicinity of Elizabethgrad and Kief, with less serious demonstration at Odessa and other places. The participants have been almost exclusively of the lowest and most ignorant classes in towns and cities, joined by peasants, and the demonstration in two localities first named appear to be so powerful that for days the authorities were paralysed, and the rioters were able to give full sway to their work of bigotry and destruction. In Kief, a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, with a large Jewish population, the work was so thorough, it is stated, that not a single Jewish house escaped, the inmates being driven out, beaten, and stoned, and some of them killed, and the contents thrown into the streets...’

Following the pogroms of 1881, an even more repressive regime was implemented. The discriminatory May Laws of 1882, (originally intended to be temporary), placed further legal burdens on Russia’s Jewish population (Berk:1985). Restrictions on Jews from residing outside of the Pale persisted after the enacting of the May Laws. As a result, overcrowding and extreme poverty, in an already impoverished community led to a deterioration of conditions inside the Pale. (ibid). According to Berk, an American delegation when visiting the Pale were ‘appalled at the poverty, the unemployment, and the ubiquitous squalor that was so much a part of Jewish life’ (ibid:181). News of the

by military units during the Russian Civil War 1919-21, attacks on Jews during the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians 1920.

⁸ Klier (2011), refers to the pogrom that occurred in Odessa in 1871. For further reading see, Klier, J.D. (2011), *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁹ Owing to the length of the correspondence, and for the benefit of this research only excerpts have been used from the document. Office of the Historian no. 632, Mr. Foster to Mr. Blaine, dated, St Petersburg, May, 24, 1881.

political oppression of the Jews in Russia made international headlines; including Ireland. *The Munster Express*, (Waterford newspaper), dated, 28, January 1882, its headline read, 'The Jews in Russia'. *The New York Times*, 28, January 1882, reported on, 'Russian Jewish Horrors', in which the newspaper detailed the nine months of "Rapine, murder and Outrage",[online], available: <http://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/645593> [accessed 1-10-2019]. *The Sydney Morning Herald* dated 18, April 1882, also carried an article which reported on 'The Treatment of the Jews in Russia', ,[online], available: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13509561/1421369> [accessed 02- 06-2019].

As a point of interest, the restriction on Jewish residency in certain area of the Russian empire was so extensive, that it also excluded Jews from other countries; as the following document dated July 29, 1881 will illustrate. Correspondence between the aforementioned James Blaine, and John Foster, regarding the expulsion of two American citizens from St. Petersburg, on the grounds of being Jewish,

'Absolute prohibition of residence in St. Petersburg and other cities of the Empire, on the grounds that the Russian law permits no native Jews to reside there, and the treaty between Russia and the United States gives our citizens in Russian jurisdiction no other rights or privileges than those accorded to native Russians'¹⁰.

The discriminatory May Laws were to remain in place until the Russian Revolution in 1917.

3.4 Jewish Migration and Ireland 1881

The previous sections of this thesis have considered the social position of the Jews as an ethnic minority within Russian society. We have established how official attitudes and autocratic policies were used to address the 'Jewish Question' which became prevalent among Russian elites. Indeed, while different commentators have suggested that Jewish migration from this period was a direct result of pogroms, and May Laws (see Keogh

¹⁰ Office of the Historian: Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the annual message of the President, December 5, 1881. No. 628. Mr Blaine to Mr Foster. Department of State, Washington, July 29, 1881. [online], available: <https://history.state.gov/> [accessed 15- 5 2019]

1998). Zionist and sociologist, Arthur Ruppin (1934, p.44¹¹), suggested, it was the increasing hostility towards the Jews by the Russian Government, and the pogroms, that became the '*impelling force*' behind Jewish migration after 1880. It should be noted here, Arthur Ruppin was instrumental in Zionist settlement in what's now the State of Israel, having first visited Palestine in 1907. 'Ruppins...contribution to the Zionist movement gave him the title "The Father of Jewish/Zionist settlement in Palestine' (Bloom 2011, p.8). Other considerations such as economic hardship, or compulsory conscription of Jews into the Russian army, have also been viewed as contributing to Jewish emigration at this time (see Ó Gráda 2006 and Berk 1985).

The reasons cited above may offer an explanation regarding wider Jewish migration from Russia in 1881. According to (Ó Gárda 2006), and (Keogh 1998), the Jewish arrivals in Ireland towards the end of the nineteenth century were mostly from the province of Kovno in Lithuania. The meta-narrative of Jewish migration, in both the Jewish collective memory and the popular narrative of historians is one of anti - Jewish sentiment, pogroms, and conscription (Ó Garda 2006). Indeed, scholars such as Dermot Keogh (Historian), and Cormac Ó Garda (Economic Historian), have each contributed to the pool of knowledge, albeit, they differ in their 'push¹²' theories as to the leading cause for the Jewish migration from Lithuanian, and eventually to Ireland. For Keogh (1998), the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1881 followed by the repressive May Laws of 1882 were the principle motivator for the migration to occur, thus, making the Jews political refugees. However, Ó Garda (2006), disputes this, arguing that socio- economic reasons, and not pogroms, were the primary factors for the Jewish immigration from Lithuania. As stated by Ó Garda, 'Between 1881 and 1914, as for centuries before, Lithuania was virtually pogrom-free'(ibid:14). This assertion is substantiated by Robert Briscoe in his published memoirs, *For the Life of Me* (1958), and supported by (Klier 2011).

The following will now examine chain migration, as another factor in the 'push *and* pull' paradigm in relation to Jewish migration from Lithuania in 1881. Chain migration as defined by Scott and Marshall (2005, p.471), in the *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*,

¹¹ Arthur Ruppin, is also known as the father of Jewish sociology. See 'The Jews in the Modern World (1934).

¹² According to the Cambridge English Dictionary, push factors are defined as, 'something that makes people want to leave a place or escape from a particular situation'. Pull factors are defined as, something that attracts people to a place or an activity'.

occurs ‘where the successful migration of one family member creates a chain of opportunities for the whole kin network’. In order, to propose the likelihood of chain migration, Ireland’s migration history is perhaps, the best example as a means to demonstrate the process and pattern of chain migration. Indeed, ‘no other European country experienced emigration on such a scale, relative to the size of the population’ (DeLaney 2007, p.11). Moreover, this method will provide a contextual framework in which to examine Jewish migration, thus, permitting for comparisons to be drawn between both diasporas. Likewise, we draw attention to the existing parallels between Irish and Jewish domestic histories, insofar as religious intolerance, discrimination and social exclusion, similar to the Irish, the Jews were seen as a ‘race apart’ (Parekh 2000, p.21). Additionally, the settlement patterns of both diasporas are comparable, with both groups settling in place such as, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada.

3.5 Emigration begets Emigration

Whilst migration did occur in pre - Famine Ireland, for the majority of Irish people the Famine era of 1845-1851, was certainly the engine that drove the increase of migration in Ireland (Tóibín and Ferriter 2004). In his book, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000*, Diarmaid Ferriter reflects on the impact of Famine stating, ‘The emigration initiated by the Famine continued into the twentieth century and proved to be one of the great formative factors in modern Irish history. ... By 1911 one third of all people born in Ireland were living elsewhere’ (Ferriter 2005, p.44). The following is an account from a Famine migrant, reported in the ‘*Cork Examiner*’ of 1847 (Shannon 2016, P.31),¹³

‘The emigrants of this year are not like those of former ones; they are now actually running away from fever and disease and hunger, with money scarcely sufficient to pay passage...or food for the voyage’

Shannon (2016), notes, ‘Many of these Famine era immigrants, subsequently brought their relatives to America, creating a pattern of ‘chain migration’ that lasted into the beginning of the twentieth century’ (ibid:31). As a result of Ireland’s continuous pattern

¹³ Famine account was published in the ‘*Cork Examiner of 1847*’ and was sourced from Catherine Shannon's paper which appeared in ‘*Famine, Friends, and Fenians*’ (2016) Produced as a companion piece for an exhibit on New Bedford and Ireland. Access to Catherine Shannon's paper was supplied by the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

of immigration, to use Boyd's term, 'self - sustaining' communities were established in the immigrant's host country (Boyd 1989, p.641). For the new arrivals, these ethnic enclaves could serve as a transitional space in which to adapt in their new environment, the previous migrant could provide accommodation, and assist in securing employment (Wegge 1998). Clearly then, the 'friends and relative's effect' was an essential element in the decision to migrate and was central in facilitating chain migration (Hatton and Williamson 1998, p.78).

The various commentators have suggested, previously established ethnic communities and family ties were to become a vital link in encouraging and facilitating further emigration. In looking now to Irish migration, the information exchanged through the '*American Letter*' Shannon (2016), and Fitzpatrick (1989), suggest, became an integral part of the migratory process. In addition, to communicating information back to Ireland, the letters from America often contained remittance to fund passage for family or alleviate financial burdens at home. The following vignette is an example of an American letter written by Margaret McCarthy in America to her family in Ireland. Dated 22nd September.¹⁴

See Vignette 1:

'My Dr. Father and Mother, Brothers and Sisters, I write these few lines to you hoping That these few lines may find you all in a good State of health as I am in at present thank God. ... My Dr. Father I must only say that this is a good place and A good country for if one place does not Suit A man he can go to Another and can very easy please himself... I am Raptures of joy when I think of one day Seeing ... you all at the dock in New York...'

Having examined the process of chain migration and considered the example of Irish historical migration within this context, we now turn our attention to the Jewish arrivals into Ireland from 1881. To track the acceleration of the Jewish immigration, census records starting from 1881 up to 1911, will be utilised, thus, supplying the relevant figures required to establish the flow of inward migration. Based on the census records in 1881 the Jewish population was 394. Between the period 1881 and 1891, there was an increase of 1,112, bringing the total of the Jewish population to 1,506. This sudden increase Keogh

¹⁴ The letter written by Margaret McCarthy in America on the 22nd September was sourced from the Mayo County Library. 'Letter Samples'.

(1998), maintains, can be attributed to Jewish immigrants from the Russian empire, mostly from Lithuania. However, it is important to note, that the biggest increase of a further 1,500 occurred between 1891 and 1901, bringing the Jewish population to 3,006; ten years after the initial pogroms of 1881. According to the sources, by 1911, there was 3,805 Jews in Ireland, which saw an increase of 799, between 1901 and 1911. The overall increase, between 1881-1911 amounted to 3,411 Jewish migrants, which, occurred over a thirty year period, suggesting a pattern of chain migration, rather than any major influx. Ó Garda, (2006, p.12), has also proposed ‘the migration to Dublin had all the characteristics of a classic chain migration’.

Stuart Rosenblatt’s genealogy volumes of Ireland’s Jewish community contain the migration history of various Jewish families in Ireland, for instance, the family of Robert Briscoe, which shows the first arrival of the Briscoe’s to Ireland, pre - dates the Russian pogroms of 1881. The following information on the Briscoe family was supplied by Carol Briscoe, wife of Ben Briscoe.

Henry Elchanon Briscoe was one of the early migrants from Kovno, Lithuanian. Arriving in Dublin in the early 1870s. Henry’s brother Abraham Briscoe, the father of Robert Briscoe (Irish politician 1929 - 1965), followed Henry to Ireland in 1874. This clearly supports the pattern of chain migration within this particular family.

Indeed, Rosenblatt’s genealogy volumes reveal most of the Ireland Jewish community from the 1880s onwards came from Achamine, Kovno, in Lithuania, which clearly suggests chain migration. Keogh (1998), also alludes to the notion of chain migration, although somewhat indirectly. In re-counting a story by Len Yodaiken, in which Keogh states, ‘According to Yodaiken, ‘in the old days, in Dublin, if you did not have an ancestor from Akmijan¹⁵, you did not belong to the “Club” (ibid:8).

Again, in the case of Louis Goldberg, (father of Gerald Goldberg), who arrived in Ireland in the 1880s, we can establish a pattern of chain migration. In their book entitled, *Limerick Boycott 1904: Anti - Semitism in Ireland*, Keogh and McCarthy (2005), state, ‘Having

¹⁵ Akmijan as referred to in Dermot Keogh’s book *Jews in Twentieth- Century Ireland* (1998), is now called Akmene. Akmijan/ Akmene is a city in Lithuania. For further reading see O’Toole, F. (2009)

family and friends from Akmijan in Limerick, Goldberg moved there in 1883 and was taken in by his relatives, the Greenfields. The Weinronks, who arrived from Akmijan in the 1870s, were also his cousins' (ibid:8). What is apparent is the overwhelming evidence of the extended family connections.

According to McDonald and McDonald, (1964, p.90), a common feature of chain migration 'is the clustering of fellow townsmen'. As with the settlement patterns of the Irish in America, Canada and Britain, ethnic enclaves were established in Ireland by the Jewish immigrants. The largest of these being in Dublin which became known locally as, *Little Jerusalem* (Rivlin 2011). Similar cluster patterns occurred in Limerick, with most of migrants settling in around Edward Street and Colooney Street areas (Keogh and McCarthy 2005).

In addition to chain migration, the role of the London Jewish Board of Guardians is another consideration for Jewish migration to Ireland. As stated by Hochberg, (1988,1992, p.49), 'It was the policy of the Anglo-Jewish community during the years of 1881-1914 to send back to Eastern Europe many poor Jewish migrants who applied for relief'. Indeed, the London Jewish Board of Guardians would become the main 'instrument of repatriation'. The policy or the 'threat of repatriation was considered to have a deterring effect 'on migrants looking to come to Britain (ibid:49-50). The fear that a 'large influx of foreign Jews would strain the resources of Jewish charities, hinder the progress of anglicization and become a political issue in Great Britain', cultivated an anti-immigrant sentiment among the Anglo - Jewish community (ibid). Aligning with the London Jewish Board of Guardians, the *Jewish Chronical*, was also instrumental in the repatriation policy of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. In 1881, 'An editorial stressed that Russian Jews ought to remain in Russia and await better times' (ibid). Cesarani (1994), cites, the Jewish Chronicle,

'... never considered Britain a suitable haven for masses of refugees. It fully concurred with the policy of Anglo-Jewish relief agencies, like the Russo-Jewish Committee, of sending emigrants on to America, where it was assumed there were better prospects of their finding homes and work'

(ibid:70).

As a way to address the rising social problems of overcrowding, poverty and housing shortages, brought about by the continuous influx of Eastern European migrants. The

Jewish agencies established what Hochberg (1988,1992, p.53), describes as ‘a vague method of classification’. The younger immigrants were assisted to go to America while, others were granted loans to set up businesses. The remainder were dispersed to other areas, or repatriated (ibid). Stuart Rosenblatt also refers to the dispersing of the Eastern European Jews by the London Jewish Board of Guardians. Rosenblatt (2005), states,

‘Not everyone came from Achamine. Many emigrants came through London. Several records show they were sent to different towns and provinces of which Ireland was one. Due to the huge influx of emigrants into London a reception of dispersal center was opened to alleviate the congestion building up. The influx ...were helped to travel to other main towns throughout the British Isles including Belfast, Dublin, Cork and Limerick’

(ibid:16).

From the late nineteenth century, and more specifically the period ‘between the Irish Famine of 1845 – 49 and the First World War, was an era of free migration’ (O’Rourke 2009, p.50) According to O’Rourke, approximately ‘60 million Europeans emigrated to the New World between 1820 and 1914’ (ibid:51). In a bid to address the rising tensions, as mentioned above, legislation was the solution sought to control the large number of immigrants entering Britain. The Aliens Act, 1905 was the first modern attempt to control what Reinecke (2009, p.39) referred to, as Britain’s ‘laissez-faire migration policy’. Indeed, Wray (2006, p.308), states, ‘The Aliens Act, 1905 was the consequence of agitation around Jewish immigration into Britain as well as a broader hostility towards other nationalities including European’. Undoubtedly, the Aliens Act, 1905 would also control inward immigration to other parts of the British Empire. The following statistics supplied by the Central Statistics Office clearly demonstrate a decrease in inward Jewish migration into Ireland. The census reveals in the ten - year period between 1901 and 1911, Ireland’s Jewish community only increased by 799, as opposed to pre - legislative figures.

One of the sub questions which prompted this investigation, was to determine why Jewish migrants choose Ireland as a destination. Arguably, while migration between the 1880s – 1890s can be attributed to the pogroms and May Laws, the reason for Jewish migration *specifically* to Ireland we suggest, was twofold. The first as we have seen in the preceding section, was the result of chain migration. The second we will argue, is that Ireland was part of the solution to alleviate the inflow of Jewish emigrants who arrived into Britain throughout this period, especially towards the end of the 1890s. Ó Gráda (2006, p.25), suggests, the ‘serendipitous transfer of London immigrants to Ireland by the London

Jewish Board of Guardians in the early 1870s' maybe a contributing factor for the later immigration to Ireland, however, it is important to note there was only a minimal increase of 164 between 1871 and 1881, certainly not a major resettling program. Nonetheless, this earlier resettling initiative was possibly expedited on a much larger scale and could offer a logical explanation as to the unexpected larger number of Jewish migrants into Ireland between 1891-1901. It is important to note, this is conjecture as no evidence exists to substantiate this. Indeed, while Dublin's Jewish community experienced a population growth during the nineteenth century. Other cities including Limerick also witnessed an increase in its Jewish community.

3.6 Limerick's Jewish community and the Boycott/Pogrom of 1904

Although there was a very small number of Jews already residing in Limerick, four in total in 1881 (Keogh 1998, p.11). According to the census records between 1891 and 1901 the number had increased to 171.¹⁶ Jews in Limerick did experience outbreaks of anti-Semitism, the worst occurrence was the Limerick boycott of 1904, which is discussed in the next section. Various anti-Semitic incidences were reported in the local newspapers at the time. The subsequent editorial appeared in the *Limerick Chronicle*, dated May 3rd, 1884¹⁷, following an attack on a Jewish family from the previous month:

'Disturbances of a character new and novel in this city have recently created a considerable interest both here and elsewhere. It appears that for some years past a small colony of Polish Jews have been residing in Limerick, pursuing with intelligence and integrity the business of picture dealers. That they have been thoroughly inoffensive in their lives has never been for a moment questioned, and up to the afternoon of Good Friday last, it would appear that they have lived in perfect amity with their neighbors. It is quite possible that it will never transpire what the real incentive to the conflict and subsequent house wrecking which took place on the evening referred to actually was. It was averred that offence was taken in consequence of some "crackers" having been left off by one of the Israelites, and again, that an absurd objection was raised in consequence of the peculiar manner in which some fowl had been killed in the yard connected to with the house in which the three men lived ... Forthwith the unfortunate men and their families were wantonly attacked, their windows were battered in, and their furniture ruthlessly broken. A Jewish child of tender years was also struck with a stone and seriously injured ... The evident result was that two of the prisoners were committed to the goal for or a month, while

¹⁶ Census figures obtained from the Government of Ireland 2004, Material compiled and presented by the Central Statistics Office.

¹⁷ *The Limerick Chronicle* dated May 3rd, 1884.[online],available: <http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/jews%20of%20limerick%2002.pdf> [accessed 25-3-2019]

the third was simply bound over to the peace. It is quite evident that we have not heard the last to the Jew - baiting case.

The same report continues with an account of another incident, to what the newspaper referred to as, Jew – baiting.

‘At the City Petty Sessions, yesterday, a charge was made against a young man ... for having assaulted a Jew named BARON in Carey’s Road a few days ago since ... BARON was surrounded by a crowd of people who were evidently bent upon [sic] fight. That blood would have been spilt by the cowardly mob, had not the unfortunate man taken refuge in a house, there is no doubt whatever’

In 1892 the *Limerick Chronicle* dated 24th April, reported on an alleged assault against ‘two Jews named Benjamin Jaffey and Win Stain, and their wives. Jaffey stated that his wife had been knocked down and severely injured’. Other occurrences of a similar nature were reported in Cork in 1888. One such account, although unsubstantiated that the individuals involved were Jewish, Keogh and McCarthy (2005, pp.14-15), state, ‘two ‘foreigners’ known as Katz threatened to import both cheap labour and cheap produce from abroad. The two were popularly believed to be Jews ... Threats were made against the Jewish community by a number of trade unionists’. Further unprovoked attacks against Jews occurred in Cork in 1894 (ibid:15). Dublin also witnessed displays of hostilities when ‘an anti-Semitic poster campaign, against the newly arrived Jews’ occurred in 1886 (ibid). While there was sporadic outbreaks of anti-Semitism towards Ireland’s Jewish community. A defensive stance was adopted in some quarters of Irish society. The *Freeman’s Journal* spoke out against the poster campaign in Dublin, followed by Archbishop William Walsh after a complaint was made by Chief Rabbi Adler (ibid).

According to Hyman, (1972, p.212), ‘The Jews of Limerick were generally engaged in the smaller branches of retail trading, as milk vendors and travelling drapers in the rural districts ...and depended for their livelihood on the good-will of their customers’. However, on the 11th January 1904, the parishioners of Limerick were left fearful of their Jewish neighbours after a damning sermon from Fr John Creagh of the Redemptorist Order (ibid). Creagh’s main accusation against the Jews of Limerick, was the method by which they conducted their business especially the instalment plan system and moneylending. Other allegations were made by Creagh, ‘accusing them of shedding Christian blood, going so far as to that they would ‘kidnap and slay Christian children’

(ibid). Prior to Creagh's sermon, an article had appeared in the *Limerick Chronicle* dated 9th January 1904,¹⁸ the caption stated, '*Strange nuptial rites: 'Stroller' at a Jewish wedding*', to which Creagh referred to in his sermon. The article described the recent wedding of Fanny Toohey and Maurice B. Maissell.

'Through the windows of the home of the bride, near which was a long line of carriages the passer-by could see burning the bridal candles, and in the house and at it, everyone wore the whitest of neckties, the most fashionable of garments, the spotliest [sic] of white gloves, and the most dainty of wedding flowers ...'

Creagh made accusations regarding what he considered were the good fortunes of the Jewish community since their arrival in Limerick stating:

'The Jews came to Limerick apparently the most miserable tribe imaginable,... but now they had enriched themselves,... Their rags have been exchanged for silk. They have wormed themselves into every form of business ...and traded even under Irish names'

(Keogh 1998, p.29).

Creagh continued with his sermon pointing out the evils of the weekly instalment plans, alleging that housewives were the victims of the Jews:

'The Jew has a good sweet tongue when he wishes – he passes off his miserable goods upon her. She has to spare and stint to get money to pay off the Jew without her husband knowing it'

(ibid).

Creagh encouraged his parishioners to have no 'commercial dealings with the Jews' (ibid:30), leading to an all - out boycott against Jewish businesses. On leaving Fr Creagh's sermon the congregation had to pass by Colooney Street, where the majority of Limerick's Jewish community lived. In fear of the threatening mob, the Jewish community stay locked in their homes until the intimidating crowd had passed (ibid). However, Jewish shops had remained open, Keogh states, 'One old Fenian – single - handily defended a shop from attack until the police arrived to mount a guard' (ibid:31). In fear for his community, Rabbi Elias Levin wrote to Political leaders in Ireland including Jewish organisations in Britain seeking their support. In a correspondence to Michael Davitt, on January 15th, Rabbi Levin said the 'priests allegations were devoid of

¹⁸ *Limerick Chronicle* dated 9th January 1904. [online], available: <http://www.limerickcity.ie/Library/LocalStudies/LocalStudiesFiles/J/JewsofLimerick/> [accessed 25-3-2019]

any particular truth’, and sought his involvement to prevent a ‘boycott or rioting’(Keogh and McCarthy 2005, p.42). In response to Rabbi Levin’s letter, Davitt responded directly publishing his response in the *Freeman’s Journal*, refuting the claims of Fr Creagh (ibid). Rabbi Levin also sought protection from the police for the Jewish community from further hostilities. John Redmond the Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party also came to the defence of the Limerick Jews:

‘I have no sympathy whatever with the attacks upon the Hebrew Community in Limerick or elsewhere. I feel sure that the good sense and spirit of toleration of the Irish people will be sufficient to protect them from any wrong’

(ibid).

Evidently not being deterred by political condemnation, on the 18th January Creagh began his second sermon to a ‘loud applause from the congregation’(ibid:52). While Creagh condemned the violence towards the Jews, however, as Keogh and McCarthy point out, ‘he used injudicious language that only went to heighten and inflame emotions against the Jews’. (ibid). Creagh concluded by advising the congregation to ‘leave the Jews alone’, his sermon was effectively an incitement to violence’(ibid:55). While the local RIC feared more outbreaks of violence following Creagh’s sermon, no incidents occurred. The District Inspector O’Hara reported ‘a general improvement in the situation’ (ibid). Although isolated attacks continued the RIC deputy inspector general, H. Considine:

‘felt it was better to act as if ‘nothing really serious has occurred’, and to leave matters to the local police force and ‘to the good sense of the people’. He concluded that ‘after some little time no doubt with the assistance of the local Parish clergy ... the matter will blow over’

(ibid).

To quote Hyman:

‘The boycott lasted two years, and drove out eighty members of the community from Limerick; fewer than forty were left. ... So ended a sad but uncharacteristic and atypical episode, but the congregation did not recover, either numerically or economically, from the evil impact.

(1972, p.217).

As a point of interest, Dermot Keogh in his (1998), book *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, refers to the occurrences in Limerick in 1904, as a pogrom. Conversely, in a subsequent publication co-written with Andrew McCarthy (2005), *Limerick Boycott*

1904: Anti - Semitism in Ireland, Keogh changes his position from pogrom, to boycott, stating, ‘The fact that we have chosen to entitle the book ‘Limerick Boycott 1904’ will indicate our preference’ (ibid: xvi). Keogh and McCarthy are not alone in categorising the events of 1904, as a boycott. In 2010 the *Limerick Leader* dated 6th November, its headlines read ‘*Jewish envoy says Limerick pogrom is ‘over-portrayed’*,

‘the new Israeli ambassador, Boaz Modai, speaking at the Jewish cemetery in Castletroy ... ‘I think it is a bit over-portrayed, meaning that usually if you look up the word pogrom it is used in relation to slaughter and being killed. This is what happened in many other places in Europe, but this is not what happened here. There was a kind of a boycott against Jewish merchandise for a while, but that’s not a pogrom’

The portrayal of the Jewish community by the local newspaper in fueling the events in Limerick is worth considering. As discussed above the newspaper article dramatised the wealth of the Jewish community, against the backdrop of the poor Irish as onlookers ‘with women in ragged shawls, and overawed barefooted children’ (Keogh and McCarthy 2005, p.38). Likewise, in Russia ‘an anti-Semitic press campaign... had been going on for years’ (Klier 2011, p.63). The newspapers according to Klier, accelerated the spread of ‘misinformation and rumor that played such an important role in sparking the pogroms’(ibid:59). By analysing the comparability between the events in Limerick and Russia, it is clear that the anti – Jewish press campaign on both occasions contributed to the attacks on the Jews. As van Dijk (1987, p.126) has argued ‘most information about ethnic minority groups is formulated by or transmitted through the mass media’. In a similar vein, Breen et al. (2005, p.3), states, ‘content can influence public perceptions on various issues, as well as helping to form or sustain attitudes. This is certainly evident in the context of the Irish case.

3.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore the push and pull factors which motivated Jews from Russia /Lithuanian to come Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s, including the social interaction between Ireland’s Jewish minority and the wider Irish Catholic community. The mass migration of Jews from the Russian empire we would argue, was a consequence of political oppression which ultimately gave rise to economic hardship. We have noted that leading historians, differ in their arguments as to why Ireland became a destination

for Jews during the period discussed above. After considering both points of view, this researcher favors Ó Gráda's (2006), position that economic migration was a factor in the push and pull factors for Jewish migration to Ireland, but not exclusively. We must also consider the role of chain migration and the dispersal of immigrants from Eastern Europe by the British Jewish Authorities as a logical explanation for Jewish migration to Ireland.

In examining the events in Limerick in 1904, these occurrences were irrefutably anti-Semitic, propagated by the media of the day. As noted above the events in Limerick previously referred to as a pogrom, have since been reconsidered. Indeed, when compared to the Russian pogroms of 1881 and the atrocities during World War Two, the term boycott, we will argue, would best describe the events in Limerick. Indeed, if any parallels are to be drawn between Limerick and Russia, it was the representation of the Jews by the media which as we have noted, were influential in both events.

Chapter Four: Ireland's Independence and Jewish Identity

'the man who is a good Catholic is a good Nationalist'

(John Dillon 1890 in Nutt and Gray 1994, p.8).

4.1 Introduction

Having examined the arrival of Ireland's early Jewish migrants in the nineteenth century, the following chapter will now consider Ireland's Jewish community within the broader context of Irish history in particular, the contribution from the Jewish community to the nationalist cause in Ireland. In keeping with the overall theme of this research, the chapter will discuss the notion of dual identity, that is of being - both Jewish and Irish - in an emerging nation - state, at a time when Irish nationalism and Catholicism became intertwined within an 'ideological fusion of Catholicism and Irish identity' (Garvin 1987, p.67).

In order to explore the relationship between the Irish - Jewish community and nationalism, this chapter will be organised as follows. The first section 4.1 will discuss the early aspirational years of the Home Rule Movement and the 1916 Easter Rising, which reflected the ambitions of both the wider Catholic society and the Jewish community, in their efforts to achieve political independence from Britain. Section 4.2 will look at Ireland and the Paris Peace Conference and the hope for international recognition of Ireland's sovereignty. The revolutionary aspirations of the War of Independence between 1919-1921, resulting in the partition of Ireland, including the creation of the Irish Free State will also be addressed in this section. The main focus of section 4.3 is to discuss Ireland's Jewish community during the revolutionary years in Ireland. In order to achieve this, four cases studies will be presented which highlight the contribution from this minority group to the wider national cause and indeed, Irish politics. The case studies will be organised as follows, Robert Briscoe; Michael Noyk (which will be presented as a vignette), Estella Solomons and Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim. The fourth section 4.4 will discuss the political ambitions for a new independent Ireland, which were reflected in the Constitution of 1922, and the Irish Civil War in 1923. The final section 4.5 will discuss the overall findings, thus concluding this chapter.

'To be Irish was to be "not English"'

(Nelson 2012, p.121).

4.2 Ireland's Independence

'Between 1913 and 1923 a 'political revolution' occurred in Ireland' (McGarry, 2010, p.8). This 'violent' decade included international war, rebellion, guerrilla warfare, partition, secession, and civil war-shaped modern-day Ireland' (ibid), (See also Fitzpatrick, 1998, Garvin, 1987, and Howe, 2000). The 'rise of Romanticism and romantic nationalism across Europe' (James 1999, p.127), largely influenced the ideals of Irish nationalism and desired autonomy for Ireland. 'Protestant radicals like Wolfe Tone'(ibid:126),were inspired by the revolutions in France and American (ibid), drawing on an what Fitzpatrick (1998, p.26), describes as an 'idealized vision of the past, in which the nation had been free to pursue its chosen course'. The dogma of nationalism James (1999, p.129), states, created 'a history depicting the Irish people as struggling against foreign invaders while maintaining their cultural identity... placing Catholic faith at its center'. Indeed, as English (2011, p.448), states, Catholicism was 'decisive ... in shaping nationalism and its associated battles'.

The nineteenth century witnessed successive Home Rule Movements which campaigned for political independence from Britain.'Constitutionalist leaders from O'Connell to Parnell and then Redmond'(Fitzpatrick 1998, p.26), 'articulated a longstanding Irish desire for the repeal of the Act of Union of 1801' (Jackson 2003, p.9), in the hope that 'freedom from English exploitation would enable the Irish nation to modernize its social and economic organization ...'(Fitzpatrick 1998, p.26). Indeed, various attempts to establish autonomy from Britain were unsuccessful in gaining support from the British Parliament (Shepard 1912, p.564, see also Jackson, 2003¹⁹). However, John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, successfully campaigned for the introduction of a third Home Rule Bill at Westminster in 1912. The Government of Ireland Act, (also known as the Home Rule Act,), was finally passed in 1914, by the British Parliament. However, due to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, a Bill to suspend the Government of Ireland Act, was introduced. The Suspensory Act, meant the delayed

¹⁹ For further reading on Home Rule in Ireland see, Jackson, A. (2003), '*Home Rule a History, 1800-2000*'.

implementation of Home Rule (Donaldson 1955; Jalland and Stubbs 1981). As Mansergh (1991, p.87), states, the ‘Irish question was on ice’. Although Home Rule in Ireland was achieved, the outbreak of World War One in 1914 meant Ireland would be denied the political autonomy it sought from Britain. For Townshend (2006, p.60), the outbreak of World War One, ‘was one of the decisive moments in the history of the modern world, and it proved decisive in the history of Ireland’.

4.3 Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association

While, Home Rule constituted the political aspirations of Catholic Ireland (Jackson 2003), the ‘political happenings of a country about to demand its freedom were not passing unnoticed by the Jewish community’(O’Brien 1981, p.8). In 1908 the Judaeo-Irish Home Rule Association was formed by members of the Dublin Jewish Community, who ‘formally announced Irish Jewish support for Irish national aspirations’ at their opening meeting (Miller-Rubens 2018, p.96). An account of the meeting was published in the *Irish Times* dated 11th September 1908²⁰:

‘A meeting under the auspices of Judaeo- Irish Home Rule Association was held last evening in the Mansion House. Mr Jacob Elyan presided, and there was a large attendance. Mr John Redmond, M.P., wrote saying that he was exceedingly gratified at the sympathetic interest the Jewish people of Dublin were taking in Home Rule. Mr John Dillon, M.P., wrote saying that he was very glad to hear of the success of the National movement amongst the Jewish people ... The Chairman said that this movement of theirs was the incipient realisation of a long cherished desire of many of them to put themselves into closer and more familiar relations with the inhabitants of this country. Speaking as a Jew brought up in this country, and as an Irishman proud of his associations and the country which has sheltered his co-religionist ... an utterly false conception of the idea and aims of the Jews prevailed amongst the people of this country, and in order to dispel the delusion ... which surrounded them they had formed the Association, the object of which should be to support and assist the Home Rule policy of the Irish people ... The Jews wished to show the people of Ireland that they were not unmindful of the equality of opportunity extended to them, but that they were anxious to translate this sympathy into action by assisting them ... in their efforts to obtain their national aspirations ... The Jews, who had for centuries tasted the bitter pill of persecution, should be the first to extend a helping hand to those people who were struggling for national freedom’

However, as Miller-Rubens (2018, p.98), states, ‘not all of Dublin’s Jews understood themselves in these terms, nor did they contend that the Irish Jewish community should

²⁰ ‘Judaeo- Irish Home Rule Association. Meeting in the Mansion House’, *Irish Times* dated 11th September 1908.

involve itself in the struggle for Home Rule’, as the following extract from the aforementioned article illustrates:

‘when the audience was dispersing a fight, in which about a dozen persons participated ... It appears that some of the Jews who were not in sympathy with the object of the meeting proclaimed their views rather loudly’

(ibid).

Philip Wigoder a prominent figure in Jewish affairs, and who had attended the meeting at the Mansion House, was among those who objected to the founding of the Judaeo- Irish Home Rule Association (Miller-Rubens 2018). In a letter to the editor of the *Irish Times*, Mr Wigoder publicly asserted his opinion of the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association. The following article was published in the *Irish Times* September 12th 1908²¹. The same article also appeared in the ‘*Jewish World*’ and the ‘*Jewish Chronicle*, London’s main Jewish periodicals’(Miller-Rubens 2018, p.99).

‘Sir,- as one who attended the above meeting at the Mansion House ... I, as a Jew most strongly deprecate and very deeply regret any attempt being made to form a distinct Jewish political organisation, and a resolution proposed implicating the whole Jewish community’

According to Miller-Rubens, (2018, p.99), Wigoder was ‘particularly concerned with the development of the current association in the Irish context’. Citing Wigoder, Miller-Rubens states, ‘As you are aware, Irish politics are largely a matter of religion, and the danger of religion in politics is only too well – known’ (ibid). Although Wigoder condemned the Jewish political movement, he instead suggested that Jews should join already formed organisations such as the ‘Home Rule Gaelic League or Sinn Féin’ (ibid). Although the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association would last only briefly, Miller-Rubens, (2018, p.105), asserts, it ‘did not succeed in playing a significant role in the future struggle of either the Irish or the Jewish communities involved’. However, Ó Gráda, (2006, p.190), points out, the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association was a ‘start in ... respect’ to integration of the Jewish community ‘into the nationalist mainstream’. While the total membership of the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association was unattainable, we can only make a conjecture based on the aforementioned *Irish Times* article 11th

²¹ Philip Wigoder letter to the editor. *Irish Times* September 12th 1908.

September 1908, which reported on the large crowd attending the meeting. It is interesting to note here, during the 1902, Wood Quay Ward local elections, James Connolly stood as an Irish Socialist Republican Party candidate. In order to gain support from the local Jewish community who ‘came to constitute a majority of the inhabitants in many of the streets of the Wood Quay Ward’ (O’Riordan 1988, p.124), Connolly had campaign leaflets printed in Yiddish (ibid:120).

4.4 1916 Rising

‘England’s difficulty is Ireland’s opportunity’

(Fanning 2013, p139).

‘On the 24th April 1916 ... Dublin, the second city of the extensive British empire ... At four minutes past noon, from the steps of Dublin’s General Post Office, the President of the Provisional Government, Pádraig Pearse, read the Proclamation of independence’

(Mary McAleese 2007, p.24).

As previously mentioned, the Irish Question was suspended following the outbreak of World War One, leading to what Laffan (1983, p.50), describes as ‘increased nationalists frustration’s and suspicions’. For Laffan, ‘The war undermined the Nationalists’ achievements and presented new opportunities to their radical critics’ (ibid). Indeed, The First World War as Jeffery (2000, p.47), states, ‘provided both the opportunity and the timing for the Irish republican rising of 1916’. Offering ‘both moment and mode’ (ibid). Conversely, Fitzpatrick (1998, p.58), maintains, ‘It was the enduring popularity of constitutionalism, not its failure, that led a motley band of frustrated militants to abandon the Queensbury rules of conventional nationalism’. The Easter Rising in 1916 was organised by a clandestine revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), in an alliance with the socialist James Connolly; founder of the Citizens Republican Army (Foy and Barton, 2011). The reviving of the IRB ‘began alongside a cultural and intellectual renaissance in Irish nationalism’. Indeed, as Foy and Barton state, ‘many younger nationalists diverted their energies into the Gaelic League and Gaelic Athletic Association which in turn became IRB recruiting grounds’ (ibid:11). Although there was limited expectation on the rising ever succeeding, the 1916 Easter Rising was considered ‘a symbolic blow for Irish independence, which would rekindle popular

nationalists sentiment' (Wynn 2017, p.5). Indeed, while 'The Easter Rising became the mythical point for modern armed Republicanism ... it was not a popular revolution' (Dorney 2017, p.9), in fact there was 'outright hostility to the rebels'(ibid). The Rising was 'condemned and deplored described as 'criminal, insane ... and a direct threat to home rule' (Wheatley 2007, p.61). Public opinion, however, changed towards the rebels due to the 'indiscriminacy and brutality of the military response' (Fitzpatrick 1992, p.199, See also Townshend 2006), including the execution of all 'seven signatories of the proclamation' (Fanning 2013, p.141). For Fanning 'Death transformed the leaders into martyrs and gave birth to the 'terrible beauty' immortalised in William Butler Yeats's 'Easter 1916' (ibid).

As hitherto discussed, the Jewish community's relationship with the nationalist cause for Ireland's freedom was expressed through the formation of movements such as the Judaeo-Irish Home Rule Association. In revisiting the narrative of the 1916 Easter Rising, through the 'lens of the 1916 centenary commemorations', Natalie Wynn (2017), explores 'Irish Jewish identity ... in which Jewish attitudes towards Irish nationalism have been remembered and represented in 2016'²² (Wynn 2017, p.5). The 2016 commemorations of the 1916 Rising, has created what Wynn refers to as,

'a renewed flurry of popular interest in contemporaneous Jewish attitudes towards the 1916 Easter Rising and towards Irish nationalism in general'.

(ibid).

Indeed, while, 'Commemorations are ostensibly about memory and remembering' (Daly and O'Callaghan 2007, p.2). Wynn (2017, p.7), however, is critical of the contemporary 'version' (ibid), of Jewish support for Irish nationalism; viewing it as problematic, 'nuanced'(ibid:11), comparing it's likeness to a 'fine wine, matures over the years and is consumed with due eagerness' (ibid:15). In a bid to deconstruct the narrative of Jewish collective memory which encompasses Jewish participation in Irish nationalism, Wynn (2017), has argued the questionable evidence of this occurrence, and claims events such as the 2016 commemorations had 'reinforced Jewish claims of participation in the foundational events of recent Irish history'(ibid:9). In order to substantiate her argument,

²² For further reading see, Wynn, N. (2017) 'Remember, reflex, reimagine: Jews and Irish nationalism through the lends of the 1916 centenary commemoration', *Kultura Popularna*.

Wynn cites Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth - Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti – Semitism and the Holocaust*, (1998), and Ó Gráda (2006), *Jewish Ireland in the Age of James Joyce A Socioeconomic History*, claiming that historians such as Keogh and Ó Gráda have ‘buttressed the popular version of events’(ibid:8). For Wynn, (2017), Keogh draws ‘questionable conclusions based on a small selection of the available material on Jewish attitudes towards Irish nationalism’ (Wynn 2017, pp.8-9), while Ó Gráda, ‘reconciles his findings to accepted version of events’ (ibid:9). Furthermore, Wynn also contends that primary sources ‘for Irish Jewry in the nineteenth and twentieth century are relatively scarce’ (ibid:12). In order to address some of the arguments raised by Wynn (2017), we will firstly, address the scarcity of primary sources, we will argue that this assertion is inaccurate; as this research project has illustrated. Equally, the absence of primary sources in relation to the Irish – Jewish community attitudes towards Irish nationalism Wynn cited the *Jewish Chronicle* as one of the ‘most important sources’ (ibid:12), stating:

‘... the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper, the organ of the Anglo- Jewish communal establishment, which provided a medium for all British communities to report their news and air their views on a wide range of topics including, occasionally, Irish politics. The *Jewish Chronicle* supplements the information available from communal archives as well as providing glimpses into the lives and thoughts of individual members of the Irish Jewish community’

However, Wynn overlooked another primary source such as the *Jewish World* which equally provides an insight into Ireland’s Jewish community at this particular period in Irish history. Articles from the *Jewish World* reported on the attitudes of the Irish – Jewish community towards their British co-religionist which reflect the political climate in Ireland in this period. Indeed, the years between 1919 and 1922 ‘witnessed a political and military conflict within Ireland against British rule’ (Fanning et al. 1998, p.xi). ‘From the autumn of 1918 until late 1919 home rule was dead as a practical issue in British politics’ (Murphy 1986, p.82). Conversely, Fitzpatrick (1998, p.75), argues, for ‘nationalists ... Home Rule was no longer an option’. Following the 1916 Rising, of the volunteers who had not been interned or executed had the task of reassembling the movement (Rees 1998). On the 21st January 1919, at the first national assembly of Dáil Éireann, witnessed the publication of the Declaration of Independence:²³

‘the Irish people is by right a free people:

²³ See Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, No. 2, Reprinted *Minutes and Proceedings of the First Dáil of the Republic of Ireland 1919-1921* (Dublin, 1994) ‘*Declaration of Independence*’ ‘Dublin 21 January 1919.

And Whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation ...
And Whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people'

As Fitzpatrick (1998, p.81), states, the creation of the ministry 'had been a rhetorical gesture, lending further *gravitas* to the Dáil's assertion of national sovereignty'.

Finally, to address Wynn's argument regarding the work of Keogh and Ó Gráda, it should be noted that Keogh's book was published in 1998 and Ó Gráda's in 2006, an important point to which Wynn did not refer to in her overall argument. Evidently, as this research project has illustrated archival material has been made available that was possibly inaccessible prior to the publication of Dermot Keogh and Cormac Ó Gráda. While Keogh's seminal work in *Jews in Twentieth - Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust*, (1998), has previously been hailed as the most comprehensive account of the Jewish community in Ireland (Tracy,1999), however, as this research study has demonstrated gaps still remained in the overall narrative of the Irish - Jewish community, as noted by Keogh (2008). Nonetheless, even critics such as Wynn has contended that historians such as Keogh 'opened the floodgates for a renewed deluge of interest in Irish Jewry' (Wynn 2015, p.88). While commentators such as Natalie Wynn contest the historical accuracy of Jewish participation in Ireland's independence, for one member of the Irish - Jewish community Robert Briscoe, which will be discussed in section 4.6 of this chapter, the events of the 1916 Easter Rising, inspired Briscoe to 'engage in the republican struggle ... becoming a Sinn Féin activist' (McCarthy 2016, p.17).

4.5 Irish Recognition at the Paris Peace Conference: War of Independence 1919-1921

The armistice²⁴ following the end of World War One, brought about a 'novel opportunity to seek a settlement through international pressure rather than domestic compromise' (Fitzpatrick (1998, pp.75-76). The Fourteen Points for world peace which Lloyd George and President Woodrow Wilson declared on January 1918, was 'the entitlement of small European nations to statehood'(ibid:76). This then became the perfect platform for Republican aspirations 'as the post -war peace conference might fruitfully be used to

²⁴ The Paris Peace Conference also known as the Versailles Peace Conference.

advance Ireland's ... claim to self-determination'(ibid). Along with asserting Ireland's independence on the 21st January 1919, a document entitled *Message to the Free Nations of the World*, also dated 21st January 1919, including a Democratic Programme was also proclaimed at the inaugural meeting of the Dáil, articulating Ireland's independence and called upon all the free nation to support the Irish cause for self - determination; and Ireland's right to representation at the Peace Conference (Fitzpatrick 1998). The principle of the document was based on the belief that Ireland was a nation due to her 'race, the language, the customs and the traditions ... [as] radically distinct from English'. The following is an excerpt from, *Message to the Free Nations of the World*:

'To the Nations of the World!

Greetings.

The Nation of Ireland having proclaimed her national independence, calls through her elected representatives in Parliament assembled in the Irish Capital on January 21st, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognizing Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication at the Peace Conference. Nationally, the race, the language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English' ²⁵

However, Ireland's appeal for international recognition failed to gain the legitimacy sought by the representatives of the 'Provisional Government of the Republic of Ireland' (Rees 1998, p.253), leaving the Irish delegates excluded from the Paris Conference. In a letter address to Georges Clemenceau at the Paris Peace Conference ²⁶ dated 26 May 1919, Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count George Plunkett, outlined their objection to Irish representation by Britain:

Sir,

On the 17th we forwarded you a note requesting you to warn the Conference that the Irish people will not be bound by the signatures of the English or British Delegates to the Conference in as much as these Delegates do not represent Ireland. We now further request that you will provide an opportunity for the consideration by the Conference of Ireland's claim to be recognised as an Independent Sovereign State' ²⁷

²⁵ See Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, No. 2, Reprinted *Minutes and Proceedings of the First Dáil of the Republic of Ireland 1919 -1921* (Dublin, 1994) '*Message to the Free Nations of the World* 'Dublin 21 January 1919.

²⁶ Georges Clemenceau was the French Prime Minister during World War One, and one of the delegates at the Paris Peace Conference.

²⁷ No. 12 NAI DFA ES Paris 1919, Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count George Plunkett to Georges Clemenceau (Paris) (Copy) Dublin, 26 May 1919.

Notwithstanding the diplomatic approach taken to secure Irish independence at the Peace Conference. From January 1919, sporadic attacks from local Volunteer groups, engaged in targeting and assassinating members of the police force, beginning a cycle of violence, intensifying throughout 1919 -1920 (Lee 1989, Fitzpatrick 1998). The campaign of violence ‘waged against the British authorities in Ireland resulted in a state of total anarchy which lasted well into the summer of 1921’ (Gray1994, p.71). Britain’s solution to the violence was a political settlement in the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, in 1920, providing the ‘legal basis for the setting up of Northern Ireland’ (Keogh 1994, p.1). The legislation provided for two parliaments effectively partitioning Ireland. In ‘May 1921 the Government of Ireland Act, came into force’ (Gray1994, p.72). Documents obtained from the British National Archives clearly show a wiliness by both Lloyd George and de Valera to end hostilities and call a truce between both countries. On June 24, 1921, an invitation from Lloyd George was sent to De Valera to attend a conference in London. In response to Lloyd George’s invitation dated June 28, 1921, de Valera refused, based on the denial by Britain to ‘Ireland’s essential unity and set aside the principles of national self - determination’²⁸. Nevertheless, an Irish delegation was sent to London to negotiate the treaty on offer by Britain, on the 6th December 1921 the Irish delegation signed the treaty, bringing about the creation of the Irish Free State (Fanning 2013).

4.6 Ireland’s Jewish Community and the Revolutionary Years in Ireland

This section of the chapter will return to the Irish - Jewish community, and its relationship with the nationalist cause. As previously discussed, the formation of the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association albeit short lived, for Ó Gráda (2006, p.190), was a starting point for integration ‘into the nationalist mainstream’. Indeed, as noted above, not all members of the Jewish community desired affiliation with the nationalist struggle. However, in exploring matters of identity of being Irish, Jewish and British subjects in the context of Jewish support for Irish home rule, Miller Rubens (2018, p.102), suggests, ‘Most Irish Jews did not share the nineteenth - century history of British Jewish emancipation, and they were not ‘British’ by communal tradition or by birth’. Indeed, owing to the recent increase of Ireland’s Jewish population from the 1880s, it brought a demographic increase

²⁸ The National Archives of the UK (TNA) CAB/24/128 ‘Proposals of His Majesty’s Government for an Irish Settlement’. Mr. de Valera’s reply to the Prime Minister, Dublin June 28, 1921.

in population and with its difficulties between the London based British Jewry and Dublin's Jewish community. Miller Rubens also states, 'by the time the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association had its inaugural meeting ... troubles between these London-based authorities and Dublin's Irish Jews were already brewing' (ibid:103).

In reaction to the rebellious Jewish community, a delegation from the Board of Deputies in London were 'sent ... to investigate the activities of the Irish Jewish community ... to exert authority over the various Jewish congregations operating in Dublin' (Miller Rubens 2018, p.103). Indeed, the tensions and obvious disconnect which existed between the British and Irish Jewish communities were reported in the *Jewish World* (1907). Citing the *Jewish World* 1907, Miller Ruben (2018), states, the newsprint 'highlighted the fractured and unruly nature of the Dublin Jewry'; "It may be said, Dublin Jews of the Irish capital steadfastly refused to be governed by London" (*Jewish World* 1907), cited in (Miller Ruben 2018, p.103). Likewise, the independence sought by the Irish - Jewish community certainly mirrored the climate of rebellion in Ireland against British rule and is significant in terms of not only Irish – Jewish identity, but the relationship between Jewish communal affairs and Irish nationalism. As Miller Rubens noted, 'in a very real sense, Irish Jews were also shouting their own war cry for communal Home Rule to the British Jewish establishment' (ibid:104).

What follows are four case studies which offer accounts of Jewish representation during the revolutionary years in Ireland. The first study will discuss Robert Briscoe, followed by Michael Noyk, and Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim, concluding with Estella Solomon.

Robert Briscoe

McCarthy (2016, p.1), argues, that 'Robert Briscoe was one of the most important Irish politicians of the twentieth century, as well as being one of the most undervalued and under - researched'. For Ó Gráda (2006, p.190), 'Robert Briscoe would play an important part in the Republican movement after the Easter Rising of 1916'. Robert Emmet Briscoe was born in Dublin in September 1894, his father Abraham was originally from Lithuania. On arrival in Ireland 'Abraham ...enthusiastically embraced his new Irish identity by quickly mastering a basic English which enabled him to secure a job' (McCarthy 2016, p.8). Abraham met and married Robert Briscoe's mother Ida Yodaiken in Germany sometime after. Robert Briscoe (Bob), grew up in a time when Ireland was experiencing

political upheaval in a struggle against Britain for independence. Briscoe's 'developing national consciousness' (ibid:8), was certainly not surprising as he was 'brought up to be a proud patriot steeped in the revolutionary traditions of Wolf Tone by his father' (ibid:11). While Abraham supported Ireland's right to freedom he believed, however, it should be achieved by 'constitutional means' (Briscoe 1958, pp.18-19). Regardless, Robert Briscoe joined Sinn Féin becoming a member of Michael Collins staff. Documents held in the Military archives of Ireland reveal how Robert Briscoe participated in gathering arms for the IRA when he [Briscoe] along with Charlie Magennis were sent to Germany to procure arms during the War of Independence²⁹. The document also indicate the pro-Irish sentiment of the German authorities for the Irish nationalist cause. Further documents obtained from Robert Briscoe's personal papers courtesy of Ben and Carol Briscoe, illustrate some interesting insights into the gun running operations during the War of Independence. One such document from Liam Deasy³⁰ to Robert Briscoe contain detailed co-ordination and instructions for the landing of arms at Helvic Head, Dungarvan Co. Waterford in 1921. The securing of arms would enable the IRA struggle to continue against Britain (McCarthy 2016).

Briscoe's allegiance with the anti-Treaty side during the Irish Civil War led him to develop strong ties and a lifelong friendship with Eamon de Valera. However, this alliance with the anti-Treaty supporters would put Briscoe on the Free State Government's wanted list. Citing Briscoe (1958, p.5), 'the Free State Government singled me out as such a dangerous character was a tribute I valued, for it showed they knew I had served Ireland well ...' In addition, Robert Briscoe was one of the founding members of de Valera's new republican party Fianna Fáil in 1926. And first elected as a Fianna Fáil T.D (Teachta Dála), in 1927 (McCarthy 2014). The continued political commitment from Robert Briscoe was evident when he 'successful defend his seat eleven times'(ibid), becoming the first Jewish Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1956 serving a second term in 1961.

²⁹BMH. WS0400/ Military Archives, Ireland. 'Statement by Witness, Richard Walsh'. The Bureau of Military History 1913-1921 was established in 1947 for the purpose of gathering witness statements from some of the surviving veterans of the Easter Rising and War of Independence. The statements were collected over a period of 10 years. Information regarding the 'Witness Statements' was provided by the Military Archives of Ireland.

³⁰ Liam Deasy was an officer in the Irish Republican Army during the War of Independence including the Irish Civil War.

Michael Noyk

Dublin born Michael Noyk was a Jewish solicitor and republican activists. Noyk had close personal and professional ties with key figures such as Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, acting as their legal adviser. Noyk also deafened senior IRA prisoner as Seán MacEoin while also defending members of the Cumann na mBan. In 1918 ‘Noyk took legal action against the police for seizing Sinn Féin election literature and was agent for both Seán T O’Kelly and Countess Markievicz’ (Hanley 2021). On his death in 1966 Michael Noyk was buried with ‘honors accorded by The Dublin Brigade of the Old IRA’ (Rivlin 2011, p.192). A transcript of Michael Noyk’s statement is freely available in the Military Archives of Ireland, which provides an insight into the close associations between Noyk and the nationalist movement.

The following vignette is an extract from the aforementioned transcript dated 4th July 1952, entitled, *Statement by Witness Michael Noyk*:³¹

‘About 1909-10 when I left Trinity College, I remember being introduced to Arthur Griffith by Seamus O’ Sullivan. At the same time, I met Jack Morrow, the artist, who was an intimate friend of Sean McDermott and Bulmer Hobson. Jack Morrow’s house ... was a great center for people to meet. Bulmer Hobson and Sean McDermott were regular visitors there. As a matter of fact, Sean McDermott had an office in No. 12, which was the Irish Freedom Office. Then the circle widened, and I became acquainted with Sean McGarry and I used to meet Griffith in the Baily Restaurant and all the different prominent people in the Movement at the time ... Griffith and myself became very close friends and I spent many evenings in his home where I got a very intimate knowledge of his character.

In or about May 1918, the British invented a German Plot scare which they used as an excuse to round up nearly all the leaders and prominent men they could lay their hands on amongst whom, in particular, was Arthur Griffith. A vacancy occurred in East Cavan and Arthur Griffith was selected to stand as a candidate and his opponent was a man called O’Hanlon, who owned the local paper called “The Anglo -Celt”. O’Hanlon was a man of considerable influence in the country. Again, men came from every part of Ireland to support Griffith’s candidature ...I took part in the election and spent a week in Bailieboro.

The Dáil, having set up various ministries, including the Ministry of Finance, my services were constantly called on by Michael Collins, who was Minister for Finance ... A very important office was obtained by me ... This office was used by Daithi Ó Donnchaha. It was also used by Mr. George McGrath, Accountant, brother to Joe McGrath. He was subsequently appointed Auditor-General on the setting up of the Free State. In this particular office there was a secret room built into the wall where papers could be kept with safety ... I

³¹ BMH.WS0707/ Military Archives, Ireland. ‘Statement by Witness, Michael Noyk’. See above footnote regarding ‘Statement by Witness’ documents.

also obtained offices for the Department of Justice ... This office was used by Austin Stack's staff and himself when he came out of Belfast Goal ... I also got an office for Mick Collins ... Eventually all these offices were raided.

At this particular time I was constantly in touch with Michael Collins in other spheres of activity connected with his position as Director of Organisation, intelligence and Adjutant General according as he occupied these various positions.

Shortly after the Truce there was great gathering in Vaughn's Hotel, of all the men who were around Mick Collins. It was a farewell party given to Harry Boland before proceeding to America ... It was a joyous occasion and Mick Collins recited "McDonnell of the Glens" - an old Scottish song. Little did we think that night of the events that were in store before another year passed. It is well for mortal man that he cannot see into the future'

Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim

Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim was born in London in 1857, and was the daughter of Henri Biscoffsheim, a wealthy London banker who founded three of the world's largest banks (Jewish Chronicle 2014³²). In 1881, Ellen married William Cuffe the 4th Earl of Desart, following the death of her husband Ellen moved to her Auteven home on the outskirts of Kilkenny (Historic Kilkenny 2019³³). Countess Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim became the first female Jewish member of the Irish Senate from 1922 – 1933. Along with her charity work in Ireland, Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim also funded the Poor Jewish Temporary Shelter in London for the refugees fleeing the Russian pogroms of 1881. Her uncle was Baron De Hirsch who founded the Jewish Colonization Association which was established to re-locate Russian, Lithuanian, and Latvian Jews to Canada, America and Argentina (Murry 2014). Countess Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim became the first female Jewish member of the Irish Senate in 1922 until 1933, (Jewish Museum 2019). She was an avid supporter of the Irish language and was elected president of the Gaelic League. Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim was responsible for the funding of the Auteven Hospital in Kilkenny, Kilkenny Library, Desart Hall, Kilkenny Theater, Kilkenny Woolen Mills, and commissioned the building of Talbots Inch village.

³²Jewish Chronicle, Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim [online], available: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/council-tribute-to-aristocrat-who-was-ireland-s-first-lady-of-giving-1.52265> [accessed 11-10-2019].

³³ Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim, [online], available: <https://www.historickilkenny.com/lady-desart> [accessed 11-10-2019].

Estella Solomon

As previously discussed in this chapter, the growth of Irish nationalism and the ‘isolation’ sought from Britain (McCarthy 2014, P.8), were reflected in movements such as the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association, in essences, they became the ‘cultural expression of Irish nationalism’ (ibid:8). Within this climate of nationalist ideals ‘political organisations and campaign’s ... almost exclusively ascribed to men’ (Paseta 2013, p.10). However, women’s military organisations such as the Cumann na Ban, enabled the political expression sought by women and was to become the ‘most influential women’s group in twentieth – century Ireland’(ibid:5).

Before examining Estella Solomon and her contribution to the nationalist cause, it is essential to consider the broader attitudes towards women in general at this period in Irish history. Indeed, what makes this case study interesting and perhaps complex, is on the one hand, Estella Solomon was a woman at a time when the general populace ‘subscribed to the churches attitudes towards gender, accepting that there were “separate spheres” of activities for men and women, with women confined largely to the domestic realm’ (Biletz 2002, p.60), and on the other hand, Estella Solomon was Jewish in a country where the characteristics of Irishness were fundamentally Catholic. Therefore, it is against the backdrop of Catholic nationalist conservatism and the ‘politically active nationalist women’ such as Estella Solomon, ‘who believed they had a stake in the development of modern Ireland’ (Paseta 2013, p.1), that we begin the narrative of Estella Solomon.

In conducting research for this section, Estella Solomon has by far proven the most difficult of the four chosen case studies. Owing to the lack of primary sources, or in fact, literary sources, much about Estella Solomon and her military career remains unknown. However, after a lengthy search for any evidence of Estella’s connection to the Irish Rebellion, Estella Solomon’s name appears on the membership listings of the Cumann na mBan held in the Military Archives of Ireland. Unfortunately, this appears to be the only document which record’s Estella Solomon’s military career or relationship with the nationalist cause to date. Indeed, while, records appear to be sparse, this one document has at least established that Estella Solomon participated in the Irish Rebellion. To discuss Estella Solomon and her contribution to Ireland’s independence, what follows then, outside of the reference to Estella’s membership to the Cumann na mBan, is a reliance on previous albeit, limited literary sources available on Estella Solomon.

Estella Solomon was born in 1882 and came from a prominent Jewish family in Dublin and was described as a ‘leading artist of her time’ (Keogh 1998, p.61 see also Rivlin 2011), Estella joined the Ranelagh branch of the Cumann na mBan in 1915 under Captain Phyllis Ryan, and actively assisted the Republican movement by transporting and concealing weapons and ammunition. At various times Estella’s art studio became a safe house for the War of Independence revolutionaries (Kennedy 2015). Further links with the revolutionary movement can be established when in November 1923, Ernie O’Malley a Republican Officer during the War of Independence, and an eventual anti-Treaty supporter, corresponded with Estella ‘from prison ... shortly after the end of his forty-day hunger strike’ (English 1998, p.161). Estella Solomon’s military and political career ceased with the end of the Civil War (Kennedy 2015).

4.7 The Irish Free State and the Irish Civil War

The constitutional status of Ireland as defined by the Act of Union in 1801, was ‘transformed by the dual ‘settlement’ of 1921-2’ (Fitzpatrick 1998, p.3), allowing ‘for the creation of the Irish Free State, a self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth’ (Dorney 2017, p.22). Indeed, whereas, the Treaty was viewed as a positive ‘step forward for Irish self - determination compared to previous initiatives, such as the Home Rule Act of 1914 and the Government of Ireland Act of 1920’ (ibid). However, as Dorney (2017, p.22), states, ‘For many Republicans, ... it represented a humiliating retreat from their goal of an all – Ireland independent Republic’. Between December 1921 and January 1922, the terms of the Anglo – Irish Treaty were debated in Dáil Éireann. The bitter arguments between the pro and anti – Treaty supporters, exposed the divisions between both sides, these divisions would eventually split the new Irish Free State (Fewer 2018).

Indeed, an important aspect of the Anglo-Irish settlement was the form of government to be established in the Irish Free State (Mansergh 1991). As Rees (1998, p.302), notes, ‘This constitution was to be framed by the Provisional Government and was, of course, to be consistent with the Treaty’. The style of constitution proposed by Michael Collins was a Republican constitution with no reference to the British monarchy (ibid). The emerging Irish Free States in which its constitution recognised that all authority comes from God, was rejected by the British Government, ‘insisting that the constitution

acknowledge the authority of the Crown, including the Oath of Allegiance to the King’ (Dorney 2017, p.59). The Irish Free State as Fitzpatrick (1998, pp.3-4), states, ‘where Protestants, Jews, freethinkers, and other oddities comprised less than a thirteenth of the population, the new rulers blatantly identified Catholic with national values. In a bid to influence public opinion the Provisional Government approached the Catholic Hierarchy ... in October 1922 to secure condemnation of the anti – Treatyites’ (Keogh 1994, p.13). In support of the Provisional Government the Hierarchy ‘published a statement on 22 October censuring the campaign of destruction ... Those involved were ‘guilty of the gravest sins, and may not be absolved in Confession, nor admitted to Holy Communion, if they purposed to persevere in such evil courses’(ibid). However, Church support for the Provisional Government and the condemning of anti – Treaty political prisoners had already begun before the public condemnation in October of 1922. A letter from George Noble Plunkett dated 24th July 1922 to Archbishop Edward Byrne states:³⁴

‘My Dear Archbishop,
I have a rather painful duty to perform. I have read a copy of a letter from a Republican soldier known to me as a prisoner in Mountjoy, who writing to his mother, says that the chaplain on Saturday last refused absolution to him and his fellow soldiers unless they undertook not to fight against the Provisional Government and that the chaplain said he and been ordered to do so by your Grace. From another source I hear that your priests who visit the jail on Saturday last refused absolution to all the Republican prisoners ...’

The letter continued with a request that the chaplains should not ‘impose any restrictions connected with politics on the imprisoned men’(ibid). The eventual partnership that would exist between Church and State in Ireland (Fahey 1998), and the ‘gradual incorporation of the Catholic moral code into the law of the land’ (Hogan 1987, p.51), was already beginning to emerge in the nascent Irish Free State. In fact, sections of the proposed 1922 Constitution³⁵ concerning religious and social matters was sent to Archbishop Byrne for approval. What is interesting to noted here is the religious freedoms expressed in the present 1937 Constitution, were already established in the 1922 Constitution under Article 8, which guaranteed the ‘free profession and practice of religion’. The ‘Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Act 1922 was enacted ... in October 1922, allowing the ‘Irish Free State to [come] into effect on 6 December 1922’ (Kenneally and Tully 2013, p.41). Although Irish independence had

³⁴ IE/DDA/AB7 ‘Papers of Archbishop Edward Byrne’.

³⁵ IE/DDA/AB7 ‘Papers of Archbishop Edward Byrne’.

been established within a British Commonwealth, the Irish Civil War (1922-1923), simultaneously ended the Irish Revolution and ‘formed’ the [modern Irish] state (Foster 2015, p.1). Ironically as Kissane (2005, p. 1), notes, ‘it is a remarkable reflection on Irish political history ... that the first substantive decision to be taken by an independent Irish parliament led to civil war’.

4.8 Conclusion

The main focus of this chapter was to explore Ireland’s Jewish community throughout the revolutionary years and its relationship with the nationalist movement in Ireland. In particular the contribution from the Jewish community to the nationalist cause. As part of the overall theme of this thesis, a selection of archival documents was utilised throughout this chapter to present primary sources not only as evidence, but to capture historical moments as real live events in this period of Irish history. The chapter started with a discussion on the history of Irish independence which included the Home Rule movement, and their campaign for political independence from Britain. We established that the delayed implementation of Home Rule in 1914; due to the outbreak of World War One, provided what Jeffery (2000, p.47), stated, as ‘both moment and mode’ for the Easter Rising in 1916 to occur.

The subject of the Jewish community’s relationship and contribution to the nationalist cause was also addressed throughout this chapter. While Catholicism and Nationalism became intertwined in nationalists ideology (to be discussed in chapter six), and perhaps exclusionary to minority groups such as the Irish – Jewish population, this chapter showed that for some members of the Jewish community religion was not a factor in securing Irish Independence. This was expressed in the formation in 1908 of the Judaeo - Irish Home Rule Association by members of the Dublin Jewish Community. In addition, four case studies were also presented, Robert Briscoe, Michael Noyk, Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim and Estella Solomon. Indeed, while some members of the Jewish community rejected any involvement in the nationalist movement, however, as this chapter has shown; not all of the wider Catholic community supported the actions of the rebels in 1916, and were in fact, quite hostile to the rebels viewing them as ‘criminal, insane ... and their actions as a ‘direct threat to home rule’ (Wheatley 2007, p.61). What

did emerge in this chapter was the view that the Irish – Jewish community were somewhat militant as they resisted any authority from their British co-religionists. Which ironically appeared to emulate the climate of rebellion in Ireland at that time.

This section also considered the views of Natalie Wynn (2017), who disputed the historical narrative of the role of the Jewish community in Irish independence. Wynn cited the work of both Dermot Keogh and Cormac Ó Gráda to support part of her argument, stating that their findings were ‘questionable’ and were drawn from anecdotal evidence. In referring to the work of Cormac Ó Gráda, Wynn maintained that Ó Gráda also ‘reconciles his findings to accepted version of events’ (Wynn 2017, p.9). Wynn substantiates this claim by drawing comparisons between Ó Gráda’s ‘broader cross – section of sources’ and Keogh’s ‘small selection of ... available material’(ibid:8-9), maintaining that while Ó Gráda’s research ‘realises that the reality was more complex than either Keogh or the mainstream narrative suggest’ (ibid:9), regardless, Ó Gráda preference was to rehash the accepted narrative, by ‘interpreting the evidence in terms of growing Jewish integration into Irish society’, concluding, ‘that this process began with the second generation of East European Jewish immigrants, resulting in a widespread Jewish identification with the nationalist cause’ (ibid).

The following section focused on the Paris Peace Conference including the War of Independence. Indeed, while, the outbreak of World War One had halted Irish independence, The Peace Conference was viewed as an opportunity to have the Irish Question addressed on the international stage. However, the Irish delegation were relegated as sideliners to the talks losing their appeal for international recognition of Ireland as a sovereign state. Notwithstanding, the rejection of Ireland’s claims for independence envisaged in The Fourteen Points for world peace. This section also discussed Ireland’s political aspirations as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and the ensuing War of Independence bringing about Britain’s solution to the violence in the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, in 1920.

This chapter concluded with the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the division it brought about in dividing the newly established Free State. The role of the Catholic church also formed part of this section which highlighted not only its stance during the Irish Civil War, but the beginnings of the dominant role of the Catholic church in Ireland.

Chapter Five: World War Two, the Holocaust and the Irish Response

'Where is the immigrant or refugee whose life has not been touched at some point by government? At times the contact has been light, felt almost in passing. On other occasions it has proven heavy, not to say oppressive'

(Kershaw and Pearsall 2004, p.xi).

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter of this thesis examined the narrative of Irish independence, concluding then with the Irish Civil War. This chapter will, therefore, move beyond this period in Irish history and thus, turn our attention to the Second World War period and the Holocaust. With the outbreak of World War Two, a 'state of emergency was declared in Ireland, empowering the government to legislate by degree and expanding the role of the state in society...' (Ó Drisceoil 1996, p.5). Commonly referred to as the Emergency years in Ireland, Ireland's isolationism during the Second World War era has been alluded to as 'Plato's cave' (Evans 2014, p.3³⁶). Conversely, we will argue, that Ireland was perhaps, *not* that remote, both socially and politically from the events unfolding in Germany and Austria *prior* to the outbreak of the Second World War. While censorship 'became an important mechanism of control' throughout the inter - war period; (Ó Drisceoil 1996, p.1), this chapter will illustrate that Ireland's national newspapers were reporting on the existence of concentration camps, brutality towards the Jews in Germany, beatings and flogging of Jewish citizens, in the 1930s. Although, Ireland remained neutral during the Second World War, the Emergency brought a more robust form of censorship. Effectively cutting Irish society off from her European neighbours and the plight of the Jews in Europe. De Valera's government and the Catholic Hierarchy, however, remained fully informed of events transpiring in Europe through Irish diplomats³⁷ such as Leo T. McCauley, Charles Bewley and Michael MacWhite. All respectively holding positions of power and influence in Berlin and Rome during the 1930s. Although, the official reports by Leo T. McCauley, and Charles Bewley, were significant in influencing the

³⁶ Bryce Evans refers to F.S.L. Lyons allegory of Emergency Ireland been like Plato's cave during the Second World War. (Lyons, F.S.L. *Ireland Since the Famine* (1973).

³⁷ One such diplomat was Denis R. McDonald who was posted in Britain during 1941. McDonald sent a memorandum to Joseph P. Walshe, giving a detailed account of his experience during the bombing of London by Germany. He spoke about public moral and the anti-Semitic 'feeling being so strong in London'. McDonald's views on the Jews in London were racially charged.

discriminatory immigration policies and attitudes, towards the Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi regime (Woods 2010). Contributing factors such as the Aliens Act, 1935, The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935, and the Aliens Order, 1946, collectively played a key role in Ireland's response to the Second World War, Jewish refugees and the Holocaust. The chapter, therefore, will be organised into subsections to include; a brief overview of events prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the impact of The Aliens Act, 1935 which regulated immigration of none - citizens into Ireland, the Nationality and Citizen Act, 1935 defining Irish citizenship, Ireland's neutrality and censorship under the Emergency Powers Act, 1939, the Aliens Order, 1946 restricting the landing of aliens in Ireland, Ireland's aid relief and policies regarding refugees, leading up to, during, and following the Second World War. Although, the Second World War ended in May 1945, the repercussions of the war across Europe were to last into the 1950s as this chapter will also illustrate.

5.2 Background of Events Prior to the Second World War: Germany and Ireland

Germany

As outlined in the main introduction of this thesis, Hitler's rise to power in 1930s Germany was a '...tragedy for Germany's subsequent victims...' (Beevor 2010, p.3). Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of Germany in 1933, effectively removed Germany's democracy and 'ultimately destabilized the international climate' (O' Driscoll 2017, p.13). The Nazi take - over of public institutions including the judicial system 'kowtowed to the new regime'³⁸ (ibid). Within weeks of Hitler's rise to power, attacks against Germany's Jews including boycotting of Jewish business began, 'the regime focused its efforts on driving Jews from political and cultural life' Hayes (2017, p.76).

Internationally, reports of Hitler's sanctioned brutality and persecution of the Jews in Germany were as O' Driscoll (2017, p.95), states, 'concealed in the sanitised language of diplomatic reports ...received in the foreign offices around the world'. However, 'international journalists were not so coy in their critiques of ... the Nazis' (ibid). In Ireland, reports appeared in the *Irish Press* during the first months of Hitler's rule in

³⁸ Dachau was the first concentration camp opened in Germany by the Nazi's in March 1933. For further reading on the history of Dachau see Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau* (2001).

1933, describing the “new iron regime” and the “virtual dictatorship” with an almost arbitrary use of capital punishment’(ibid:95-96). Nevertheless, as O’ Driscoll, points out, ‘there was relatively little ... criticism of the new Nazi regime in the Irish papers’(ibid:96). In fact, O’Driscoll purports, that ‘many Irish newspapers printed Nazi justifications of their actions and Nazi critiques of international complaints’ (ibid).

In response to the severity of the anti - Semitic violence, Jewish communities worldwide organised a boycott of German goods (ibid:96). Support for the “Boycott German goods” campaign was also taken up by Dublin’s Jewish traders. It is interesting to note, the support the boycott received from the Irish – Jewish community. Albeit small, it would seem that Ireland’s Jewish community was actively engaged with issues concerning the wider Jewish diaspora. This point, however, will be discussed further in chapter six of this thesis.

By 1935, the enactment of the discriminatory Nuremberg Laws in September left the Jews of Germany not only stateless but powerless. As Hayes states, ‘Hitler and the Nazi Party came to power having declared their intention to strip Germany’s Jews of citizenship...’ (Hayes 2017, p.73). As the persecution and deportations of Jews continued in Germany throughout the 1930s, of those who were left needed very little convincing as Hayes sums it up, ‘they had to leave’. ‘By early 1938, more applications for visas to get into other nations were on file at their consulates and embassies in Germany than Jews were left in Germany’ (ibid:83). However, ‘...getting out was difficult, especially because the German policy of stripping Jews of all they owned made them unattractive immigrants in the eyes of many foreign governments’³⁹(ibid). While the Irish government was ‘apparently sympathetic’ to the plight of the Jews in Germany, they were however, ‘unwilling to interfere in the affairs of another sovereign state, even to alleviate the suffering of the German Jews’ (O’ Driscoll (2017, p.98-99).

³⁹ ‘about 60 percent of the Jews of Germany and 67 percent of those in Austria managed to escape by the time World War II began’ see Hayes (2017), *Why? Explaining the Holocaust*.

Ireland

Following the War of Independence and ‘with the civil war a very recent memory’ (Wills 2007, p.23), post - civil war Ireland now focused on rebuilding a ‘new Irish state’ (Kissane 2015, p.43). De Valera’s new political party Fianna Fáil was founded in 1926 after splitting with the anti-Treaty supporters Sinn Féin. The 1932 general elections resulted in Fianna Fáil defeating Cumann na nGaedhael⁴⁰ the Irish Free State first governmental party (ibid). A snap election in 1933, saw de Valera’s minority government bolstered by Labour, now emerge as the majority parliamentary party of the Irish Free State (Ibid). Fianna Fáil’s main objective ‘was the establishment of the sovereignty of the twenty-six-county state’, (Drisceoil 1996, p.3). De Valera’s ‘first two major moves set the tone of the new politics’ (Fraser 2005, p.18). This was achieved as Drisceoil (1996, p.3), states, by ‘revisiting the 1921 Treaty out of existence’. The ‘first was the formal removal of the oath of allegiance to king George V. The second, was to withhold payment of land annuities⁴¹’ resulting in the Anglo - Irish economic trade war with Britain (Fraser 2005, p.19). The abdication of Edward VIII in 1936 allowed de Valera to introduce two new acts. The Constitutional Amendment Act removed the British monarch from the Irish Constitution⁴² allowing de Valera to move ‘the Free State significantly in a republican direction’ (ibid:19). The new Constitution in 1937 replaced the 1922 Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Constitution, the ‘name Irish Free State became Éire’(ibid). As Wills (2007, p.22) states, ‘By 1939 Ireland had her own constitution, including her own President ...She also had control of her own defences’.

5.3 The Second World War, Irish Neutrality and the Emergency Powers Act, 1939

In 1938 de Valera negotiation with Britain to end the Economic trade war. ‘The Anglo-Irish agreements on finance, trade and defence...put an end to the economic war and,

⁴⁰ The pro-Treaty supporters of the Sinn Féin formed a new political party called Cumann na nGaedhael in 1923, headed by W.T Cosgrave. Cumann na nGaedhael led the Free State from 1923 to 1932. Cumann na nGaedhael amalgamated with smaller parties in 1933, becoming Fine Gale. see ‘History of Fine Gale’ (2018), [online], available: <https://www.finegael.ie/the-party/history-of-fine-gael/> [accessed 16-7-2018].

⁴¹ The land annuities to Britain ‘were obligations arising from the compulsory sale of land to Irish tenant farmers under various land acts...’, see O’Rourke, K. (1991), *Burn everything British but their coal: The Anglo-Irish economic war of the 1930s*. This led to the Anglo- Irish economic trade war with Britain between 1932-1938.

⁴² ‘The External Relations Act retained the symbolic role of the monarchy in foreign relations’ See Fraser, T.G. (2005) *Ireland in Conflict 1922-1998*.

most importantly in terms of sovereignty, placed the ‘Treaty ports⁴³ ... under Irish control’ Drisceoil (1996, p.3). The outbreak of the Second World War, according to Drisceoil, (1996, p.3), allowed Ireland to demonstrate its sovereignty to the ‘Irish people and the wider world’. In advance of the outbreak of War in 1939, Taoiseach Éamon de Valera declared in February of 1939, that, ‘the Irish Free State would be neutral if war broke out’ (RTE Archives 2014). *The Irish Press*⁴⁴ published an article on September 2, 1939, describing ‘Ireland’s Reaction To War News’, stating:

‘Irish listeners who tuned into the B.B.C. stations casually at 10.45 am yesterday were aghast at the gravity of the events that had been taking place when most of us were asleep. People gathered in the streets, in shops and offices to discuss the war news. Almost every hour afterwards radio bulletins and stop press editions carried further important announcements ...’

In addition to news on the events in Europe, *The Irish Press*⁴⁵ on September 2, 1939, reported on the proposed amendment to the Constitution informing the Irish public, of the ‘Wide Scope’ of the provisions for the new Emergency Powers Act. The following day September 3rd 1939, England and France declared war on Germany. In response to the declaration of war, Éamon de Valera made a radio broadcast announcing, ‘to the people of Ireland, affirming the policy of neutrality’(ibid). The aim of Ireland’s neutrality according to de Valera, was ‘to keep our people out of the war’ (ibid). The Second World War period, or, the Emergency as it was referred to in Ireland, ‘not only provided the acid test of this fledgling independence. Just as significantly, the war marked the high point of centralised state intervention in Ireland’ (Evans 2014, p.1). On the same day de Valera announced Ireland’s neutrality, the Emergency Powers Act, 1939 was enacted in Ireland. The act was ‘to make provision for securing the public safety and the preservation of the state in time of war’ (Wills 2007, p.45). The Emergency Powers Act, 1939 permitted the government ‘to suspend any legislation it thought necessary, to control citizens’ movements, to search and arrest people without warrant, to intern them without trial or right to appeal’ (ibid). State encroachment into the lives of its citizens was debated by members of the Dáil who were reluctant to agree to these ‘dictatorial’ and ‘complete totalitarian powers’ (ibid:46-47). Wills states, ‘Many felt they were colluding in the destruction of the country’s painfully achieved democracy, ‘stripping the people naked

⁴³ The Treaty ports were Berehaven, Cobh and Lough Swilly.

⁴⁴ UCC Newspaper Archives.

⁴⁵ UCC Newspaper Archives.

of any constitutional rights...' (ibid:47). However, an article in *The Irish Times* on September 4, 1939,⁴⁶ claimed the Oireachtas agreed with the 'Emergency Measures', and 'Neutrality Only Practicable Policy'.

Indeed, the 'rhetoric of intellectual and moral superiority' (Wills 2007, p.344), which became the guiding hand of Ireland's policy of neutrality throughout the Second World War, was largely criticised in Britain. According to Cole, (2006, pp.47-48), 'The British public and military opinion ... was convinced that Éire neutrality was an advantage to Germany and a disadvantage to Britain' (Cole 2006, p. 47-48). In fact, Ireland's neutrality was also challenged by a number of 'prominent members of Fine Gale, the main opposition party, were ambivalent, if not hostile in their attitude towards neutrality'(Hachey 2002, p.33). Conversely, Fisk (1983, p.75), states, neutrality was certainly not a 'peculiar or exotic notion in an international context... Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, and the United States were all following what was then regarded as a respectable and rational policy of neutrality'. In fact, a total of '22 other states, predominately small, also staked a claim for non – belligerency' (O'Loughlin 2008, pp.104). However, the nature of Ireland's neutrality was more of 'an assertion of anatomy; it was a marker of Irish distinctiveness, as potent as Catholicism or the Irish language' (Wills 2007, p.42).

5.4 Censorship

As mentioned above, The Emergency Powers Act, 1939 'provide the legal foundation for the emergency censorship ... It authorised the government, by means of emergency orders, to do what it deemed 'necessary'... for securing the public safety ...' (Ó Drisceoil, 1996, P.17). The Emergency legislation provided for the complete censorship of all communications, press, film, radio, postal, theatres and telegraph. Wartime censorship fell under the jurisdiction of the Minster for the Co-ordination of Defensive Measures, Frank Aiken. The purpose for the stringent censorship 'in Aiken's phrase, was to keep the temperature down', 'both within the state and between Ireland and the belligerents' (Ó Drisceoil 1996, p.47). According to Ó Drisceoil, 'the suppression of news and views, which in the government's opinion, could have threatened domestic stability (political,

⁴⁶ UCC Newspaper Archives.

social or economic) (ibid). An immediate censoring of Ireland's press could be enforced to suppress public opinion and attitudes. Aiken was concerned with the liberal attitude of the foreign press of other neutral countries, such as Switzerland and Sweden, where 'censorship existed but allowing the press to carry propaganda from the belligerents states ...' (Woods 2010, p.89). This in comparison to Ireland where the 'censor's unlimited power was to confiscate every copy of ... a newspaper which flagrantly defied them' (ibid). It could be argued, this liberal approach in Aiken's view, was a perceived threat to Ireland's neutrality.

Indeed, to gain full compliance from the public, propaganda through the suppressed Irish media became a useful medium in which to influence public opinion. The message being propagated, was that neutrality and censorship were the best approach to ensuring the protection of Ireland and its people. A confidential memorandum from Joseph P. Walsh, was sent to Aiken via Joseph Connolly, the controller of censorship at the time. The memorandum dated 18th September 1939⁴⁷, with the heading '*SECRET*', discussed the matters of neutrality, the control of the press, along with Ireland as sovereign State:

'The neutrality of the State cannot be preserved without a positive as well as a negative policy in relation to censorship. Public opinion must be built up on a neutral basis, a neutral-mindedness must be created. A list of the States which are neutral should be frequently and prominently displayed in the press. The advantages of being neutral should be stressed ... all reference to heads of States direct or indirect, in print or pictorial form, liable to give offence ... must be avoided ... There is no question about the vital necessity of neutrality for the preservation of this State, and the cliques which run the anti - Government Press have no moral right whatever to oppose that policy ...'

As previously stated, prior to the full control of Ireland's press, newspapers *were* reporting on the atrocities occurring in Germany and Austria as early as January 1939. The *Waterford Evening Standard* dated January 21st, 1939,⁴⁸ published an article regarding twelve Austrian refugees, who were now residing in Ardmore Co. Waterford for the last month. Under the heading the newspaper stated, '*Victims of Nazi Persecution*'

⁴⁷ UCD Archives, IEUCDA P104/3422. Papers of Frank Aiken, 1932- 82. Memoranda from Joseph Connolly to Frank Aiken Dated 18th September 1939.

⁴⁸ Waterford Standard, Saturday 21 January 1939, [online], available: [findmypast.iehttps://search.findmypast.ie/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0001678%2f19390121%2f114&stringtohighlight=refugees](https://search.findmypast.ie/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0001678%2f19390121%2f114&stringtohighlight=refugees) [accessed 20-09-2019]

their 'crime' 'that drove these twelve people from their native land was one of them was a young Jewess'. The paper reported on the 'terror' and 'humiliation' inflicted on them under the Nazi regime (Waterford Evening Standard January 21st, 1939). (See Appendix B). *The Evening Herald* dated 30th January 1939, the title read, 'So Friendly!' alluding to the concentration camps in Germany, and the denial of the Voelkischer [sic] Beobachter⁴⁹ that the concentration camps were not 'fortresses bristling with weapons'. *The Evening Herald* published a further article dated August 8th, 1939, 'Concentration Camp For Women Surrounded by Electric Wire' giving an account of the stark and brutal conditions in Germany. Papers on both sides of Ireland's border carried stories of the concentration camps, prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. For example, *The Belfast Newsletter* dated August 9th, 1939, carried a similar heading, 'Women in concentration camps'. In fact, accounts of the camps would continue to be reported in the press throughout the first few months of the war. For instance, *The Irish Examiner* on December 13th, 1939, printed a story regarding the number of arrests under the Nazi dictatorship, 'New wave of Arrests' 'Concentration Camps to Small' For Gestapo Victims'. However, tighter censorship restrictions were beginning to be enforced where the news was deemed 'undesirable' (Ó Drisceoil 1996, p. 95). It is quite obvious from the research conducted for this project, that detailed reporting on the concentration camps became 'undesirable', as the next documents will illustrate.

On the 31st October 1939, the *Irish Times* was due to publish an extensive article on Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps. The report was based on a British Government White Paper describing the horrific conditions in these camps. By the time *The Irish Times* newspaper went to print, large sections were cut from the original article, only a fragment of the original piece along with the headlines, 'Concentration Camp Horrors', remained. Though, the press was prohibited from publishing anything considered a threat to the 'the much-vaunted unity of the people' which the government regarded as essential for the maintenance of neutrality' Drisceoil (1996, p.104), censorship, did not go unchallenged. Newspapers editors of the *Irish Independent*, and *The Irish Times*, repeatedly voiced their objections. Editor of *The Irish Times* Bertie Smylie, protested frequently to the Censorship Department, referring to it as 'censorship-enforced newspaper neutrality' (Drisceoil 1996, p.101). Smylie, not only objected to the

⁴⁹ The Völkischer Beobachter the newspaper run by the National Socialist German Workers Party.

ban on the press, but also felt his paper was unduly censored compared to that of his contemporaries. One such complaint, of many, by Smyllie throughout the war, was expressed in a letter to the Chief Press Censor Michael Knightly, dated October 1940⁵⁰,

‘Sir

I wish to protest in the only manner open to me against your action last night, when you prohibited the publication-in the Irish Times of a photograph showing damage done to St. Paul’s Cathedral by a bomb. I can understand the Censorship’s refusal to permit photograph’s which are issued for purposes of propaganda...The photograph was an entirely objective illustration of the damage done to one of the world’s most famous buildings, and the suggestion that it had a propagandist tinge is utterly unworthy of your department. I realise that your powers are virtually unlimited; but I doxfeel [sic], that the official who banned this photograph was abusing his authority’

Documents procured during the course of this research project from University College Dublin Archives (Papers of Frank Aiken⁵¹), clearly illustrates the level of suppression and mass manipulation of public opinion in Ireland throughout the Emergency. The following are a selection of excerpts from the aforementioned censored information sent to Frank Aiken from the Chief Press Censor Michael Knightly between 1944 - 45. Ostensibly to avoid disrupting the ‘carefully balanced neutral consensus’ of non-belligerent Ireland (Wills 2007, p.397). A report dated 28/9/ 44:

‘An appeal by Warsaw women to the Pope was stopped on the 22nd. Circulated by the Polish Telegraph Agency, it ran: “Holy Father, we Polish women fight in Warsaw inspired by deep patriotism and devotion to our country. We lack food and medical supplies while defending our fortress for three weeks. Warsaw lies in ruins. The Germans murdered wounded in hospitals... It is no exaggeration in reports about children fighting and destroying German tanks with bottles of petrol. We mothers see our sons dyeing for liberty and their country ... Holy Father, no one helps us. Russian armies which have been standing for three weeks at the gates of Warsaw do not move a step forward. Help which came from Britain is insufficient. The world ignores our fight ...’

“The Wandering Jew” was the subject of a leading article for the Irish Times on the 10th. The following paragraphs were removed ... “Indeed, all the United Nations, if they are prepared to abide by the principles of the Atlantic Charter, cannot but admit that they have a certain duty towards the Jews, and that this gifted people cannot be left in the future completely homeless and at the mercy of vindictive oppression throughout the world ...’

‘Allegations of a massacre of Hungarian Jews “obtained from Poles inside the notorious Oswiecim Camp” were contained in a report stopped on the 3rd. Jews are being enticed into death trains and once in the trains they were gassed and

⁵⁰ NAI/ TAOIS/S 12043, Date on original document unclear possibly 15th or 25th October 1940.

⁵¹ IE UCDA 104, Papers of Frank Aiken.

their bodies burned in open fires. “Small children were no longer being gassed but were thrown alive into fires”.

‘Moscow radio on the 4th quoted a report from the Soviet Committee “for the investigation of German crimes and atrocities” that about 150,000 Red Army officers and men died of exhaustion, disease or wounds in the hospital camp of Slovata ...’

‘All these reports were stopped’.

Reports 1945 dated 22nd February 1945⁵².

‘War reports cut or stopped during the month were,. In the main, unimportant and of no great volume. All atrocity stories were denied publication and a good deal of comment, chiefly unfavourable to Russia, was disallowed.

An official statement was issued in Berlin on the 6th on Allied reports that the Germans deliberately herded 135 men, women and children into the ancient Town Hall at the Dutch village of Heusden on the night of Sunday, November 5, and then blew it up burying all the victims. The statement, which was not allowed, attributed the disaster to Allied shelling ...’

A Reuters message on the 17th said that the bodied of America prisoners and Belgian civilians slain in cold blood by the Germans shocked even the battle – hardened “ Old Hickory” division and drove it to new efforts in the counter – attack against the German penetration in the Ardennes salient’.

Reports For April, 1945⁵³.

‘Many horror stories of German concentration camps were stopped ...’

An A. P. message on the 25th said: “One of the ten M.P.’s just back from Buchenwald camp, Mr. S.S. Silverman, M.P., told the British section of the World Jewish Congress at Toynbee Hall in London to-night that Buchenwald was not established in 1939 but six years previously. The British Foreign Office did not publish the facts of the German horror camps until 1939. For six years he said in the hope of appeasing the Germans they had deliberately kept from the public the truth about the camps. Dr. Bela Fabian, President of the dissolved Hungarian independent democratic party said to-day that 5,000,000 Jews were gassed and cremated in the murder emposium [sic] at Auschwitz, Upper Silesia in ten months, the Associated Press reported on the 11th. More than 327,000 Soviet prisoners of war – almost the same numbers as the Germans lost at Stalingrad – and 250,000 civilians were tortured to death by the Germans in prison camps in Latvia ...’

Clearly then, censorship controls became more selective as the war progressed, generally reporting on the battles between the allies and axis. However, as illustrated, accounts of the concentration camps not only disappeared from the press, but obviously from public consciousness. When censorship finally ended in May 1945, Irish cinemas began to show

⁵² IEUCDAP 104, Papers of Frank Aiken.

⁵³ IEUCDAP 104, Papers of Frank Aiken.

the newsreels of the death camps. An ill-prepared Irish audience, now free from censorship, reacted with scepticism to the images (Woods 2010). To quote (Ó Drisceoil 1996, p.128), ‘In Ireland the villain of the piece was always more likely to be British ...’ Some correspondents articulated the common view that such reports were the invention of British Propagandists’. For instance, ‘A writer to a Kilkenny paper dismissed the ... pictures as all propaganda. Another wrote, ‘Why drag up all these unpleasant things, its’ so bad for the children ...’(ibid). Ó Drisceoil states, that ‘Many Irish people did avert their gaze, for many different reasons’(ibid). Interestingly, as Wills (2007, p.398), notes, ‘Even after ... censorship was lifted, there was remarkably little coverage of the camps in Irish papers ...’ In fact, an examination of Irish national newspapers for the purpose of this research project found *The Irish Times*, *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Press* had, indeed, no coverage of the atrocities or the camps after liberation. Indeed, as Wills argues, ‘By the middle of May no newspaper ... had yet covered the story of the camps in a proper article’ (ibid:400). The *Sunday Independent*⁵⁴ on May 13, 1945 carried a report on the ‘Nazi Prison Camp Horror’, the report appeared on page three. The *Cork Examiner*⁵⁵ September 18, 1945 published an article on the camps again on page three.

Although Irish people claimed disbelief in what had transpired in the concentration camps during the Second World War, this research we feel has illustrated that Irish society, knew of the existence of the concentration camps, and were informed of the inhumane treatment of the Jews in Germany and Austria, prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. Similarly, ‘as Wills (2007, p.394), states, De Valera and his government had been aware of at least some aspects of the persecution of the Jews since the middle of the war ...’

⁵⁴ The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (87)

⁵⁵ The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (87)

5.5 Pre - War Immigration Legislation

‘The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935 and the Aliens Act 1935, created two binaries of who was and who was not permitted entry to Ireland ... The acts emphasised the new Ireland by defining geographical boundaries as well as inclusion and exclusion based on place and date of birth’.

(O’ Connor 2017, p. 57).

Ireland’s pre-war immigration legislation, the Aliens Act, 1935 and The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935 established Ireland’s borders, while the latter; defined Irish citizenship as been separate to that of a British subject (O’ Connor 2017⁵⁶). Under the new immigration legislation any person looking to come to Ireland were subject to the Aliens Act, 1935. However, the Aliens (Exemption) Order,1935 excluded persons from the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth countries. The new legislation gave the Minister for Justice extensive power and control over immigration into Ireland. Non-citizens of Saorstát Éireann (Ireland), applying for naturalisation were subject to The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935. One of the stipulations of The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935 required that a person would have resided in Ireland for a period of five years before being eligible to apply for naturalisation⁵⁷. The ‘exclusionary nature’ of this primary legislation, and Ireland’s ‘closed-door’ policies (Culleton 2003, p.53⁵⁸), were Ireland’s response to the mounting Jewish refugee crisis. By 1938, events in Germany had reached a crisis point. The annexation of Austria by Germany in 1938 left many more German Jews fleeing Germany. The Evian Conference organised by President Roosevelt in July 1938, was planned in order to address the refugee crisis. The conference was attended by representatives from various countries including Ireland. As Culleton states, ‘The scene was set for Ireland’s Second World War refugee policy... in Evian ...’(ibid). The small Irish delegation was led by F.T. Cremins. ‘Eamon de Valera

⁵⁶ ‘Prior to the creation of the immigration legislation in 1935, ‘travel and immigration into Ireland was dictated by legislation passed in the United Kingdom’ (O’ Connor 2017,p.56), for further discussion on Irish and British immigration legislation, see Siobháine O’ Connor, *Irish Government Policy and Public Opinion towards German-Speaking Refugees, 1933-1943*,(2017).

⁵⁷ NAI, JUS/2013/50/1-4, Enquires re. Naturalisation and Citizenship, dated 1952, to Mrs. Alice McCready.

⁵⁸ For further reading on Ireland, immigration, exclusion, refugees, anti-Semitism see, Culleton, J. (2003), ‘A vast lost chance’ *ERGA Journal, Waterford Institute of Technology*.

had instructed the Irish delegation that it was to be clearly understood, that no commitment of a financial nature should be entered into at the Conference without his approval' (Keogh 2006, p.39). Ó Drisceoil (2004, p.238), took the view that Ireland had 'its well-rehearsed economic excuses for an illiberal refugee policy'.

5.6 Political and Church Response to the Jewish Refugee Crises

Leo T. McCauley's temporary position as chargé d'affaires, placed him in Berlin between 1932-33, giving him a vantage point to have witnessed the accession of Hitler. McCauley's reports back to Joseph P. Walshe⁵⁹, in Dublin could be described with 'a degree of ambivalent admiration for the vitality of the new regime' (O'Driscoll 2004, p.92). The not so auspicious comments, however, from McCauley regarding the Jews in Germany, as O'Connor (2017, p.127), states, '... perhaps set the precedent for the treatment of Jews seeking assistance as early as April 1933'. An example of this can be seen in a memorandum sent to Joseph P. Walshe, from Leo T. McCauley dated 15th March 1933 in which, McCauley considers the so called 'Jewish Question' facing Hitler's government:

'One of the most interesting problems before the new Government is that of dealing with the Jews. Anti-Semitism was the principle plank in the Nazi platform; and followers of the Government expect it to seize Jewish property, expropriate their businesses and either banish Jews themselves from the country or deprive them of ordinary rights of citizenship. It will not be easy to effect this, particularly in the case of the large body of Jews who have been settled in Germany for generations, many of whom occupy prominent places in the industrial, professional and artistic life in Germany. The second class consists of those who came into Germany during and after the War, mainly from Galicia and Poland. Many of these prospered to a surprising extent, apparently because of their connections with other countries which enabled them to obtain foreign currency during the inflation and therewith buy up real property on a extensive scale at absurdly low prices. It will be a nice legal problem to find a method of dealing with both these class of Jews in a manner likely to satisfy the rank and file of the Nazis...⁶⁰

The following memorandum reported on the current political situation in Germany after the recent election of Hitler's new Government. Two subsequent memoranda were sent

⁵⁹ Joseph P. Walshe, was the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs in the Irish Free State 1921-46.

⁶⁰ NAI DFA 34/125 Leo T. McCauley for Joseph P. Walshe (Dublin) on the general political situation in Germany, 15th March 1933.

to Joseph P. Walshe from McCauley, revealing the political mind-set towards the Jews at this time; dated April 17th, 1933:

‘The department will be interested to know that many inquiries and applications for visas have been received by the legation within the past week from Jews desiring to leave Germany take up residence in the Irish Free State. Jews of German nationality, of course require no visa, but the inquiries have included Jews resident in Germany who are of Polish and other nationality. As far as possible the legation has discouraged such persons from going to Ireland, as they are really only refugees; and it assumes that this line of action would be in accordance with the Department’s policy’

(O’Connor 2017, p.127).

The second dated 11 May 1933:

‘The Government has been faithful to the anti-Semitic portion of the Nazi programme. It has endeavoured to oust the Jews from public offices, the press, theatre, the academies of art, the professionals. To what extent the reports of personal attacks on Jews were true, it is impossible to establish; and no doubt they were very much exaggerated...To some extent the Jews brought this trouble on themselves. They made a display of wealth and prosperity when the average German was struggling for an existence. They filled the restaurants, theatres and seaside resorts more or less to the exclusion of the ordinary German citizens. The consequence is that scarcely a voice has been raised in their defence...⁶¹’

As O’Connor (2017, pp.127-128), said of the memorandum dated 17th April 1933:

‘The comments themselves, however, predict the future policy... The use of the word *refugee* is relevant...as it showed that the Irish government had a concept of what created a refugee and considered Jews under Nazi authority at risk in this early stage’.

Leo T. McCauley was transferred to Rome in 1933, his successor Charles Bewley, a recipient of the *Benemerenti medal*⁶² took over the post as the Irish Envoy to Berlin. Bewley’s previous anti-Semitic leanings had already proven problematic for the Irish legation when he was Ireland’s trade representative in Berlin in 1921. An incident concerning Robert Briscoe occurred in the Tauenzien Palace in Berlin on the 19th January 1922⁶³, wherein, Bewley made anti-Semitic comments regarding Robert Briscoe. When

⁶¹ NAI DFA 34/125, Leo T. McCauley for Joseph P. Walshe (Dublin) on the general political situation in Germany, 11 May 1933.

⁶² DFA/2/1/31 Presentation of Benemerenti medal to Mr Bewley (1931)

Benemerenti medal, is an honour awarded by the Pope for service to the Catholic Church.

⁶³ Charles Bewley was assigned to the Irish Consul in Berlin 1921 to promote trade between Ireland and Germany.

Bewley was asked, was Robert Briscoe Irish Consul, Bewley replied, ‘... that it was not likely that a Jew of his type would be appointed⁶⁴. In response to Bewley’s comments, Robert Briscoe called for the removal of Bewley in a correspondence to George Gavan Duffy⁶⁵, dated 21st January 1922:

‘As regards my feelings over Mr. Bewley’s attack on my person, I feel this is not a matter for anyone else to attend to but myself and which I will certainly look into. What I really want to effect by this, my complaint, is in plain language the immediate removal of this gentleman from his position as representing the Irish people⁶⁶’.

Following, Briscoe’s written complaint and request for the removal of Bewley, George Gavan Duffy brought the matter to the attention of John Chartres⁶⁷ in January 1922, wherein, Duffy suggested the removal of Bewley stating:

‘I have no alternative but to report to you this affair... an anti-Semitic outburst by an Irish official in a country where Jews are very numerous and very influential was an extraordinary indiscretion from the point of view of Irish material interest ... I should be very sorry to press the matter so as to cause Mr. Bewley permanent injury... I must express the option that if it were possible to transfer him to some other sphere of activity such a step would correct the mischief that was done⁶⁸’.

Further evidence of Bewley’s known anti-Semitic tendencies is clearly stated in a correspondence between George Gavan Duffy to John Chartres dated 29th March 1922, Duffy states, that Bewley is ‘mad on the Jewish question⁶⁹’. Indeed, while the matter caused some debate among the Irish legation in Berlin, the controversy was resolved with Bewley receiving only a minor reprimand, the incident was ‘smoothed over’ (Chartres, 1922⁷⁰). It was suggested that Bewley was transferred in order to give him a ‘fresh start in another quarter’ (ibid).

As this research has shown, Bewley’s attitude towards the Jews was already known when he was appointment the Irish Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary in Berlin

⁶⁴ NAI DFA ES Box 34 File 239, Memorandum by Charles Bewley on his relations with Robert Briscoe, 28th January 1922.

⁶⁵ George Gavan Duffy was Minister for External Affairs in 1922 (see *Duffy, George Gavan*, by Gerard Hogan)

⁶⁶ NAI DFA ES Box 34 File 239, Robert Briscoe to George Gavan Duffy (Dublin), 21st January 1922

⁶⁷ John Chartres became the Irish Free State envoy to Berlin in 1921.

⁶⁸ NAI DFA ES Box 34 File 239, John Chartres to George Gavan Duffy (Dublin), Berlin 30th January 1922.

⁶⁹ NAI DFA ES Box 34 File 234, George Gavan Duffy to John Chartres (Paris), (Confidential and purely personal), Dublin, 29th March 1922.

⁷⁰ NAI DFA ES Box 33 File 234, John Chartres to George Gavan Duffy (Dublin), (M.F.A.-28/1922. (Berlin series) Personal), Berlin, 5th April 1922.

in 1933. The appointment placed Bewley in a position to control, oversee and advise Dublin on visa applications from Jews wishing to leave Germany in the 1930s. The following document which was acquired from the undisclosed immigration files held by the Department for Justice reveals Bewley's influence and attitude towards the Jews, dated 16th June 1938,⁷¹ the memorandum to the Secretary of External Affairs, from Charles Bewley regarding the entry into Ireland of two German Jewish children. The request was made by a relative in order for the children to enter the state due to the conditions in Germany. It should be noted, the names of the two children have been omitted in order to address any privacy issues.

‘With reference to your telegram No. 23, I beg to state that the application for visas for [child's name] and [child's name] was made by their mother, who stated that she herself was not in a position to leave Germany as she was refused a passport on account of her Jewish origin ... It is no doubt to be expected that Jewish parents should desire that their children grow up in other countries than Germany. The very fact makes it more probable that in cases like the present there is no intention that the children should ever return to Germany. It must not be forgotten that on numerous occasions Jews, who have been refused a permit to work in Ireland, have stated their intention of going over without a permit “because their relations in Ireland tell them that, once arrived, there is no control and noone [sic], will interfere with them”. From the facts, so far as I have been able to ascertain them in this case, I regard it as overwhelmingly probable that the intention is that [child's name] and [child's name] should remain permanently in Ireland.

So far as I have been able to ascertain from other Ministers here, other countries are giving visas to Jews only in very exceptional cases; and I have not been able to see any reason to make an exception where two persons are living with their parents’.

Another malevolent and discriminatory report from Bewley to Joseph P. Walshe in Dublin dated 25th January 1939, alluded to 90 non-Aryan Christians that were to be ‘temporarily’ admitted into Ireland, openly conveys Bewley's opinion of the Jews:

‘It is a notorious fact that in the last few months’ thousands of Jews have been baptized for the purpose of avoiding certain inconveniences to which they were exposed by membership of the Jewish religion... There is therefore, so far as I have been informed, no safeguard that the ‘non-Aryan’ Christians admitted into Ireland are not Jews who have applied for Christian baptism merely for the material benefits which they hope to derive from such a step...’⁷²

⁷¹ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/66/460, 69/80/899, from Charles Bewley to memorandum to the Secretary of External Affairs, dated 16th June 1938.

⁷² DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/66/460, 69/80/899, from Charles Bewley to memorandum to the Secretary of External Affairs, dated 16th June 1938.

As O'Connor (2017), pointed out, the Irish government were aware of the precarious position of the Jews in Germany at this time. Bewley's support for anti-Jewish policies throughout his time in Berlin have been extensively documented, (see also Keogh 2006, O'Driscoll 2004⁷³), Bewley was eventually recalled to Ireland in 1939.

Of his time in Berlin, and his handling of the visa applications, O'Connor states, 'Neither his own family, higher-ranking members of the Irish government nor high-ranking international figures could persuade Bewley to have a more compassionate consideration of refugee applications' (ibid:128). Indeed, if what O'Connor is suggesting is that, the Irish government, were a), fully aware of the desperate situation that was causing the Jews to flee Germany, and b), if what was transpiring in Germany warranted compassion towards the Jews, why was Bewley, a known anti-Semite allowed to remain in a position that afforded him this kind of power until 1939? O'Connor also adds, the 'Department had a mixed approach to Bewley. It appeared that at times, in relation to the refugee issue, it was happy to leave him to his own devices thereby removing the decision making from their own desks' (ibid:129). As to why Bewley was placed in such a position of power is unclear⁷⁴. However, it could be argued, that Bewley was deliberately chosen to act as a gatekeeper, a well-positioned cog in the overall mechanism to ensure the Jewish refugees were prevented from coming to Ireland. Hence, Bewley became the primary barrier to accessing Ireland, owing to his anti-Semitic beliefs. Indeed, it should also be recognised that as Taoiseach, de Valera *could* have vetoed any decision Bewley made regarding the granting of visas. Statistics supplied by Dermot Keogh in his influential book, '*Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*⁷⁵' revealed that between 1933 and 1940 of the estimated '432,000' Jewish refugees who left 'greater' Germany; 'Ireland took under 300' (Keogh 2006, p. 39). From those statistics, it is quite evident, de Valera preferred not to. Bewley never returned to Ireland after he was recalled in 1939. He instead, travelled to Rome presenting himself as a representative of a Swedish Anti - Communist newspaper. Bewley was met with hostility from within the international community throughout the Second

⁷³ For Further reading on Bewley and anti-Semitism in Ireland see (Keogh 2006, O'Driscoll 2004), in reference list.

⁷⁴ Suggestions have been put forward as to why Bewley was given this position in 1933, as expressed by Mervyn O' Driscoll (2004), as 'simply a rational personal decision- Suitable linguistically qualified diplomats were in short supply...' (for further reading see, Ó Driscoll, M. (2004) *Ireland, Germany and the Nazis Politics and diplomacy, 1919-193*).

⁷⁵ See Keogh, D. (1998) *Jews in Twentieth- Century Ireland :Refugees, Anti – Semitism and the Holocaust*, Cork: Cork University Press.

World War and beyond, his whereabouts at times unknown: (see Appendix C⁷⁶). In a telegram dated 4th July 1944, Bewley was in Germany suspected of working for the Ministry of Propaganda see Appendix (D). A report from G.2 Branch Department of Defence (Irish Military Intelligence), dated 12th December 1945 to Joseph P. Walsh states, that Bewley ‘received a salary of 1000 Marks per month directly from Berlin ... The opinion is that, while there is little doubt Bewley was working for the German intelligence Service’, see full document in Appendix (E⁷⁷). Bewley was eventually arrested by Allied Police in 1945 spending time in an Allied Internment Camp, until his release in December 1945 from a British concentration camp, no charges were brought against him.⁷⁸ It should be noted here, for the purpose of this research project, a request in 2018, was submitted to the Department of Foreign Affairs in order to access the Personal HR File of Charles Bewley which is not within the public domain. The Department of Foreign Affairs denied access. Correspondence to be found in Appendix (F). Moreover, as of January 15, 2020, towards the completion of this thesis, the Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Mr, Simon Coveney was contacted in order to access the HR file of Charles Bewley. The request was again refused (See Appendix M). In a bid to determine why the Department of Foreign Affairs were reluctant to grant access to the HR file of Charles Bewley, one can only speculate and suggest there is sensitive information contained within Bewley’s HR file that may offer an explanation as to why he was deemed suitable by the Irish government to be placed in Berlin.

In addition to Bewley in Berlin, Michael MacWhite was appointed to the Irish Legation in Rome in 1938. MacWhite’s appointment occurred not long before the outbreak of World War Two. In fact, ‘Around the same time as his office was created the Italian government passed legislation expelling foreign-born Jew’s from Italy’ (O’Connor 2017, p.145). Throughout the war MacWhite would send regular updates back to Dublin on the situation in Rome, which contained ‘reports on many distressing situations such as deportations of men, mass killings, orphaned children and abject poverty’ (Collins 2005, p. xxiv⁷⁹). Similar to Bewley, MacWhite also rejected applications from Jewish refugees applying to leave Italy. Documents made available to this researcher by the Department

⁷⁶ DFA/10/2/57, Activities of Charles Bewley.

⁷⁷ DFA/10/2/57, Activities of Charles Bewley, G.2 Branch Department of Defence (Irish Military Intelligence), dated 12th December 1945 to Joseph P. Walsh.

⁷⁸ DFA/10/2/57, Activities of Charles Bewley, Légation D’Irelande Rome December 26th, 1945.

⁷⁹ Collins, L. (2005) Michael MacWhite Papers P194 UCD Archives.

of Justice (not yet within the public domain), clearly indicate that rejecting visa application was common practice throughout the various Irish legations at this time. One of these applications to MacWhite in Rome was an application made by Stella Elbogan and Otto Böhm in March 1938⁸⁰. The file describes them as:

‘German Jews who were recommended in person to the legation by Signor Maria Bonaci a member of the papal guard. The application requested whether they might be granted a visa for a period of one or two months when they hoped they could settle in England. They had applied for a British visa in Rome, and their application was being considered’

The applications of Stella Elbogan and Otto Böhm were denied. Of the obvious freedom in which the various legations appeared to operate O’ Connor (2017, p.148), states, the ‘autonomy ... was ultimately to reject applications’. Another document was a letter personally appealing to Eamon de Valera, dated 22 December 1938, from a Dr. Walter Sandbank⁸¹ in France, seeking permission to come to Ireland. Sandbank was ‘forced to leave Austria due to his Jewish religion’. A reply dated January 4, 1938 was sent to Walter Sandbank which stated:⁸²

‘I am directed by the Minister for Justice to refer to your letter of the 22nd ultimo addressed to the Prime Minister, and to state that the minister cannot see his way to permit you to enter this country’
Singed
J.E. Duff’

An additional unreleased file examined during this research study, revealed the severe nature of the administrative process and those who regulated visa applications to come to Ireland. The following file concerning a ten-year-old Jewish boy; Otto Falk⁸³, a German national. The 1938 file held on Falk by the Department of Justice describes him as - stateless. Falk was originally denied a visa to come Ireland by the Berlin legation. A letter of request was made by Mrs Bessie Teller dated, October 25, 1938, to the Aliens Branch of the Department of Justice, received by the Department of Justice on 25, November 1938. Mrs Bessie Teller was seeking permission to bring:

⁸⁰ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/66/775, 69/80/207, received by the Department of Justice from MacWhite in Rome dated 30 December 1938, regarding Stella Elbogan and Otto Böhm.

⁸¹ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/ 66/774, 69/80/206, Letter to De Valera from Dr. Walter Sandbank dated December 22nd 1938.

⁸² DOJ. Alien Files 69 No. 2015/ 66/774, 69/80/206, reply dated January 4 1938, from J.E. Duff to Dr. Walter Sandbank.

⁸³ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/ 66/698, 69/80/129. File of Otto Falk.

‘a Jewish boy of 10 years of age to stay with her for one year’. His parents are to emigrate to the U.S.A. and may have some time to wait. Meanwhile, the child like so many others, is almost starving, cannot go to school as Jewish schools are closed, dare not venture out of doors in case of being beaten up. Nor is it safe indoors ...’

A letter of reply from J.E. Duff⁸⁴ dated December 1, 1938 was sent to Bessie Teller, rejecting her request to bring ‘a Jewish boy into this country

and I am to inform you that the Minister is not prepared to consider any application for the admission of a refugee unless the application for the admission of a refugee is supported by the Irish Co-Ordinating Committee for German and Austrian refugees⁸⁵’

Otto Falk was eventually granted a visa in February 1939, following an application on his behalf by the Irish Co-Ordinating Committee For Refugees. Otto Falk arrived in Ireland in April 1939 and departed in 1946.

Indeed, despite the evidence of what was transpiring under the Nazi regime, Ireland’s draconian immigration policies towards the Jewish refugees and refusal to aid the Jews is all too apparent for example, a letter of appeal from Isaac Herzog Chief Rabbi of Palestine to de Valera dated October 9th, 1938:⁸⁶

‘Dear Mr., de Valera,
I am appealing to you to admit a quota of Jewish refugee’s doctors and dentists to practice in Eire on the same conditions as in the United Kingdom...the quota would amount to six or seven...Perhaps Eire might feel particularly interested in Jewish doctors and dentist of a particular area or locality within the zone of anti-semitic [sic], persecution...In view of the noble stand you have made in [sic], behalf of those unfortunate victims of blind hatred, we entertain the hop [sic], that this petition of ours will receive your most favourable consideration’

de Valera’s letter dated November 26th 1938:

‘Dear Chief Rabbi,
I thank you for sincerely for your kind letter...The Irish people sincerely sympathise with yours in their present sorrows. We hope that their hour of tribulation will quickly pass and that they will soon enjoy peace again’.

⁸⁴ J.E. Duff, Aliens Branch Department of Justice.

⁸⁵ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/ 66/698, 69/80/129, reply from J.E. Duff to Mrs Bessie Teller.

⁸⁶ ISA, 4244/40, Embassies and Legations, Ireland.

With immigration restrictions intensifying ‘an upsurge in requests for help from German Jews who were desperate to escape the increasing Nazi persecution’ (MacCarthy 2016, p.76). However, not all these requests came from Jews in Germany as this letter will demonstrate. The following document was among the Alien 69 series immigration files held in the Immigration Office in Dublin. The hand written letter was a personal appeal to de Valera from a fourteen year old boy dated January 30th 1940⁸⁷:

‘The President of Eire,
I dare to do something of which I can only pray to God that I may succeed. I dare to write to you to implore you to allow that my mother might find a shelter in your country until I can join her again. My mother is a German Jewess in Breslau (Germany) and I am terribly longing for her and worried. I am fourteen years old and learn – farm work in England, my brother who is sixteen years of age is a mechanical apprentice in Birmingham. I have an uncle in America who will support my mother as long as she would be in your country and also later when she is allowed to go to America.
Please Sir, forgive me that I write to you but I cannot see any other help.
Yours obedient
Ernest Guttman’.

The request was refused.

The following unreleased Department of Justice documents provide other instances of the anti – refugee political sentiment in Ireland at the time. A document dated April 5, 1939 states that the Papal Nuncio in Dublin approached the Department of External Affairs (as it was known at the time), on behalf of the Pope,

‘to ascertain whether four non – Aryan Christian doctors from Italy could be allowed to establish themselves here’. The doctors are compelled to leave Italy on account of the anti – Semitic laws which have been put into force there, and the Vatican have asked the nuncio to ascertain whether they could settle in Ireland ...’

The four Italian doctors, Dr. A.S. Fenyves, Dr. Schwarz Laszlo, Dr. Giuseppe Salom and Dr. Sa Grumberger Aranka Maria, were denied admittance into the state, on the grounds that,

‘a very large number of Irish citizens qualify as medical doctors every year and many of them find it necessary to emigrate in order to earn a livelihood in the practice of their profession’

⁸⁷ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series No. 2015/66/1192, 69/80/627. Ernest Guttman to The President of Eire, dated January 30th 1940.

More specifically, the relevance of this particular file is the correspondence which occurred between the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Justice. The documents reveal that the Taoiseach, and Minister for External Affairs, Eamon de Valera, directed the Minister of Justice, Patrick Rutledge, on how best to ‘strengthen the letter’ of refusal in the case of the four doctors. The following are the instructions from de Valera (See Appendix N).

‘The Taoiseach suggests a paragraph here stating that the medical organisation in this country is controlled by a council ... who would object strongly to the admission of these doctors and would not allow them to practice’

An approved draft letter intended for the Papal Nuncio dated April 6, 1939 (which appears to have been sent from the Department of External Affairs, signature on the document illegible), was sent to the Minister for Justice, Patrick Rutledge. On the top left corner of the draft, a handwritten note states, ‘Seen by the Taoiseach before issue’, (See Appendix O). Based on this evidence, we will argue, that de Valera held an authoritative position regarding the admittance of refugees into the state.

In addition to the documents relating to the case of the four Italian doctors, the same file contained a number of documents in relation to a Dr. Gruen, regarding a request that had been made from Dr. T. W.T Dillon a representative of the University College Catholic Committee For Refugees, to Mrs. McEntee, the wife of the Minister For Finance Seán McEntee. In a letter dated May 12, 1939, Dillon was hoping that Mrs. McEntee could make ‘discreet enquires as to the possibilities of obtaining such permission in this special case’, which would allow Dr. Gruen to enter the state for a limited period until he emigrated to America. The file also contained correspondence between the Private Secretary to the Minister for Finance, J.C.B. MacCarthy, and the Private Secretary to the Minister For Justice, Peter Berry, dated May 17, 1939. According to the documents, the correspondence between the two was in relation to the admittance of Dr. Gruen, whom ‘had to leave Italy under the racial laws’. The document states,

‘Dear McCarty,
With reference to our conversation regarding Dr. Gruen, I have looked into this matter and I find that we received a request form the Papal Nuncio last month for the admission of four Italian doctors. The request of the Nuncio was made on instruction from the Vatican. I enclose herewith a copy of the reply which the Minister sent to the Nuncio. I think it will explain sufficiently the Minister’s

attitude towards the admission of foreign Doctors. I might add that the Taoiseach saw and approved of the Minister's reply to the Nuncio'

Following the reply from Peter Berry to MacCarthy, Seán McEntee, personally wrote to Patrick Ruttledge, in May 24, 1939. McEntee, expressed his interest in the case of Dr. Gruen, as the subsequent document illustrates, (For full document, See Appendix P).

'Dear Paddy,

I am interested in the case of a Dr. Gruen who has been recommended to the University College Catholic Committee For Refugees by the Pope. He had to leave Italy under the racial laws and is now living in England being maintained there by the English Catholic Committee. He is most anxious to come over here for a limited period until his emigration to America can be arranged; but it would be necessary to find some paid employment for him during the period of his stay in Ireland ... In the circumstance the only thing that appears to stand between him and a practice in this country is your agreement to his admission. I am aware that your Department does not look with favour on the admission of foreign doctors ... I should be glad if you would look into the matter personally and say whether in the special circumstance you would be prepared to make a concession in this case'

Within a day Ruttledge had replied to Seán McEntee, dated May 25, 1939.

'Dear Seán,

I have your letter of the 24th instance relating to Dr. Gruen. I have considered Dr. Gruen's case carefully but I am sorry that I cannot agree to his coming here.

You will appreciate that we cannot give asylum to even one out of every hundred of the refugees who are anxious to come here, and that for that reason we have to divide all refugees into two classes – a small class of refugee whom we may admit to this country and a large class whom we cannot afford to help ... we have decided that the only refugee whom we can afford to let in here are (1) refugees whose presence is likely to be of advantage to the community and (2) refugees for whom temporary refuge is arranged by the Irish Co – Ordinating Committee for Refugees. We have made it a rule that refugees admitted on the application of the Co – Ordinating Committee for Refugees may not engage in any trade, profession or employment while they remain in this country.

I have received many appeals to admit refugee [sic], who did not come within the foregoing categories, but I have always refused to do so. I felt that if I once depart from the rule which I have laid down, that departure would be quoted as a precedent to secure special treatment for other refugees, until finally the position would be reached where the determining factor in each application would be the amount of pressure brought to bear on me, rather than the merit of the refugee's case.

Dr. Gruen's case does not appear to have any special merits ... Furthermore, we have no guarantee that he would ever get permission to emigrate to America and he might be left in our hands ...'

Given the unwillingness of the Irish government to intervene in any rescue effort of the Jews, Chief Rabbi Herzog approached Robert Briscoe in the hope that his political connections would help secure visa's for Jew's looking to escape the Nazi regime

(McCarthy 2014). Robert Briscoe would become an ‘advocate’ for Jewish refugees in Europe (ibid:78). However, Briscoe believed that the survival of the Jewish people ultimately lay in a Jewish State (ibid). As part of this research project the personal files of Robert Briscoe were examined. One of the documents was a letter written by Robert Briscoe to Bill Ziff⁸⁸ dated 22nd September, 1939⁸⁹, and was of particular interest.

‘Dear Bill,
... You can well understand what the new situation in Europe has brought about a whole mountain of complications and on addition, little personal problems together with the general situation have the effect of making one very depressed. It is quite obvious that as far as the Jewish problem is concerned, a lot of it has unfortunately been solved. The population of Jews in Poland will no longer I feel be anything like the 3 ½ millions, and before this war is over goodness only knows how many more of the people who profess the Jewish Faith will be non- existent. How often did I tell the American Jews when speaking to them in America that if they did not make up their minds quickly the problem would be solved by extermination ... the only solution was Palestine and the only alternative extermination ...’

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, a classification system for *aliens* living in Ireland was established by Ireland’s Military Intelligence, G2:

- A - Nazi
- B - Refugee
- C - Jewish or Jewish Decent
- D - Anti – Nazi (mainly Czech)
- F - Not A ‘but regarded with distrust’

(O’Connor 2017, p.40).

Indeed, Ireland’s suspicious attitude to any ‘alien penetration’ (Daly 2008, p.12), can be seen in a memorandum dated 24th June 1940 by Michael Rynne the legal adviser to the Department of External Affairs, who proposed the closing of Ireland’s borders. The memorandum states:

‘One of the chief questions which appears to require immediate consideration is that of closing our frontiers during the coming period of intensified emergency. This means closing of both our land and sea frontiers. In regard to our land frontier it is only too clear that unless we take early action to restrict immigration

⁸⁸ William (Bill) Ziff was the author of the book ‘The Rape of Palestine’

⁸⁹ From the private papers of Robert Briscoe, Letter to Bill Ziff September 22nd 1939.

from the North, we may find ourselves quite unable to stem a flood of refugees from Northern Ireland when that territory falls victim to aerial bombardment or invasion. Such refugees would be largely destitute persons, undesirable aliens (Jews etc.⁹⁰) ...'

Although, there was a select group of refugees permitted into Ireland in the early war years as the following document will demonstrate, these were Catholics from Austria and Germany. The report from the *Irish Catholic Council for Refugees* dated 14th March 1941 states, 'there are at present forty-two (42) adult, and twelve (12) children, Catholic refugees from Austrian and Germany in this country'⁹¹. Further, measures to protect Ireland from the threat of 'outsiders' was implemented through the restriction of issuing Certificates of Naturalisation, as this letter dated 21st August 1944 to a Messers. McKeever & Son Solicitors illustrates:

'I am directed by the Minister for Justice to state that since the outbreak of war the issue of Certificates of Naturalisation has been restricted, and Certificates are now issued only to such persons as the wives of Irish citizens and persons of Irish decent, who for technical reasons, are not Irish citizens'.

(1944⁹²).

As illustrated, the Aliens Act, 1935 enabled a way to monitor applications for Irish Nationality and Citizenship, from those deemed 'undesirables'. For instance, a request was made to the Minister for Justice dated 18th July 1939, from Captain Grenville Holms, O.B. on behalf of a Polish friend as the letter states, (non-Jewish), requesting information on 'what steps should be taken to apply for Irish citizenship' the letter also assures the Minister that 'the person in question has a private income and is married to a lady of British parentage, and both are desirable citizens'⁹³. No record of reply was found during the research. Other measures such as applying stamp duty of 25% to restrict the purchase of land/property by 'foreigners' was adopted in 1948 by Ireland's first inter-party government headed by John Costello, effectively removing section 3 of the Aliens Act, 1935, which, 'provided that foreigners could hold, acquire and dispose of real property in

⁹⁰NAI DFA, No. 200, Legal Adviser's Papers, Memorandum by Michael Rynne (Dublin), 24th June 1940, Suggested Action in Intensified Emergency.

⁹¹ IE/DDA/AB8 XXX/1/1 Report taken from Archbishop John Charles McQuaid Papers, the Irish Catholic Council for Refugees.

⁹² NAI, JUS/2013/50/1-4, Enquires re. Naturalisation and Citizenship, & Son Solicitors from the Minister for Justice relating to Mr. Gerrit Hageman regarding Irish citizenship 21st August 1944.

⁹³ NAI JUS/2013/50/1-4, Enquires re. Naturalisation and Citizenship, 'The Secretary of State for Home Affairs, The Irish Parliament, Dublin, Eire' from Captain Grenville Holms, O.B. dated, 18th July 1939.

Ireland on similar terms to Irish Nationals’ (Daly 2008, p.14). The reluctance the Irish government to intervene with aid for the Jews continued throughout the war, however, individuals such as Marcus Witztum a Jewish businessman residing in Dublin persuaded the Irish government to open a hat factory in Mayo in 1940, as a result Witztum was able to secure work visa for Jews trying to escape Nazi Germany during the 1930s⁹⁴.

Ireland’s neutrality it could be argued, was also used as a form of ‘get out clause’ for failing to aid the Jewish people during World War Two, as this telegram from Eamon de Valera to Rabbi Herzog dated 5th January 1943⁹⁵ demonstrates, ‘I received your telegram. I know you will believe that everything we can do as a neutral state to prevent or alleviate suffering anywhere we shall do to the utmost of our power’

A letter from Joseph P. Walsh to Robert Briscoe dated 27th November 1944 ostensibly outlined the actual position of the Irish government:

‘Dear Deputy Briscoe,
I am sorry in the delay in replying to your letter of the 25th October enclosing a copy of a telegram from the World Jewish Congress in New York. Mr Kubowitski⁹⁶ was also in touch with the Legation in Washington concerning the proposal to send a diplomatic or Red Cross Mission to Hungary. Our examination of the proposal has shown it to be quite impracticable, and we have asked Mr. Brennan⁹⁷ to so inform Mr Kubowitski. I am sure you yourself will have realised that it is out the question. We have now received a reply from the German authorities to our enquires about Oswiecim Hoss and Birkenau camps. They say that the rumour that it is their intention to exterminate the Jews in these camps is pure invention and devoid of all foundation, and that, if the camps were to be abandoned, the inmates would be evacuated⁹⁸’

Rabbi Isaac Herzog also appealed for assistance in a telegram sent to Joseph P. Walshe dated 28th December 1944, which stated:

‘Pray Make Supreme Effort Now Saving Budapest Jews. Imminent
Extermination. Heartrending Tragedy, Greetings Anticipatory Thanks’

(Keogh 1998, p.190).

⁹⁴ Mayo News (2018), ‘Castlebar and the Irish Schindler’ The story of Marcus Witztum was printed in the Mayo News 2018, [online], available: <http://www.mayonews.ie/comment-opinion/down-memory-lane/32803-castlebar-and-the-irish-schindler> [accessed 6-11-2019].

⁹⁵ NAI DFA 419/44, telegram from Eamon de Valera to Rabbi Herzog dated 5th January 1943.

⁹⁶ A. Leon Kubowitzki founded and was the General Secretary of the World Jewish Congress (1945-48).

⁹⁷ Robert Brennan was the Irish minister in Washington prior to and during the Second World War, see *Ireland Standing Firm and Eamon de Valera: A Memoir*, (2002).

⁹⁸ NAI DFA 419/44 Letter from Joseph P. Walshe to Robert Briscoe (Dublin) 27th November 1944.

Walshe replied, ‘your telegram received. Have been doing everything possible behalf of Hungarian Jews⁹⁹’ dated 17th January 1945. Further correspondence concerning the Hungarian Jews was sent from Robert Brennan to Joseph P. Walshe dated 18th January 1945¹⁰⁰ after representatives from the World Jewish Congress had paid him a visit in Washington seeking the assistance of the Irish government:

‘I enclose herewith a copy of a letter received from Dr. Jacob Hellman and two other leaders of the World Jewish Congress. These gentlemen called on me yesterday and put forward the points which are set forth in the letter. They asked if the Government of Ireland could not intervene with the German authorities to discontinue their policy of extermination of the surviving Jewish population. They also asked if you could not approach the German authorities with a view to having them agree to allow food parcels to be transmitted by the Red Cross to the Jewish population who are in internment camps and further they asked whether we could not issue documents to the Jews in occupied territory which would save them from danger of deportation and extermination as had been done by the Swedish Government. I told the gentleman that the third request had been considered and had been found impracticable and that I doubted whether any representation from a neutral government at this time would be of any avail. However, I promised to forward their request by airmail. I would be glad to have your observation in the matter. I strongly advised the gentlemen to put the whole matter before their representatives in London and before Mr. Briscoe with a view to a more immediate approach to you’

The reluctance of Ireland to open her borders to Jewish refugees is clearly illustrated from the unreleased documents procured from the Immigration Office of the Department of Justice, including a selection of supporting documents held in the National Archives of Ireland. Further documents obtained from the Immigration Office reveal there was a number of visa applications from Jews seeking entry into Ireland that were often at the request of the Irish – Jewish community. These applications were granted by the Irish government. For instance, Rudolf Brasch from Germany applied to enter the state in order to assist with the newly established Dublin Progressive Jewish Society. Rudolf Brasch was granted a visa and arrived on 14 August 1946, departing on 14 January 1947. Brasch re-entered Ireland 13 February 1947 and departed in February 1947. Berthold Friedmann, born in Germany, entered Ireland 22 September 1946 to perform religious duties for the Irish Jewish community and departed, 6 October 1946. In January 1947 Ernest Lowenstein from Austria was granted a visa in order to deliver youth education lectures to the students at the Zion Jewish school. In 1934 at the request of Chief Rabbi of Ireland

⁹⁹ NAI DFA 419/44, Clear telegram from Joseph to Rabbi Isaac Herzog (Jerusalem) dated 17th January 1945.

¹⁰⁰ NAI DFA 419/44 Letter from Robert Brennan to Joseph P. Walshe (Dublin) dated 18th January 1945.

Dr. Herzog, Heschel Epstein a Lithuanian national was granted a visa to stay with Dr. Herzog for three months. Heschel Epstein entered the state December 1934 and departed in May 1935.

An analysis of the documents would suggest the Irish government took a relatively liberal approach to the granting of visa applications in order to accommodate the Irish - Jewish community with regards to their religious requirements. Conversely, when we compare these visa applications with the applications from Jewish refugees, we can see the clear distinction between both set of applicants. Of the applicants seeking visas to assist the Jewish community none would have been classified as a refugee, moreover, the duration of their stay in Ireland was for a short period. Furthermore, when we consider the political discourse within the context of the government documents regarding the Jewish refugees, specifically from Germany and Austria, we can clearly identify that institutional racism was prevalent. Therefore, the findings from the analysis shows, a), the explicit discriminative nature of the immigration policies towards the Jewish refugees, b), the Irish government operated a system of classification based on an individual's religion, ethnicity and citizen status, and c), the administrative process was instrumental in implementing the racial categorising of visa applicants. Therefore, from utilising the documents we can conclude that the Irish government engaged in the practice of immigrant selection which greatly impacted the granting of visa applications, thus, excluding in the majority of cases, Jewish refugees for entering the state, based on their race and ethnicity. Additionally, the Jewish refugees who were granted temporary visas which amounted to a very small percentage, had their movements closely monitored by the authorities. As to why Ireland steadfastly refused entry to Jewish refugees, these finding align with Culleton (2004, p.61), who is in no doubt that 'anti-Semitism played a part'.

Moving then to the role of the Catholic church throughout this period, various commentators have criticized the silence of the Catholic hierarchy in Rome. One such critic Hayes (2017, p.274), states, 'The Church said nothing' in defence of the Jews. However, individuals such as Monsignor Hugh O'Flaherty an Irish cleric in the Vatican during World War Two, was one of the 'main organisers' of the 'escape-line' who organised safe houses and escapees fleeing the Nazi's in Rome (Keogh 1995, p.175). However, as O'Connor (2017, p.146), states, O'Flaherty was a 'problem MacWhite had to deal with as the war progressed', describing 'O'Flaherty's actions as "un-natural

behaviour”, and believed a period in a concentration camp “might develop in him a sense of proportion and responsibility” (ibid). Indeed, the Catholic church in Ireland appears to have adopted the same policy of silence as practiced in Rome, as the following document will illustrate:

A letter dated July 17, 1944 was sent to Archbishop McQuaid from Rabbi David Freilich, whom was residing at 33 Bloomfield Avenue South Circular Road Dublin at this time. Rabbi Freilich requested an urgent meeting with Archbishop McQuaid. A reply from the Archbishop’s secretary, Fr. Christopher Mangan recommend that Rabbi Ferilich put in writing the matter which requires him to see Archbishop McQuaid. In a memorandum dated July 21, 1944,¹⁰¹ to McQuaid, Rabbi Freilich urged the Catholic Church in Ireland to speak out against the atrocities occurring in Hungary. Included, in the correspondence Rabbi David Freilich sent for the attention of Archbishop McQuaid newspaper clippings from the Jewish Chronical 14th -15th July 1944. The newspaper reported on the slaughter of Jews in Hungry. The following is an extract from the aforementioned correspondence”

‘Memorandum for presentation to His Grace,
The atrocities in Hungary.

I am anxious to draw the attention of His Grace to the mass murder of Jews now taking place in Hungary. Rumours of these atrocities have been widely current for some time past but they have now, unfortunately, been confirmed beyond all possible doubt, and I feel myself compelled to approach His Grace on the matter ... All churches in Sweden have voiced loud protests. I feel it would be the honour of Eire to that her voice too shall be heard in condemnation of this inhumane acts of barbarism. The expression of opinion uttered by statesmen and leading figures throughout the world played a great part, there can be no doubt, in saving the Holy City of Rome from devastation. In the present calamity, likewise, world opinion my succeed in calling a halt to this frightful persecution; or at least, it may rescue some small remnant before it is too late. Even if all efforts should prove fruitless, it would be a source of satisfaction for all time to the nations making the protest to know that they did not remain silent’

Indeed, while Archbishop McQuaid voiced concern to the ‘immoral treatment of Christians and Jews, in fact, of every human being that has been persecuted during the recent world crises’. In the main, the reply to Rabbi Freilich dated August 1st 1944, encapsulates Ireland’s response to the suffering of the Jews in Europe prior to, and during the Second World War, Archbishop McQuaid ‘regrets that he cannot see his way to

¹⁰¹ IE /DDA/AB8/ ‘memorandum from Rabbi Freilich to Archbishop McQuaid dated 21th July 1944.

issuing a public protest in the present instance'.¹⁰² Indeed, McQuaid's silence on the 'condemnation of Nazism' (Cooney 1999, p.142), throughout the war, was in stark contrast to his damning sermon of Jews in 1932. The sermon was delivered on Passion Sunday in Cavan where McQuaid 'declared that Jews were always to be found leading the attacks against the Church' (Ibid:69), adding further "A Jew as a Jew is utterly opposed to Jesus Christ and all the Church means ... Jews or others, who by deliberate revolt against our Divine Lord have chosen Satan for their head' (ibid). Clearly McQuaid's anti – Semitic sermon would support the view that Archbishop McQuaid was not going to speak out in defence of the Jews in Europe.

5.7 D-day and Wars End

Following the bombing of Pearl Harbour on 7th December 1941 by Japan, America entered the war on the side of the Allies. According to Reynolds, (2003, p.40), 'Geographically this was now truly a world war'. While Nazi occupation of Europe continued throughout 1941, by 1943 the Allies 'turned the tide against the Axis in Europe' (Cole 2006, p.145). This 'decisive turning point of the second world war' was the battle of Stalingrad, between 1942-1943, resulting in the defeat of the Nazi's by the Russian army (Clairmont 2003, p.2819). In Ireland, accounts of the battle were carried in national newspapers providing Irish society with information on the progression of the war. *The Irish Times*¹⁰³ dated September 28, 1942, reported how; 'Relief Armies Cut Way To Stalingrad', and 'Big German Losses Outside City'. *The Irish Press* on February 3, 1943¹⁰⁴, the headlines on the front page reported on the victory of the Russian forces at the Battle of Stalingrad.

Indeed, by 1944, the 'collapse of Berlin's vast empire in eastern Europe was well advanced' (Atkinson 2013, p.59). The planned invasion of France by Allied forces in Operation Overlord in June 1944, becoming known as D-Day, as Parker (2002, p.195), states, 'its success or failure would decide the outcome of the Second World War'. With the onset of D-Day, tensions were heightened between Ireland and the Allies once again

¹⁰² IE /DDA/AB8/ Papers of Archbishop John Charles McQuaid. Letter from Christopher Mangan to Rabbi David Freilich dated August 1944.

¹⁰³ The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (82)

¹⁰⁴ The Revolution Papers 1943 vol (82)

(Wills 2007). For Britain and the United States, these fears reached ‘their height prior to the invasion of Normandy’ (Wood 2010, p.69) ‘To that end, travel between Britain and Ireland ‘for Irish workers in Britain and Northern Ireland was suspended on 15 March 1944’ in preparation for the invasion (ibid:384). Presumably, Wills posits ‘the travel ban was to stop information getting through by accident or design - to spy networks’ ¹⁰⁵ (ibid), owing to German and Japanese legations in Dublin at the time. However, as Wills points out, ‘the security cooperation between the two states was by this point well established’ based on a meeting held in London ‘between Irish and British officials in April 1944’(ibid). Indeed, while Ireland’s foreign policies in the early stages of World War Two were clearly defined along the lines of its neutral position. Ireland’s ‘hospitality’ towards the Allies, O’Loughlin (2008, p.106), purports,

‘Coincided with a critical reversal in the fortunes of the Axis. As the likelihood of an Allied victory became apparent, Ireland willingly supplied intelligence to the Allies ... cooperation between the intelligence arms of the British and Irish governments, MI5 and G2, were notably improved’

According to O’Loughlin, (2008), ‘even the media, tightly censored by the Government, began to give favourable coverage to Allied war preparations and manoeuvres’ (ibid:107). The *Evening Herald*¹⁰⁶ on June 6, 1944, describe the Allied landings on the Normandy beaches, similarly on June 13, 1944, The *Irish Times*¹⁰⁷ carried reports on the victory at the Beaches in Normandy.

With Germany’s surrender in 1945, the war in Europe ended. The headlines of *The Irish Times*¹⁰⁸ dated 8th May 1945, announced ‘Peace To-Day In Europe’ and the ‘Total Surrender By Reich’. In response to the victory in Europe and as a ‘revenge on the censors’ (Wood 2010, p.96) the front page of the *Irish Times* was designed with ‘images of Churchill and the other leaders of the Allies, as well as commanders such as Montgomery and Brook, laid out in the pattern of an enormous V for Victory’(ibid), in order ‘to mock and defy a censorship whose role was already redundant’ (ibid:196). On

¹⁰⁵ In 1944, a request was made to the Irish government by America to expel the Axis legations of Germany and Japan in Dublin, becoming known as the “American Note”. For further reading see, Wills, C. (2007) *That neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War*, London: Faber and Faber Limited.

¹⁰⁶ The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (85)

¹⁰⁷ The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (85)

¹⁰⁸ The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (88)

2nd May 1945, the headlines of *The Irish Times*¹⁰⁹ carried the announcement on the Death of Hitler in Berlin.

5.8 Ireland's Response to the Holocaust, the 1946 Aliens Order and Relief Aid.

The *Irish Press* reported on May 3, 1945, that Taoiseach Eamon de Valera and the secretary of the Department of External Affairs Joseph P. Walshe, called on the German Minister to Ireland Dr. Hempel, to offer their condolences on the death of Hitler (Keogh 1989). The actions of the Irish government made international headlines and was widely condemned by the international community. Of the Irish diaspora living in America and Britain and who had no experience of the censorship restrictions in Ireland, their response to the actions of de Valera are clearly evident from the research conducted on the *Papers of Eamon de Valera*. One such letter written to de Valera, not dated, expressed the shame that was felt by members of the Irish community living in London at the time:

‘We are ashamed to hear our dear Country has a leader who regrets the death of the worst beast in the world ... The Irish people in London are ashamed of the name of de Valera!
4 Cork girls¹¹⁰’

Whereas the end of World War Two brought liberation to the concentration camps including German held territories. Conversely, post-war Europe now had millions of persons who were displaced, stateless, or needed repatriation, all residing in Displaced Persons camps (DP camps). As Fanning (2002, p.76), contends, Ireland's ‘overt policy of discrimination against Jews ... lasted throughout the Second World War and the aftermath of the Holocaust’. The reluctance to admit Jews into Ireland, even to Jewish children, is evident in a Memorandum from Joseph P. Walshe to Eamon de Valera dated 20th September 1944: regarding the admittance of 500 Jewish refugee children from France and an agreement in principle to accepting more from Hungary, Walshe states:

‘It is, on the whole, unlikely that these children will ever reach this country. The intensification of the war will undoubtedly hold up projects of this character. Of course, it was always understood that the children should reside here only for a brief period while awaiting transfer to a permanent home’¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ the Revolution Papers 1943, vol (88)

¹¹⁰ IE UCDA P150/2689 Papers of Eamon de Valera (1882-1975).

¹¹¹ NAI DFA 419/44 Memorandum from Joseph P. Walshe to Eamon de Valera regarding Jewish refugees.

As Fanning (2018, p.162) argues, ‘No *Kindertransport* refugees were admitted to the Irish Free State during the war’. The Irish government’s response towards immigration, more specifically Jews, remained as restrictive by the end of World War Two. For example, attempts to bring 100 Jewish orphans to Ireland from Bergen-Belsen concentration camp was met with opposition from the Department of Justice, despite the fact it was at no expense to the state. The maintenance and care of the Jewish children would be facilitated by the Irish and British Jewish communities (ibid). The Minister of Justice in 1946, refused to admit the Jewish orphans, his reasons ‘that it had always been policy to restrict the admission of Jewish aliens’ (ibid:162). The following document dated April 28, 1948, which was procured from the National Archives of Ireland clearly demonstrates the reaction from the Department of Justice to the proposal of bringing Jewish orphans to Ireland:¹¹²

‘The Minister for Justice wishes to bring to the notice of the government the fact that permission was granted in November 1946 for the entry into this country of one hundred Jewish orphan children from Poland and that on the 26th March an attempt was made to burn Clonyn Castel, near Mullingar, where it is proposed to accommodate the children. The application for permission for the entry of those children was made by a London Jewish Organisation “The Chief Rabbi’s Religious Emergency Council”... The attempt which was made on the 26th March to burn Clonyn Castle did very little damage. The Castle was forcible entered in the early hours of the morning of the 26th and petrol was sprinkled on the floor of five rooms. An attempt was made to set fire to the floors, but they did not take fire ... The police stated that, while numbers of the local people do not like the proposal to house Jewish children in the Castle, there is not, as far as the police are aware, any local organised agitation against the admission of the children...’

The document further states, that the decision was overturned following an appeal to de Valera from Chief Rabbi Herzog. The children were only admitted into Ireland in November 1946, ‘on the understanding that they would be removed to some other country as soon as arrangements could be made’ (Keogh 1998, p.210). The children resided in Cloyne Castle for almost a year. Ironically, as Fanning (2018, p.165), points out,

‘Following the defeat of Germany, around 40 Nazi collaborators, including some fleeing charges of war crimes or prison sentences, were admitted to the Irish Free State’... Many arrived with the assistance of clandestine networks or ‘ratlines’... Many arrived ... in Ireland with false papers, and some were granted visas from Irish embassies ...’

¹¹² NAI TAOIS/11007/B1 Department of Justice document, dated 28th April 1948.

Ireland's immigration policies tightened further with the introduction of the Alien Order, 1946. The 1946 Order, 'sets out certain restrictions on the landing of non-Irish nationals, as well as procedures for their inspection, supervision, detention and deportation' (Quinn et al. 2008, p.34). Culleton (2004, p.62), argues,

'As with the case of the 1935 Aliens Act, there can be little doubt that the 1946 Aliens Order reflected the general feeling of the day'. The "ourselves alone" ethos was very much a prevalent factor in the national consciousness'

It should be noted, even at government level there appeared to be some ambiguity regarding the number of aliens who were granted admittance into Ireland between 1939-1945 as the following Dáil Éireann debate in June 27, 1946, illustrates:

'Mr Cosgrave, Asked the Minister of Justice if he will state (a) the number of aliens who have come into this country in each of the years 1939-1945, inclusive; and (b) the number of these people who have been granted certificates of naturalisation.

Minister for Justice (Mr Boland), states,

The following are the numbers of aliens who came to this country in each of the years 1939-1945, inclusive, who were liable to registration under the Aliens Act, 1935, and are still here:

- 1939, 292
- 1940, 56
- 1941, 17
- 1942, 10
- 1943, 23
- 1944, 14
- 1945, 118

Of these aliens 50 have been naturalised. Twenty- six of the naturalised persons are males and 24 are females, of whom 11 are married to Irishmen¹¹³,

By 1948 Ireland had a new inter-party government headed by John A. Costello of Fine Gael. As 19198 (1998, p.216), points out, 'The onset of the Cold War, however, had significantly changed the context of the refugee problem'. Although, requests for admission into Ireland had, somewhat, diminished by 1948, Costello's inter-party government decided to 'admit freely aliens of good character' (ibid:217), where Ireland had visa arrangements. However, they had to be in a position to maintain themselves,

¹¹³ Dáil Éireann debate 27TH June 1946, Aliens Entering Ireland, [online], available: <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1946-06-27/> [accesses 6-7-2019]

only taking up employment with previously agreed permission. Nevertheless, even with the new requirements for entering Ireland, on a number of occasions between 1946-1949, ships from Sweden carrying refugee passengers docked in Irish ports, resulting in a number of her passengers being left in Ireland¹¹⁴ (ibid).

The refugee crises in Europe was still ongoing in the 1950s. DP camps were still in operation trying to facilitate the displaced populations of Europe. Organisations such as the International Refugee Organisation (IRO), made an appeal in 1950 to the Irish government for the resettlement of a limited number of ‘Institutional hard-core cases’ from the DP camps who required institutional care. John Dillon the IRO’s representative in Ireland, contacted Archbishop McQuaid on July 20, 1950, requesting a meeting in order to discuss how the religious orders in Ireland might assist these ‘hard core refugees’. A subsequent letter was sent to Archbishop McQuaid from the Vatican representative to the IRO, Fr Edward Killion, dated August 21, 1950, on behalf of John Dillon requesting a meeting regarding the “institutional cases”. A letter of inquiry was sent to John Costello dated September 2, 1950, from Archbishop McQuaid regarding the government’s position in relation to the ‘hopeless hard-core of the Refugees’, adding that he felt the ‘voluntary Institutions would help’, however, he would not answer Fr Killion until he knew the government’s decision on the matter. In the same correspondence Archbishop McQuaid drew Costello’s attention to a particular article that had been published in *The Tablet*, (a weekly Catholic Journal), (see Appendix G), on August 5, 1950, entitled, *The Unwanted*. While Dermot Keogh refers to the same particular set of documents in his book, *Jews in Twentieth - Century Ireland* (1998), however, Keogh fails to mention the article *The Unwanted*, or indeed, any reference that McQuaid made to Costello during their correspondence.

The article was a report regarding the *Aged, Sick and Maimed Refugees*, left in DP camps; which no country wanted. It reported on the plight of the elderly in the camps and of those who will be left behind, or the ones fortunate enough to secure shelter in religious orders across Europe, how elderly married couples will be forced to sleep separately and apart

¹¹⁴ For further reading on the refugees from 1946-1949 who came to Ireland, including *The Victory* with 385 passengers destined for Canada, see Keogh, D. (1998), *Jews in Twentieth- Century Ireland*, Cork: Cork University Press.

from each other. What is of interest in this article, however, is the reference made to the fact that ‘Jewish communities were able to take complete charge of all Jewish refugees and build a home for the aged in Palestine’. While,

‘50 per cent of refugee camp inhabitants are Catholics, and that the Catholics had been most generous in sponsoring immigrants and in providing supplies. “Too bad they haven’t a country,” this citizen of new Israel remarked in all sincerity; “they might be able to do something about the rest.” The Christian countries of the world have taken nearly one million refugees to work in development of agriculture and industry. They have admitted a few well-bounded and sponsored non-workers. The others – old, sick, maimed, twenty-two thousand needing institutional care – are being parcelled out where they will give the least trouble, or left behind to rot. Not, one country has put forward a plan or made an effort to take part of the responsibility. Not one Christian country has opened its doors in Christian charity to the unwanted¹¹⁵’

The Editor’s Note on the article stated that the ‘British Government have approved a scheme whereby two thousand Displaced Persons in the categories described in the above article may be brought to this country by relatives, friends, private persons or voluntary organisations...’ It could be suggested that Archbishop McQuaid made a point of referring to the article in his correspondence with the Taoiseach, and his ‘encouragement’ of the government to act on the matter of the refugees (Keogh 1998, p.219), was, perhaps, more to do with the reference to the Jewish communities ability to look after ‘its own’, especially the elderly, as opposed to the Christian countries. Another factor which may have prompted McQuaid, was the scheme announced by the British government in the Editors note (See Appendix G).

At a government meeting held September 26, 1950, (See Appendix H), it was decided to admit ‘any incapacitated displaced persons for whom voluntary institutions in this country are willing to take responsibility’, however, cases of tuberculosis would be excluded. Various stipulations were attached to the admittance of the displaced persons which included that dependant of the incapacitated persons cannot be admitted unless the institutions are willing to provide for the dependants, as well as the incapacitated persons, ‘dependants of refugees who are admitted for employment will be admitted freely’, but the government would not provide housing for them. Fifty refugees were eventually admitted for institutional care (ibid). A memorandum from the Department of Justice in

¹¹⁵ The Tablet (1950) Vol. 196, No. 575. no author name on article From a Special Correspondent, ‘*The Unwanted*’ p. 104-105.

1950, provides a breakdown of the number of aliens admitted into Ireland since 1945. Of the 925 aliens that were admitted, 355 are domestic servants; 170 are university students, (admitted on an interim basis), approximately 400 children, dependant family of persons already residing in Ireland, including the approval of an additional 450 aliens, but their arrival is doubtful. (ibid). Of the refugee policies of both de Valera's Fianna Fáil and Costello's inter-party government Keogh (1998, p.220), is accurate in his assessment of the Emergency years in Ireland, stating, the refugee policies were not 'liberal' and could have been 'much more generous'.

As previously stated, there appears to be a certain ambiguity regarding the number of Jewish refugees admitted into Ireland. Census figures obtained from the CSO shows there was 3,749 Jews in Ireland in 1936, in 1946 there was 3,907, the census conducted in 1951 and 1952 provided no religious category, therefore, making it difficult to establish exact figures.

Archival documents acquired from the Department of Justice and held in the Immigration Office as mentioned above, clearly illustrates the exclusionary policies and indeed, the discourse pertaining to the admittance of refugees into Ireland during the Emergency. In fact, if we consider firstly the Aliens Act, 1935, and secondly, Ireland's stated position by Cremins at the Evian Conference, these exclusionary policies and mindset, were well in place, prior to World War Two. The following 'confidential' document dated January 9, 1940, from S.A. Roche¹¹⁶ to the Department of External Affairs, concerning the admittance of two Jewish refugees¹¹⁷ is compelling evidence regarding the government's position on Jewish immigration into Ireland:

'... The Minister is not prepared to grant the application. In regard to the reasons for the Ministers refusal, I am to remind you that at a conference which was held in this Department in October last it was agreed that, except in very exceptional circumstances, persons of German or former Austrian nationality and in particular refugees, should not be admitted to this country during the course of the war'¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series, 2015/66//1172, 69/80/607, Department of Justice, from S.A. Roche to Department of External Affairs, dated January 9th 1940. S.A. Roche was the Assistant Secretary to the Minister for Justice.

¹¹⁷ An application to admit the two Jewish Refugees, Hans Steiner and Kurt Weinburg, had being made by Sir George Franckenstein was a former Austrian diplomat based in London prior to the outbreak of World War Two.

¹¹⁸ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series, 2015/66//1172, 69/80/607, Department of Justice, from S.A. Roche to Department of External Affairs, dated January 9th 1940.

The subsequent document, also obtained from the archival records held in the Immigration Office, again, demonstrates the unsympathetic attitude of the Irish government towards the Jewish refugees, including the prejudice which influenced government policies at this time. The correspondence from J.E. Duff to the Minister for Justice Gerald Boland dated April 13, 1940, was in relation to an application for a visa for Mrs Zondek a German Jew to enter Ireland. The original application was made on behalf of Mrs Zondek's daughter, who was residing in the UK. The Irish Red Cross Society (at the request of the International Committee of the Red Cross), including Senator James G. Douglas would later intervene in order to secure a visa for Mrs Zondek.

'Minister,

I have attached a file containing an application for a visa to enable Mrs Zondek of Berlin to enter this country ... A special plea is made for Mrs Zondek on the grounds that her late husband ... rendered very great service to the Red Cross during the last war ... Our attitudes towards cases of this sort is that there are thousands of "hard cases" of Jews who want to leave Germany, but that a small country like this cannot afford to give much assistance. We have admitted about 150 refugees, but since the outbreak of the war we have refused to admit anymore ...¹¹⁹

Interestingly, along with the other delegates at the Evian Conference Ireland's representatives expressed sympathy for the 'suffering involved in the refugee problem'¹²⁰ however, even as the plight of Europe's Jews reached a critical state, this was not deemed to be 'exceptional circumstances' by the Irish government.

Although Ireland's immigration policies and attitudes throughout this era have been well documented, by utilising archival documents not yet available to the general public, we feel this research has provided further evidence of the Irish government's unwillingness to aid the Jews of Europe, apart from a select number who could contribute to the economy. Even though attempts to aid the Jewish refugees were made by individuals such as Robert Briscoe, Rabbi Isaac Herzog and Marcus Witztum including organisations such as the Irish Co-Ordinating Committee for Refugees; though no cost to the State was to be incurred, Ireland's borders remained closed, or only temporary residence was granted. In addition, the Catholic church in Ireland similar to their counterparts in Rome were also

¹¹⁹ DOJ. Alien Files 69 series, 2015/66//1215, 96/80/650, correspondence from J.E. Duff to the Minister for Justice Gerald Boland in relation to Mrs Zondek dated 13th April 1940.

¹²⁰ NAI DFA 243/67 Statement by Francis T. Cremins to the Fourth (public) meeting of the Evian -les-Bains Refugee Conference 11 July 1938.

unwilling to speak out in defence of the European Jews, even when requested to do so. Indeed, McQuaid's earlier engagement with anti - Semitic rhetoric enabled 'this narrow view at a time when European Jews were looking for help against Hitler' (Cooney 1999, p.186).

While Ireland 'asserted a policy of opposing Jewish refugees' (Fanning 2016, p.362). The Irish governments post – war relief aid was more generous. Documents procured from the National Archives of Ireland, demonstrates the level of humanitarian aid Ireland provided for the assisting with the relief programme in Europe. On November 7th 1945, Ireland shipped 200 tons of butter bound for Germany and Austria. A second consignment of Kg. 10,000 in January 1946. Other consignment consisted of beacon and sugar, wool, blankets and cookers. Messages of appreciation for Ireland's assistance for 'Relief of Distress in Europe' can be found among the files utilised for this research. One letter was from a boy in Florence thanking de Valera for a packet of sugar he received, another was from Dr. Boehringer Chairman Executive Committee Joint Relief Commission International Red Cross. Also amongst the files was a letter from Pope Pius XII dated February 20th, 1945, in which he thanked de Valera and the Irish people for their generosity. Arguably, in comparison to Ireland's immigration policies, Ireland's humanitarian aid program following World War Two was much more liberal. This raises an interesting point, here again if we consider Ireland's position as stated by Cremins at the Evian Conference, 'Ireland was not able to make any substantial contribution to the solution' (O'Connor 2017, p.30).

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter began by setting out to examine Ireland's isolationism both politically and socially to the Jewish persecution prior to and during the Second World War. Indeed, while the information regarding the atrocities was deliberately withheld from the general public, creating what (Ó Drisceoil (1996, p.301), referred to, as an 'information vacuum'. Irish newspapers as we have demonstrated were publishing articles on the inhumane treatment of the Jews in Nazi Germany and Austria, including the use of concentration camps prior to the outbreak of the war and for a short time thereafter. Furthermore, de Valera and the Irish government were indeed, aware of the brutality and religious persecution of the European Jews through the information supplied by the various Irish

diplomats in Europe, and not forgetting the personal appeals from Jewish refugees even before the outbreak of World War Two. Although censorship ‘officially’ ended after the Second World War, we established the Irish government are at present still restricting access to documents pertaining to individual members of the government of the time. While these documents are being withheld from public scrutiny, we will argue, censorship never fully ended in Ireland. In addition, as this research has shown Ireland’s foreign policies on immigration was specifically directed towards Jewish refugees and was underpinned with anti – Semitic tones which were expressed in both political and religious discourse.

As discussed above, the refugee crisis in the aftermath of World War Two left millions of displaced persons. Regardless, Irish immigration policies became even more stringent with the introduction of the Alien Order, 1946, and holds to what Culleton (2004, p.62), states, ‘it is not difficult to see that the ‘door’ was firmly closed to Europe’s displaced millions’. In contrast to Ireland’s exclusionary immigration policies, it appears that Ireland’s humanitarian aid policies were ‘undiscriminating’ (O’Driscoll 2019, p.22).

Following the end of World War Two in 1945, the state of Israel was founded in 1948, fulfilling the aims of the Zionists movement, constituting the basis for the final two chapters.

Chapter Six: Zionism and Ireland

'Thought it is a story of a country, the story of Israel is also the story of a revolution. Zionism was a movement committed to transforming the existential condition of the Jew. It was time, Zionists insisted, for the Jewish people to be reborn'

(Gordis 2016, p.4).

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we challenged the myth of 'Plato's cave' while arguing, that Ireland enacted discriminatory legislation in order to protect her national borders from an influx of Jewish refugees escaping mainland Europe during the Second World era. In this chapter we will focus on the Zionist movement in Ireland and the role, if any, Zionism as a national cause played in influencing Irish-Jewish migration to Israel in 1948. By utilising archival material from the Dublin Jewish Museum, including the Aliyah¹²¹ statistics from Ireland to Israel from 1948-1984 obtained from the (Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel, 2018), the findings in this chapter we feel, will contribute to the growing pool of knowledge on Ireland's Jewish community, perhaps, opening up new lines of enquiry which challenges previous assumptions regarding Irish -Jewish migration to Israel.

There is no doubt that Zionism as an ideology was embraced by members of Ireland's Jewish community, Robert Briscoe support of Revisionist Zionism, Ze'ev Jabotinsky, New Zionists Organisation (NZO), created in 1935, while Chaim Herzog became a member of the Haganah¹²², the Zionist military organisation in Israel, and later became President of Israel. Moreover, a number of women's organisation were established over the decades, who were affiliated with the Zionist movement, the oldest being *The Daughters of Zion* which was established in Dublin in 1900. Here these different forms of Zionism should be clarified. Ze'ev Vladimir Jabotinsky New Zionist Organisation favoured a more a radical political approach for the creation of a Jewish state. The more

¹²¹ Aliyah a Hebrew word which relates to the immigration of Jews from the Diaspora to the Land of Israel. Defined as 'the act of going up' towards Jerusalem – 'making Aliyah' by moving to the Land of Israel (Jewish Virtual Library <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/aliyah>).

¹²² Haganah was the underground paramilitary movement during British Mandate of Palestine, led by David Ben – Gurion. The Haganah would later become the Israel defence Forces.

moderate Daughters of Zion a voluntary organisation concentrated on raising funds for building projects and the welfare of Jewish women and children in Palestine/Israel. Indeed, as noted in the previous chapters, Ireland's Jewish community was quite small, conversely, this certainly does not mean the Zionism movement in Ireland was operating in a vacuum, as the following chapter will illustrate.

In order to examine Ireland's connection with Zionism at a micro level including the ideology which reinforced the rhetoric of Zionist leaders such as Theodor Herzl and Jabotinsky, this chapter as with the subsequent chapters will be divided into subsections. Section 6.2 will focus on the historiography of Zionism including the Zionist movement under Theodor Herzl. Section 6.3 will discuss the parallels between Irish nationalism and the Zionist movement as both ideologies were underpinned by the notion of race, ethnicity, and a sense of national consciousness. The following section 6.4 will discuss the historiography of the Zionist movement in Ireland, including the support for the Zionist cause among Ireland's Jewish community. The aim of the concluding section 6.5 is to probe the Irish-Jewish response to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, and the impact this had on early Irish- Jewish settlement in Israel.

6.2 Zionism and Theodor Herzl

The Jewish enlightenment period (The *Haskala*), emerged in Germany in the 18th century inspired 'by the revolutionary calls of equality coming from France starting in 1789...the Enlightenment came as a promise of ending the darkness of intolerance and hatred'(Epstein 2016, p.2). However, as the opening abstract of this chapter illustrates 'Emancipation did not impart equality to Jews' (Viorst 2016, p.4). In fact, as Epstein (2016, p.3), points out, 'Jews weren't really accepted as full and equal members of society'. Indeed, the period of the Enlightenment and the 'growth of the democratic ideal' (Neumann 1941, p.xv), did nothing to 'prevent the spread of anti-Semitism'(ibid). To quote Neumann,

'In a sense it aided the process by promoting among the several peoples of Europe a heightened sense of their own worth, distinctiveness and national destiny. Abstract democracy found its expression in the National state, in which the Jews enjoyed civil rights but had not required "soil and honour".

(Emanuel Newman in Theodore Herzl 1941, p.xv).

By design, the ideals of European nationalism Epstein notes, would become problematic for minority groups, ‘people without a nation who didn’t fit with the majority cultural identity’ (Epstein 2016, p.9). Indeed, as Epstein sums it up,

‘Nations were created and the Jews were just part of them, still not accepted as genuinely attached to the nations ... Europe was no longer dividing people along religious lines. There emerged a new ominous division: race’

(ibid:3).

As Hobsbawm, in *Nations and Nationalism* (1992, p.41), argues,

‘in practice the mini-peoples whose right to sovereignty and self – determination were thus guaranteed were not generally permitted by their larger and more rapacious neighbours to excise either, nor did most of them contain many sympathisers with the principles of 1795’

Conversely, ‘Zionist ideology subsequently developed around the central mystique of Land and People. Borrowing from the ethnic and irredentist doctrines of European nationalism’ (Taylor 1972, p.40). The sense of cultural and ethnic differences to which Epstein (2016), and Taylor (1972), alludes to, became the ‘chief characteristics’ of Irish nationalism and Zionism (Boyce 1982, p.19). Indeed, the notion of ‘race, religion, and a strong sense of territorial unity and integrity’ (ibid), would in fact, become a central theme in the aspiration of both Irish nationalism and Zionism, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

While a return to Zion was deeply embedded in the narrative of the Jewish religion (Epstein 2016, See also Sachar 2007). As a political movement Zionism did not emerge until the second half of the nineteenth century, ‘when the forces of anti-Semitism and modern nationalism converged’ (Medoff and Waxman 2012, p.xxvi). In itself, the term Zionism was first ‘used publicly by Nathan Birnbaau in 1892’(Laqueur 1972, p.xxv). Although Theodor Herzl has been ‘credited with being the founding father of Zionism’ (Viorst 2016, p.1), Jewish nationalism the foundations of Zionism had emerged well before him (ibid). According to Schoeps, (2013, p.3), some of the earlier ‘pioneers of modern political Zionism’ included ‘Moses Hess, Leon Pinsker and Isaak Rülff¹²³’.

¹²³ For further reading on Moses Hess, Leon Pinsker and Isaak Rülff see Schoeps, J.H. (2013) *Pioneers of Zionism: Hess, Pinsker, Rülff: Messianism, Settlement Policy, and the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

According to Berkowitz, (1993, p.1). ‘the early Zionist Movement sought to define and create a Jewish national culture in order to activate a sense of belonging to a Jewish nation among the Jews of Europe’ (Berkowitz 1993, p.1). Berkowitz notes,

‘Early Zionism confronted the reality of a Jewry deeply splintered along religious, geographical, linguistic, social, economic, and political lines ... This compelled the movement to invent ways to overcome these ...obstacles. One of the most important developments in the service of this goal was the fabrication of a national cultural with which European Jews could identify without setting foot in Palestine’.

(ibid:6).

Indeed, from its conception ‘Zionism purported to replace the Jew’s diverse national sentiments with loyalty to a Jewish nation’(Berkowitz 1993, p.6). Interestingly, although ‘Zionism emerged during the era of European nationalism’ (Medoff and Waxman 2012, p. xxvii,)), this form of patriotism Medoff and Waxman pointed out, ‘was unique in that it emerged among people who were scattered and not in the national homeland’(ibid). It should be noted here, since its conception there has been various forms of Zionism, for example, Political Zionism, Revisionist Zionism, Labour Zionism and Religious Zionism. Interestingly, as Stanislawski (2017, p.20), states, ‘the Zionist movement, founded in the late nineteenth century...was in fact a rejection of the age-old desire for the Jews to return to the Land of Israel’.

The first Zionist Congress was organised by Theodor Herzl in 1897. The venue chosen for the delegates was Basel in Switzerland. The Basel- Programme set out the objectives of the Zionist movement. Its aim was to establish,

‘a Jewish homeland openly recognised, legally secured ... the encouragement of settlement in Palestine by Jewish agricultural workers, labours, artisans; the unification of all Jewry into local and general (Zionist), groups; the strengthening of Jewish self - awareness and national consciousness; diplomatic activity to secure the help of various governments’

(Sacher 2007, p.46).

Theodor Herzl would later write in his diary ‘In Basle I have founded the Jewish State’(Avineri 1998, p.3). For Sacher (2007, p.41), ‘Herzl stood alone in his attempt to resolve the Jewish question not merely through the dramatic and far- reaching notion of a Jewish state but through the active collaboration of leading European powers’ such as, Kaiser William II and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire for a Charter with the intention

of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine (Laqueur 1972). Baer (2014, p.236), maintains, ‘Herzl’s investment in resolving the plight of the Jewish people developed in response to encounters with modern forms of antisemitism in the late nineteenth century’. ‘A fact most dramatically made evident in France by the Dreyfus affair’(Epstein 2016, p.3). Indeed, the connection between Herzl and Zionism, Cohn (1974, p.103), suggests, was the trial of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish French army officer accused of treason in 1894¹²⁴. Cohn cites from Herzl diaries:

‘I was turned into a Zionist by the Dreyfus case ...of which I was a witness in 1894 ...For the Jews there is no other help and salvation than to return to their own nationhood and settle and settle in their own land and territory’

(Herzl, cited in Cohn 1974, p.103).

Prior, to convening the first Zionist Congress, Theodor Herzl was a journalist with no particular political ambitions (Avineri 2008), until 1896, when Herzl published a pamphlet entitled *The Jewish State* which advocated for the establishment for a Jewish home in Palestine (Avineri 2008). Clearly, this display of anti-Semitism had a dramatic effect on Herzl’s worldview of the Jewish problem, the Dreyfus affair had exposed the failings of assimilation (ibid). Although Herzl relentlessly campaigned for the establishment of a Jewish homeland all efforts to secure a Jewish state in Palestine at this time were unsuccessful. Zionist ideals gained little support from the intellectuals of the day, the movement was deemed ‘fully as dangerous as to the German spirit as are social democracy and ultramontanism’ (Sacher 2007, p.52). Others accused Herzl of ‘blatant treason and a provocation of anti-Semitism’ (ibid). The opposition to Zionist ideals in Western Europe (Salmon 1998, p.26), argues, came from Jewish ‘Orthodoxy and particular Neo-Orthodoxy ... which feared that a nationalist definition of the Jewish people might hinder demands for integration in the German states and the Austro – Hungarian Empire’. It is interesting to note here, later critics of Herzl such as ‘Ahad Haam’ (Avineri 1998, p.5), maintained that ‘his vision lacked a cultural context’ (ibid¹²⁵). Theodor Herzl died in 1904 never achieving his envisaged Jewish homeland.

¹²⁴ The Dreyfus affair became a controversial issue in French society when a Jewish army officer Alfred Dreyfus, was convicted of treason after being accused of handing over military documents to the Germans. Theodor Herzl was sent as a journalist to report on the story for his Viennese newspaper (Gilbert For further reading on the Dreyfus affair see; Read (2013).

¹²⁵ Shlomo Avineri in the book *Zionism and Religion* (1998), aligns himself with Ahad Haam criticism of Theodor Herzl.

6.3 Irish Nationalism and the Zionist Movement: Parallels

Initially, the early studies of Zionism, as Ben-Israel (2003, p.91), notes ‘were focused on the development of Zionism, its history, its ideas, its internal struggles, and debates as part of Jewish history’. Only in recent times has the question arisen as to whether ‘Zionism was like or unlike other national movements’(ibid). According to Ben-Israel, (2003, p.91),

‘it is considered legitimate and instructive to try and place Zionism among the national movements and, as in general studies of nationalism, to seek to find both unique characteristics and recurring patterns in the various movements’

(ibid).

While, the main focus of this section is to compare Zionism with Irish nationalism, perhaps then, the best starting point is the ‘remarkable similarities’ of both groups (Beatty and O’Brien 2018, p.7). For Beatty and O’Brien:

‘The Irish and the Jews are two of the classic outliers of modern Europe. Both struggled with their lack of formal political sovereignty in nineteenth - century Europe. Simultaneously European and not European...perceived as racially inferior’

(ibid).

Indeed, as noted by Beatty and O’Brien (2018), historic commonalities existed between the Irish and the Jewish people, which previous chapters of this thesis has noted. Although, it may appear that Irish nationalism and Zionism have little in common, Irish nationalism and the Jewish national movement Zionism, shared a common aspiration, ‘Both sought to deal with their subaltern status through nationalism, and their nationalist movements’ (Beatty and O’Brien 2018, p.7). More specifically, ‘Both Zionism and Irish nationalists sought to create idealised images of the past and claimed to be rebuilding a glorious ancient society in the future as a means of escaping a degraded present’ (Beatty 2017, p.315). Interestingly, Irish nationalism and its leaders have been hailed as the ‘inspiration models of Zionism’ (Eliash (2007, p.6). In fact, Theodor Herzl referred to himself as ‘the Parnell of the Jews’ (ibid).

Having previously discussed the historical similarities between the Irish and the Jewish people more specifically, in terms of race we can see how both ideologies were used to advance the ‘social position and location in the social world’ of both these groups (Loyal

2011, p.184). The main theme of this next sections will discuss the parallels between Irish nationalism and Zionism. As previously discussed, both groups were viewed as social 'problems', giving rise to the 'Irish and 'Jewish Questions'. For Penslar (2007, p.135), The 'Jewish Question' or 'problem' of nineteenth century Europe 'employed a similar taxonomy of dysfunction' in England with the 'Irish Question'. Ironically, it was the problematising and discrimination of both these groups which would shape Zionist and nationalist thinking. The rhetoric of the nationalist movement Kiberd (1995, p.2), has argued, 'imagined the Irish people as an historic community, who's self-image was constructed long before the era of modern nationalism and the nation-state'. Indeed, Benedict Anderson's (1983), concept of 'imagined communities', demonstrated 'how this collective sense of belonging influenced the development of powerful nationalism' (Frawley 2012, p.3). In Ireland's case Irish nationalism 'derived from a reaction against British imperialism and an attempt to reinvent a Gaelic culture' (Bruce 2003 and Girvin 2002 cited in White 2007, p.47). Indeed, as English (2006, p.123) argues, the 'legacy of the penal laws in Ireland ... established in many Irish Catholics minds the sense that [English] law was hostile to their community'. Thus, for McCaffery (1973, p.527), 'Catholicism became a symbol of a besieged way of life'. Catholics were deprived of 'civil, religious and property rights, reducing most of them to the level of surfs' (ibid). Catholicism was therefore, 'successful conjoined with Irish nationalism by its identity as a persecuted Church (White 2007, p.48). According to Bruce, (2003, p.42),

'The link between religion and nationalism can be sketched as follows. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rising nationalists movements, and the states they created, often called on a shared religious identity as the basis for a sense of unity among the chosen people'

The Catholic Church in Ireland Brown (1985, p.25), points out, 'with her formally regularized rites and practices offered ... a way to be Irish'. Along with nationalism, 'Catholicism increasingly became a badge of national identity' (ibid). Indeed, the 'Catholic Church, played an important role in forging the unity that was necessary for nationalism to become an effective mass movement' (Bruce 2003 and Girvin 2002 cited in White 2007, p.47).

As we can see from the above, Catholicism and Irish identity became interchangeable, by confirming a 'sense of national identity', (Brown 1985, p.25). The revival of a version of

ancient Ireland and one which was an ‘intrinsic part’ in the construction of an Irish identity became another unifying force’ (Ní Bhroiméil 2001, p.88). According to Beatty, (2017, p.321), Irish nationalists ‘fashioned an alternative temporal schema: a national golden age from before the conquest or the dispersion, a golden age that would return with national sovereignty in the future’. As a way to evoke ‘Ireland Gaelic past as an antidote to ... ‘anglicisation’ (Farrell 2017, p.23), cultural associations were established, such as the, ‘Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), established in 1884, the Celtic Literary Society (CLS), formed in 1893, and the Gaelic League also established in 1893’ (ibid), which defined ‘Irish identity in terms of national games, Irish culture ... and the Irish language’ (McDermott 1991, p.142). For Beatty (2017), ‘The League ... was the most important force in the Irish revivalist movement and indeed one of the most important social movements in turn - of - the - century Ireland’ (ibid:323). Revival of the Irish language Ní Bhroiméil (2001, p.87), argues, became ‘the hook on which Irish cultural nationalism was hung in Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century. ‘The restoration of Irish as the spoken vernacular in effect became one of the first projects undertaken by the Irish Free State in 1922’ (Ó Laoire 2018, p.180). Beatty (2017, p.323), maintains, the racial status of the Irish people ‘certainly underpinned much of the ideology of the Gaelic League’.

Similar to Irish nationalist thought; the Zionist ideal endeavoured to secure a Jewish nation (Viorst 2016). ‘Nationalism evoked an idea of homecoming, a return from exile or captivity’ (Kiberd 1995, p.3), constructing what Beatty (2017, p.315), previously alluded to as ‘idealised images of the past’. The ‘reimagining of time and the claim that ‘we’ are the heirs of a glorious past’ (ibid:320), was also imagined by the early Zionist settlers in Palestine who ‘saw their *Kibbutzim* as being not just a means of restoring Jews to useful manly labour, but also reincarnations of the agrarian society of the Bible’ (Biale 1986 cited in Beatty 2017, p.320). The belief that the Jewish diaspora constituted a nation, became a ‘distinguishing mark ... of Zionist ideology’ (Shimoni 1995, p.4).

As we can see the nationalist dogma of ‘invent the past and describe the future’ (Avineri 1998, p.2), underpinned both Irish nationalism and Zionists mythical vision of nation and homeland. Indeed, another aspect in ‘shaping Irish nationalism’ (English 2011, p.448), was the intertwining of Irish nationalism with religion. In terms of comparing ‘nationalists currents in Judaism Zionism felt the need to define its specific position on

religion and Jewish tradition'(Almog et al. 1998, p.xi). In a similar vein to Irish nationalists and 'their religious heritage'(White 2007, p.49), Zionist also turned to religion as an instrument in order to invoke 'the religious 'redemption' of an 'ancient homeland' (Pappe 2006, p.12). Interestingly, another similarity Beatty (2017, p.320), points out, which existed between Irish nationalist and 'their Zionist counterparts' was the use of sport as a way to create a unifying cultural identity. As Kaufman and Galily (2009, p.1021), suggest, 'The aim of the state's institutions (we would argue this was the case in both the Irish Free Stated and Israel), was ... to shape a common collective ideational identity'. By design sport became a 'tool' to forge a national identity (ibid). However, in Beatty's view,

'Sports were not the only means by which both ideologies imagined a future sovereignty that would simultaneously be a reclaimed heroic past. Another medium was language. That Hebrew and its revival were seen as a means of reviving a degraded Jewish nation'

(2017, p.321).

Indeed, the restoration of Gaelic and Hebrew as a vernacular emerged somewhat simultaneously towards the end of the nineteenth century, prompted by the rise of nationalistic ideals emerging across Europe (Ó Laoire 2018). Beatty (2019, p.1), suggest, the revival of language was a way to 'overcome their ambiguous status' as both 'Zionism and Irish nationalism emerged on the literal and figurative fringes of Europe'(ibid). As mentioned above cultural associations such as The Gaelic League focused on promoting Irish as a spoken language. For Douglas Hyde (founder of The Gaelic League), grammatical impurity equated to the racial impurity of a nation (Beatty 2017). The use of Gaelic as an expression of independence also became imbedded in Irish nationalist ideals, as Ní Bhroiméil (2001), sates, nationalism became 'unthinkable without the Irish language at its core'(ibid:87). Likewise, the parallel beliefs of Zionist viewed the revival of Hebrew as a 'means of reviving a degraded Jewish nation' (Beatty 2017, p.321). Promoting the use of Hebrew as the national language was seen by Zionists as the only way to guarantee 'our future as a healthy nation, united in its land' (Beatty 2017, p.22).

As we can see, the process of nation building emerged from a determination of both the Irish and Jewish people for autonomy and self-determination. The historical exclusion experienced by both groups and racial stereotyping were reflected in their desire to create

a strong robust people and nation, culturally united by linguistics and heritage. To quote Beatty (2017, p.329), their similarities were ‘borne out of their development on the fringes of Europe’.

6.4 The Zionist movement in Ireland

The following section of this thesis will discuss the Zionism movement in Ireland including the relationship between Ireland’s Jewish community and the wider Zionist organisation, more specifically, the women’s Zionist movement and its support for a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. What is of particular interest, is the influence Zionism had on the Irish – Jewish population in relation to migration to Israel in 1948. The obvious point of departure for this section then, is to start the discussion with the origins of Zionism in Ireland and will conclude with the Aliyah statistics to Israel aforementioned in the introduction of this chapter. The accepted version of Ireland’s Jewish community lends itself to what Miller (2011, p. 189), states, as ‘an outpost far removed from the centre of Jewish life ... numerically insignificant’. Indeed, while Ireland’s Jewish community was quite small as previously mentioned in this thesis, however, regardless of its numerical insignificance we will argue that the community was not quite the ‘outpost’ Miller has suggested.

Described as a ‘Zionist stronghold’ (Miller, 2011, p.191), The origins of the Zionist movement in Ireland can be dated to the 1890s. Zionist associations including a branch of the Chovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion), a proto- Zionist group originally founded by Leo Pinkser in Odessa in the 1880s were established in Dublin’ (ibid). Subsequent branches of the Chovevei Zion were also established in Cork, Limerick and Belfast within this period (ibid). In his book *Dublin’s Little Jerusalem* (2002, See also Rivlin 2011), Nick Harris describes respected members of the Jewish community or ‘*Balebatim*’¹²⁶ in Yiddish as ‘ardent’ followers of Zionism, actively involved with the ‘British Board of Deputies in London’, where they encountered and socialised with many Zionist leaders (Harris 2002, p.196). What is interesting about Irish Zionism as Hession (2018, p.57), points out, in that it ‘went further than most in seeking to radically redefine the

¹²⁶ ‘*Balebatim* is a special Yiddish word used to refer to persons of high standing and impeccable reputation, outstanding members of the community’(Harris 2002,p.195).

“boundaries and hierarchies” of social and sexual differences. Indeed, the patriarchal lead society of ‘Edwardian Ireland’ (ibid), in which the Dublin Daughters of Zion (Hereafter DDZ), were founded by Ester Barron and Tilly Berman in 1900, was ‘perhaps the earliest women’s Zionist organisation to be formed in the English speaking world’ (ibid). Following the establishment of the Dublin branch in 1900, in 1902, Rebecca Cohen organised a Zionist society in Belfast. In 1918, the Dublin branch of the women group DDZ, became one of ‘ten societies which founded the Federation of Women’s Zionist (F.W.Z), of Great Britain and Ireland¹²⁷’. According to the previously mentioned documented:

‘This was a very important contribution because the F.W.Z gave birth to the Woman’s International Zionist Organisation (W.I.Z.O.), in 1920, ... W.I.Z.O. became, and remains, the most important women’s Zionist’s movement internationally’

(ibid).

From its conception the women’s Zionism movement in Ireland took more of a fundraising role, while promoting the ethos of Zionism for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Considering the relative smallness of Ireland’s Jewish community, the DDZ flourished over the following years, and contributed financially too building projects in Palestine, including the welfare of women and children through the wider Federated Societies of WIZO (Women’s International Zionist Organisation). Documents procured from the Dublin Jewish Museum which contained Annual reports, reveal not only the large membership of the DDZ, but also the financial contributions from the organisation. A receipt from the DDZ to the Federation of Women’s Zionists dated August 7th, 1946¹²⁸, shows a receipt for a sum of £73: 3 shillings, collected by the organisation. Another receipt dated 28th April 1947¹²⁹, for the amount £250 was also presented to the Federation by the DDZ. Financial support through different fundraising events continued following the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. That same year a Grand Bazaar was held in the Mansion House in Dublin to raise funds for the *Relief and Rehabilitation in Israel of Women and Children from Europe*¹³⁰. A report dated

¹²⁷ The document entitled Bertha Weingreen regarding the Daughters of Zion and the Establishment of the Federation of Women’s Zionist (FWZ), of Great Britain and Ireland was supplied by Carol Briscoe, and can be located in the appendices (I).

¹²⁸ DJMA, box no. 49, Category 56.031. Regional Council of Zionists. No’s 1-23.

¹²⁹ DJMA, box no. 49, Category 56.031. Regional Council of Zionists. No’s 1-23.

¹³⁰ DJMA, box no. 49, Category 56.031. Regional Council of Zionists. No’s 1-23.

September 1954¹³¹, also referred to the works of WIZO in Israel and the Irish - Jewish contribution to the building of a new Jerusalem Baby home. To quote Rose Leventhal the founding president of the DDZ in 1900, (cited in Miller, 2011, p.192), the establishment of the DDZ, was in response to the ‘spark of Jewish nationalism, awakened by Dr. Herzl’. Over the coming years a number of Zionists movements would be established in Ireland ranging from religious to political, catering for adults and the more junior of the Jewish community (Miller 2011). Perhaps the most important of these associations as Miller (2011, p.194), maintains, ‘in terms of practical contribution up to 1948 was the Jewish National Fund (JNF), Dublin Commission’. From the 1930s the Dublin JNF would become an integral part of the worldwide JNF (ibid).

As indicated above, the Irish - Jewish community became increasingly involved in the Zionist ethos, through the establishment of various movements and fundraising efforts to support a national homeland in Palestine. However, for members of the Jewish community such as Robert Briscoe (discussed in the previous chapters), his ‘awareness of Zionism was limited’ (McCarthy 2016), regarding it merely as a ‘magnificent inspiration’ (Briscoe 1958, p.258). Events during the 1930s and the rise of Nazism as McCarthy (2016, p.67), states, ‘jolted Briscoe out of a dislocation from Jewish concerns’, leading Briscoe to take ‘an ardent interest in Zionism’(ibid:260). Briscoe’s ‘Zionist awakening’ (McCarthy 2016, p.244), was twofold, the first was ‘underpinned by a five year long Jewish immigration advocacy’. The second according to Briscoe, (1958, p.263), was the arrival of Valdimir (Ze’ve), Jabotinsky¹³² to Ireland in 1938. Ze’ve Jabotinsky was the leader of the New Zionist Organisation (Revisionists), ‘a breakaway Zionist group, which advocated a more direct and confrontational approach to secure a Jewish national Home in Palestine’ (McCarthy 2014, p.170). According to Briscoe, (1958, p.264), Jabotinsky reasons for visiting Ireland was to ‘learn all he could of the methods we had used in training our young men and boys for the Revolution against England ... and to meet de Valera’. It was from this initial meeting with Ze’ve Jabotinsky that Briscoe would develop a strong Zionist awareness (McCarthy 2016). Indeed, while Briscoe

¹³¹ DJMA, Box no. 49, Category 56.01 Dublin Daughters of Zion. (DDZ)/ Ziona, No’s 1-57.

¹³² Jabotinsky founded the militant Zionist movement called Irgun (meaning scout in Hebrew). The Irgun was a fighting Jewish force formed to defend against Arab attacks and to drive the British out of Palestine (Briscoe 1958).

supported the Zionist ideals for a Jewish state, however, Briscoe never considered making ‘Aliyah’ (McCarthy 2016, p.246). McCarthy states:

‘It is evident that he never envisaged living in ‘the Promised Land’, and his reasons for supporting the concept of a Jewish state was that as long as one existed as a place of refuge, another Holocaust could never happen’

(ibid).

Ireland’s connections with the Zionist movement is also reflected with Israel’s sixth President Chaim Herzog who was born in Belfast in 1918. His father was Chief Rabbi Herzog of Ireland, previously referred to in this thesis. Chaim Herzog moved to Dublin shortly after his birth, where he was educated at Wesley College before emigrating to Palestine in 1935. It was in Palestine that Herzog became part of the Zionist movement when he joined the Haganah at sixteen (Herzog, 1997, p.24). Herzog relocated to London in 1938 to continue his law studies and joined the British army 1942 working as an Intelligence Officer. Herzog returned to Palestine in 1947 and participated in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War of Independence as part of the Operations and Intelligence division (See Herzog 1997¹³³). In 1948 when the State of Israel was founded, he became an officer in the Israel Defence Forces (ibid:103-104). Herzog was elected to the Knesset (Israeli Parliament), in 1981, becoming the 6th President of Israel in 1983 serving two terms. In a speech by Simon Coveney, Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Celebration of the Centenary of the birth of Chaim Herzog at Iveagh House on the 17th October 2018, the Minister states,

‘When Chaim Herzog left these shores in 1935 he did so with the hope of contributing to the founding of a Jewish home. That aspiration drove him through dark and desperate times in the Second World War, witnessing the horrific aftermath of the Holocaust – and then later, the promise of statehood for his people... Chaim Herzog’s importance to the bilateral relationship between Ireland and Israel cannot be overstated. He was the embodiment of our shared struggles. Straddling our two societies he found the connection between them. He helped us know each other better’

¹³³ Chaim Herzog book, *Living History* (1997).

6.5 Irish-Jewish Response to the Creation of the State of Israel in 1948: Irish-Jewish Settlement in Israel.

Section 6.5 substantial changes made new content added: Now reads-

The main thrust of this chapter is to explore Ireland's Jewish communities' response to the New Israeli State in 1948 in a bid to establish if migration to the new Jewish state occurred. In fact, minority groups such as the Irish – Jewish community have received minimal attention in the overall conversation within Irish migration research. Moreover, much of the discourse around Irish migration has placed the 'Irish Catholic migrants' (Kenny 2003, pp.137-139, see also Akenson 1993), as the main actors in the homogeneous narrative of Irish migration. Indeed, as McAuley (2002 p.3), states, 'Despite the popular dominant images, not all who emigrated from the Island were Catholic'. Thus, creating an empirical void in the narrative of Ireland's Jewish community. Here it should be noted that further research is required into the broader trends and patterns of Irish Jewish migration. As we can see Ireland's Jewish community were enthusiastic supporters of Zionism, with established links to the wider Zionist movement. As Keogh (2008, p.111), has noted, 'Irish Jews gave their allegiance overwhelmingly to the Zionist Organisation'. In relation to Irish Jewish migration Keogh identified there was a decline in the Jewish population in Ireland in the 'early twenty-first century' (ibid). This decline Keogh maintains, can be attributed to 'Emigration to Israel'...many Irish Jews made aliya and went to Israel from the 1950s onwards. 'They followed others who, had since the 1920s left to live in Palestine' (ibid:108). Indeed, while the above author suggests substantial immigration to Israel occurred. The figures obtained from the Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel challenges the assumption put forward by Keogh. In fact, they reveal that between 1948 -1951, only 14 people immigrated from Ireland to Israel. The following data offers a more accurate representation of Irish Jewish migration to Israel:

- 1952-60, 46
- 1961-64, 32
- 1965-71, 113
- 1972-79, 157
- 1980-84, 152

In fact, according to the European Jewish Congress, since 1948, to date a total of 673 Irish - Jews have immigrated to Israel (European Jewish Congress 2019¹³⁴). These figures certainly do not reflect any major immigration occurring from the Irish - Jewish community to Israel. Therefore, we can only assume two things based on this information, which are, (1), while Zionism was embraced by Ireland's Jewish community as indicated above, we argue, that it was mostly a financial commitment to the Zionist cause, and (2), the immigration statistics would also suggest, that there was no great desire among the Jewish community to leave Ireland with a view to relocate to Israel. However, further statistics obtained from the Central Statistics Office in Ireland, reveal that a moderate amount of migration did occur between 1946 and 1961, totalling 652 over this fifteen-year period. Indeed, Ireland's Jewish population would continue to decrease between 1946 to 2011. Therefore, of the Irish – Jews who did choose to emigrate, this research has established that Israel was not the preferred destination. In order to determine the migration trajectories of the Irish – Jews, there is one possible explanation if we consider historic patterns of Irish emigration, and what we suggest is that they perhaps followed the same Irish patterns of immigration to Britain and America. As noted above this area of Irish migration remains under researched. Hence, the need for further exploration in order to further our understanding in this area and disseminate new knowledge on the broader picture of Irish migration. To date we have found little evidence on this specific question, which leaves considerable unanswered questions. Obviously, this is not the final word on Jewish Ireland. It should be noted here, that Ó Gráda in (2006), also explored the popular belief that a significant amount of Irish – Jewish immigration to Israel occurred during this period, which is discussed further in chapter seven.

6.6 Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to examine the Zionist movement in Ireland and determine whether Zionist ideology influenced Irish-Jewish migration to Israel in 1948. Firstly, section 6.2 discussed the historiography of Zionism and the ideals of the Zionist movement as it embraced the rising nationalist tenet during the nineteenth century under Theodor Herzl. However, unlike nationalism which emerges from within a nation – state,

¹³⁴ European Jewish Congress. Ireland, [online], available: <https://eurojewcong.org/communities/ireland/> [accessed 18-10-2019]

Zionism gathered momentum among a dispersed diaspora. The following section, 5.3 examined the commonalities that exist between Irish nationalism and Zionism in which both ideologies were underpinned with the common aspiration of raising the status of a people deemed racially inferior internationally. As discussed, this was achieved by reinventing the national self-image and the revival of an ancient language in order to reinforce this idealised past and a sense of a shared national identity. This section also illustrated how religion in both Irish nationalism and Zionism became an instrument in forging a unified religious heritage while defining borders of a national homeland, by group affiliation.

The following section examined the history of Zionism in Ireland, including the interaction between Ireland's Jewish community and the wider Zionist movement, with specific emphases on the woman's Zionist movement. We established while Ireland's Jewish community was considered an 'outpost' from the wider Jewish diaspora, the Jewish community and more especially the women's organisation the Daughters of Zion, contributed to the founding of the Federation of Women Zionists, eventually becoming the Women's International Zionist Organisation. In addition, individual members of the community such as Robert Briscoe and Chaim Herzog supported the Zionist cause for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. However, while the Irish - Jewish community advocated for the establishment of a Jewish state, the Zionist cause in Ireland was for the most a financial commitment, as this chapter has revealed. Indeed, perhaps the most significant contribution to the overall narrative of Ireland's Jewish community was the immigration statistics obtained from the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics for Irish – Jewish migration to Israel from 1948 onwards. These figures dispel previous assumption that the reduction of the Jewish community was due to immigration to Israel after the founding of the new Israeli State. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, this certainly has, we feel, contributed to the growing pool of knowledge on Ireland's Jewish community.

Chapter Seven: The Creation of the Jewish State in Palestine 1948

7.1 Introduction

The intention for this final chapter is to discuss the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine in 1948, and in particular Ireland's political response to the founding of the Israeli State in Palestine. Moreover, this chapter will address the relevance of Irish diplomatic recognition of Israeli statehood, an area we feel previous literature and research has failed to focus on.

On May 14, 1948, David Ben – Gurion Chairman of the Jewish Agency proclaimed the State of Israel, effectively ending the British Mandate of Palestine. As discussed previously, 'It's creation was preceded by more than fifty years of effort by the Zionist movement to establish an independent state in Palestine as a solution to the Jewish question'(Reich 1991, p.1466). To understand the events which lead to the creation of Israel in 1948, we first must consider the broader historical narrative, whilst also acknowledging the limitations of this thesis. This particular period in history is much more complex and expansive when situated within the 'wider context of global political and economic developments'(Regan 2017, p.208). In order to overcome these limitations and provide as much historical breadth as possible. The subsequent sections will, therefore, be presented in a chronological order, deemed most relevant to the main focus of this chapter. Hence, the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the British Mandate for Palestine will be our point of departure. The following section 7.3 will consider the Peel Commission and the proposed partition of Palestine in 1937. The Holocaust, and the international response, including the 1947 United Nations General Assembly calling for the partition of Palestine will be addressed in section 7.4. The chapter will thus, continue with Ireland's political position to the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine. Starting with de Valera's address at the League of Nations in 1937, and his condemnation of the Peel Commissions to the planned partition of Palestine.

7.2 Balfour Declaration and British Mandate for Palestine

On November 2nd, 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour wrote to the 2nd Baron Rothchild expressing the British governments support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine stating:¹³⁵

‘Dear Lord Rothchild,
I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty’s Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

“His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavour to facilitate this achievement of this object ...”

The Palestine territory ‘to which the Balfour Declaration referred ...had been part of the vast possessions of the Ottoman Empire since 1516’ (Miller 2010, p.2). In November 1914 the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War on the side of Germany, thus, Zionist’s turned to anti-Ottoman Britain, one of the great powers in the Middle East for political support in establishing a Jewish Homeland in Palestine (ibid).

Indeed, the Belfour Declaration as Friedman (1973, pp.123-124), states, ‘had become the basis for the settlement of the Jewish Question’. The declaration was viewed as ‘a historic gesture on the part of Britain and a historic achievement on the part of Zionism’ (Schneer 2010, p. xxviii¹³⁶). When first published it was ‘understood as a promise by the British government to restore Palestine to the Jews and to assist then in setting up a Jewish state’ (Vereté 1970, p.48). However, James Renton (2007, p.23), has argued, ‘The British Government’s interest in using Zionism to capture Jewish support for the war effort was based upon the conviction that Jews wielded tremendous power, particularly in the USA and Russia’. Renton further argues, that other factors such as the notion of ‘race’ and ‘nation’ in a culture where Jews were historically viewed as ‘separate and alien from the rest of the population’(ibid18), underpinned the Belfour Declaration.

Similarly, Ovendale, (2004, p.21), suggests, ‘The inclusion of Palestine within the British Empire would enhance British prestige and win the favour of Jews throughout the world’.

¹³⁵ The British Library Board ‘Letter from Arthur James Balfour to Lionel Walter, 2nd Baron Rothchild, British government support for the establishment of a national home for Jewish people in Palestine’.

¹³⁶ *The Balfour Declaration* (1961) by Lenard Stein.

Crucially, for Mathew, (2011, p.28), the motivation for British support of the Zionist movement was to offset any possibility of an alliance between the Turks and Germany and the protection of ‘Great Britain’s ... strategic interests in the Middle East’.

The following document from the British War Cabinet dated October 17, 1917, clearly illustrates the political climate in Britain at the time and, equally, the attitude of Zionists in favour of the declaration, the following extract is a response to the draft declaration from Herbert Samuel M.P.¹³⁷

‘The policy embodied in the draft declaration, which is now under consideration of the Cabinet, seems about right. If the Turks are left ostensibly in control of Palestine, the country is likely to fall, in course of time, under German influence. If Germany, or any other continental power, is dominant there, Egypt would be exposed to constant menace. The best safeguard would be the establishment of a large Jewish population, preferably under British protection.

I feel no doubt that the policy expressed in the declaration is that which is desired by the mass of the Jewish people, both in this country and throughout the world ... if the policy were carried into effect through British influence it would be calculated to win for the British Empire the gratitude of Jews throughout the world ... and ... create among them a bias favourable to the Empire ...’¹³⁸

News of the proposed declaration was positively received among other Jewish leaders, in the aforementioned document Chief Rabbi Herzog writes:

‘It is with great feelings of profound gratification that I learn of the intention of His Majesty’s Government to lend its powerful support to the re-establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people ...’

Clearly then Britain’s use of the Zionist movement was of strategic importance, moreover, ‘Zionists in Britain capitalised on this imperial thinking’ (Ovendale 2004, p.33). Shortly after the issuing of the declaration the city of Jerusalem was captured from the ruling Ottomans by the British, thus, Britain became the *de facto* rulers of Palestine (Miller 2010). Indeed, while the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 ended World War One, the ‘future of the Middle East was settled at the Conference of San Remo in April 1920’

¹³⁷ Herbert Samuel M.P was a Member of the British Parliament and a representative Jewish leader .

¹³⁸ British War Cabinet, October 17, 1917. [online], available: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/> [accessed 7-7-2019]

(Hunt 2005, p. 61 see also Reynold 2014¹³⁹). Under the League of Nations, the now dismembered Ottoman empire was divided into ‘zones of influence’ (Hunt 2005, p.61). By July 1922, ‘the British pledge to help build the Jewish National Home was explicitly incorporated into the text of the League of Nations Mandate’ (Gold 2017, p.8). ‘Their claim to be recognised as a nation was granted ... the “Jewish People” became an entity recognized by international law’ (Friedman 1973, p.122). The British Mandate for Palestine came into force in 1923.

7.3 The Peel Commission

Under the terms of the Mandate, Britain was now obliged to ‘facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home’ (Cohen 2020, p.2). What began as a ‘quasi – treaty’ (Regan 2017, p.155), the incorporating of the declaration into the Mandate ... turned Jewish immigration from unilateral and nonbinding promise to a legal, international obligation’(Segev 2000, p.225). During the Mandate years, relations between Jews and Arabs had grown fractious owing to the ‘escalating Jewish immigration under the British auspices’ (Hiro1996, p.9). Indeed, while immigration to Palestine continued throughout the 1920s, so too, did mounting tensions inciting riots in 1921, 1926, and 1929 (ibid, see also Miller 1997). In fact, between ‘1922 and 1936 the Jewish population had risen from 83,000 to 370,000’ (Fieldhouse 2006, p.163). The most significant increase according to Fieldhouse, occurred ‘after 1933 and the rise of anti - Semitism in Germany’ (ibid). While ‘a state of tension’ existed between Jews and Arabs, ‘The Arabs, who had formerly been in undisputed possession of the country, regarded the Jews as interlopers when they came to Palestine’ (Ruppin, 1934, p.390). Indeed, the previous failed attempts by Britain to elicit a solution to the unrest, prompted the British government to set up a Royal Commission under Lord Peel, owing to further outbreaks of violence between the Jews and Arabs in 1936 (Wicks 1997). In 1937 the findings of the Peel Commission recommended that a new mandate was required. The Commissioner’s conclusion was, ‘Arab and Jewish interests could not be reconciled, and therefore the only answer was the partition of the country’ (Wicks 1997, p.71). Klieman

¹³⁹ For further reading on Britain’s Mandate for Palestine see Reynold, N. (2014) *Britain’s unfulfilled Mandate for Palestine*.

(1980, p.281), defined partition ‘as the act of dividing into two or more units an area previously forming a single administrative entity’.

Regardless of the recommendations put forward by the Peel Commissioners, approval from the League would be necessary in order to implement any partition of Palestine (Eliash 2007, p.15). In 1937, the question of partition was ‘brought before the organs of the League of Nations ... which were charged with supervising Britain’s implementation of the Palestine Mandate’ (ibid). Opposition and further revolt by Arabs over partition, led to the rejection of the Peel Commissioners recommendations by the British government. For Gavron (2004, p.24), ‘the Arab Revolt was successful in that it forced a radical change of British policy’. In a bid to reach a compromise both sides were invited to London, Arab refusal to sit with the Jews during the negotiations forced the British to engage with both sides separately (ibid). Following the London meetings, the British issued the White Paper in 1939, setting out a new British policy on Palestine. The White Paper recommended a reduction of Jewish immigration to Palestine and limiting land purchases by Jews (Rowley and Taylor 2006). The deteriorating situation across Europe in the 1930s, or as Brendon (2000, p.xviii), describes this period as a ‘dark valley’, left many Jew’s trying to escape Nazi Germany. Jews were ‘denied haven not only in Palestine but in numerous other countries around the world as well’ (Gavron 2004, p.24).

7.4 The Holocaust, International Response and the Creation of Israel

‘The Jewish catastrophe during the years from 1933 to 1945 was a massive occurrence. It began in Germany and ultimately engulfed an area encompassing most of the European continent. It was an event that was experienced by a variety of perpetrators, a multitude of victims, and a host of bystanders ... Each saw what had happened from its own, special perspective, and each harboured a separate set of attitudes and reactions’

(Hilberg 1992, p.ix.).

By design the White Paper in 1939, had intended to ‘severely restricted’ legal immigration to Palestine, just before the outbreak of the Second World War (Edelheit 2000, p.102). In the pre-war period ‘the critical issue facing the Jewish people was finding a refuge for Jews who wanted and were able to flee from the Nazis’ (Lookstein 2001, p.

461). However, anti- immigration policies across the world ensured, ‘The doors to receiving nations were rapidly closing’ (ibid).

Between 1939 and 1945, Nazi policy towards the Jews had intensified ‘from the prewar policy of forced emigration to the Final Solution as it is now understood – the systematic attempt to murder every last Jew within the German grasp’ (Browning 2007, p.1). Indeed, as Wyman (1996, p. xix), states, ‘the world gave little attention to the Holocaust while it was happening’. Towards the end of the war in 1945, the horrors that had transpired in the German concentration camps became apparent. Evidently, for the international community ‘the rescue of Jewry was not a priority’ (Hilberg 1992, p.249, see also Wyman 1996¹⁴⁰). Whilst, the post-war International Military Tribunal (ITM), (also referred to as the Nuremburg Trials¹⁴¹), in 1945 could be viewed as perhaps the first international response to the Holocaust, which allowed a small number of survivors an ‘international platform from which to bear witness to their horrific experiences’ (Jockusch 2012, p.120). Conversely, the ITM did not, according to Wyman, (1996, p.xix), ‘focus sharply on the Holocaust. Along a similar vein, (Catic 2008, p.217), argues,

‘The fact that the final solution was treated as a subset of war crimes ... contributed to the shortcomings in the historical understanding of the Holocaust ... It was not until the Holocaust trials ... in the 1960s that the tragedy of the Jewry as a whole became the central concern. In fact, much of the Israeli motivations for bringing Eichmann to stand trial in a Israeli court was a sense that the Allies had not paid sufficient concerns to the Holocaust at Nuremburg’.

Notwithstanding, the failure of the ITM to focus on the victims of the Holocaust, the trials at Nuremburg ‘had a significant impact on the work of the United Nation during its early years’ (Finger 1996, p.811). The array of crimes perpetrated during the Holocaust and the

¹⁴⁰ For further reading on the international response to the Holocaust, see Hilberg, R. (1992) *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders*, and Wyman, D.S. 1996 (eds.) *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*.

¹⁴¹ The word genocide was coined by Raphaël Lemkin in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944). ‘By “genocide” we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. This new word coined by the author to denote an old practice in its modern development, is made from the ancient Greek word *genos*(race, tribe) and the Latin *cide* (killing) ... Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves ... Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group’(Lemkin, 2014,p.79).

following trials were as Finger states, ‘the driving force behind the drafting and adoption of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948’(ibid). Thus, becoming ‘the first human rights treaty of the modern era’(Sands 2017, p.377). Between the year 1946 and 1968, ‘a number of other important U.N. instruments related to the Holocaust were adopted’(ibid), some of which included, the International Refugee Organisation (1946), the Declaration of Death of Missing Persons (1949), and the Convention Relating to the Statue of Stateless Persons (1954), (ibid).

As we have seen in chapter five of this thesis, in the immediate post-war era and for a number of years after the war ‘most of the surviving remnant of European Jewry existed in crowded displaced persons camps, waiting for doors to open in other lands’ (Wyman 1996, p.xix). The need for a permanent solution to the Jewish survivors of the Nazi regime became a struggle for post-war Europe. In an effort to relocate European’s surviving Jewry, Britain came under increasing pressure from American President Harry. S Truman to lift the immigration restriction to Palestine (Reich 1991). Clearly, the Holocaust had convinced the majority of Western governments that there was a urgent need for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine as ‘a haven for the victims of anti-Semitism’ (Slater 2012, 2013, p.606). Indeed, as Slater, maintains, ‘by the end of WWII, the die was cast ... there was essentially no practical alternative but to create that state in a partitioned Palestine ...’(ibid). As previously noted, the settlement of Jews in Palestine was viewed as ‘an antidote for anti – Semitism’ (Said 1992, p.70). In a bid to resolve the ongoing dispute over partition, Britain referred the matter to the United Nations in 1947 (Kumar 1997). The passing of resolution 181(II), by the United Nations General Assembly on November 29 1947, implemented the partition of Palestine, creating an independent Jewish state (Miller 2005). Thus, achieving Theodor Herzl’s Zionist aspirations for an internationally and legally recognised Jewish homeland in Palestine.

7.5 Ireland and the Creation of a Jewish State in Palestine

The final section of this thesis will now examine Ireland’s political response to the creation of Israel, beginning with de Valera’s speech at the League of Nations in 1937. To illustrate the extent to which the Palestinian question ‘occupied a place in the Irish consciousness’ (Miller 2005, p.1), archival material sourced from Israel State Archives,

the United Nations archives, including a selection of Irish government documents, and Irish media reports will be used throughout this section.

The ideals which underpinned the foundation of the League of Nations ‘was to prevent war and foster peace grew out of the slaughter and destruction of World War 1’ (Kennedy 1996, p.13). For this reason, smaller countries like Ireland hoped the League would ‘provide the basis for a peaceful world – order’ (ibid:14). Admission to the League became a ‘prime concern of Sinn Féin and Free State policy’, as Kennedy noted, the League would provide an ‘essential international podium’ in which to gather support for Irish independence (ibid). Indeed, from admission in 1923 ... the League of Nation was central to Irish foreign policy as the state defined its international position through the League ...’ (ibid).

Prior to the League of Nations Assembly in September 1937, the partition of Palestine became a topic of discussion for Irish broadsheets. *The Irish Press* dated July 9¹⁴², 1937, carried the following report, ‘Partition In Palestine’, ‘Arabs And Jews Opposed To Commission’s Proposal’. Further coverage on the emerging issues concerning Palestine were reported in *The Irish Press* July 10¹⁴³ 1937, ‘The League and Palestine’, ‘Britain Sets Geneva Machinery In Motion’, ‘An Arab demonstration which was held in Jaffa ... to protest against partition was broken up by police’. *The Times* of London also reported on the debate surrounding the partition of Palestine and de Valera’s ‘Opposition to Partition’ (Miller 2010, p.166). For Eliash (2007, p.26), *The Irish Press* the ‘mouthpiece of de Valera’s party’ was viewed as setting an agenda to sway public opinion in Ireland, ‘depicting Britain as the true villain’(ibid:27). *The Irish Independent* Eliash further states, was ‘openly siding with the Arabs’ (ibid:27). For Eliash, the use of the media through which Irish worldview on the partition of Palestine was shaped, was impacted negatively as ‘An overwhelming majority of the columnists condemned any partition of Palestine’(ibid).

As hitherto mentioned, the matter of partition was brought before the League of Nations in September 1937. The Irish delegation headed by Eamon de Valera attended the League

¹⁴² NLI. *The Irish Press*, 9 July 1937, p. 9.

¹⁴³ NLI. *The Irish Press*, 10 July 1937, p.9.

of Nations in Geneva. According to Miller, (2010, p.166), ‘de Valera used the meeting of the League’s Sixth Committee ... to register Irish hostility towards the partition proposals’. As Taoiseach and Minister for External Affairs, de Valera held the view with ‘regard to Palestine ... that no solution involving the partition of that country should be sanctioned in any way by the League of Nations ...’¹⁴⁴. Though de Valera was,

‘in favour of the pursuit of a solution ... he wanted it pursued with open terms of reference and did not want the search to begin with an agreement that the solution was to be sought along the lines of partition. He did not believe that it could be found along those lines ... Partition ... was the cruellest wrong that could be done to any people ... It would create a position with problems for the future even more difficult than those now under discussion’¹⁴⁵

Indeed, while de Valera clearly opposed the partition of Palestine, and ‘viewed as another case of British colonial malfeasance’ (Miller 2010, p.165), a memorandum by Eamon de Valera dated 17 September 1937, refers to an informal meeting which took place between de Valera and Malcolm McDonald¹⁴⁶ on the 15th and 16th September 1937, in Geneva. The memorandum by Eamon de Valera ¹⁴⁷states:

‘The discussion ranged over the new Constitution, the External Relations Act, Partition, the Treaty Ports and Defence, Financial dispute and Trade ... *Partition*: I again emphasised that this was the most fundamental and vital question in regard to the relations between the two countries; that no agreements on other matters could bring about the good relations both he and I desired so long as partition lasted ... McDonald insisted that they could do nothing about partition which could only be ended by ourselves winning over the North. The British would do nothing to stand in the way. I pressed him on whether they desired partition or not. He said they did not desire it “for its own sake”. They were committed to the North. I asked if they would publicly state so far as they were concerned they would desire partition to end. He could not promise that such a settlement would be made. His steadfast view was partition would have to wait. I said we would therefore have to consider definitely a campaign to inform British and world opinion generally as to the iniquity of that whole position’

¹⁴⁴ Dáil Éireann debate 13 July 1938, Committee on Finance. – Vote No. 68-League of Nations. [online], available: <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1938-07-13/31/?highlight%5B0%5D=f%C3%83%C2%B3rsa%C3%83%C2%AD&highlight%5B1%5D=cosanta&highlight%5B2%5D=sealadacha>[accessed 20- 9-2019]

¹⁴⁵ United Nations Archives, ‘*League of Nations Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 175, Records of the Eighteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly’.

¹⁴⁶ Malcolm McDonald was the British Colonial Secretary in 1935 and 1938 – 1940. For further reading see Sanger, C. (1995) *Malcolm McDonald: Bringing an End to Empire*, McGill-Queen’s University Press.

¹⁴⁷ DAF UCDA P150/2349, 17 September 1937, Memorandum by Eamon de Valera informal conversation with Malcolm McDonald.

Clearly then, the memorandum would suggest the discussion prior to the anti – partition speech given by de Valera was a salient factor in influencing the underlying theme in de Valera’s Geneva speech, ‘in which he drove home the view that “partition was no solution” (Miller 2010, p.166). As MacCarthy (2014, p.172), states,

‘There is clear evidence to support the proposition that de Valera used the proposed British partition of Palestine to further the Irish cause ... his address to the League of Nations was a far more nuanced contribution, laden with anti – partition conceptual under tones ...’

Although the British position after de Valera’s speech was critical, de Valera’s address was viewed as a triumph by anti -British supporters in Iraq, including ‘Americans of Arab descent’ (Miller 201, p.166). Back in Ireland, de Valera stance on Palestinian partition ‘was also widely welcomed as a challenge to England’s “permanent delusion ... that she can sell the same article to two people” (ibid). In addition, Miller remarks on, ‘how many within the British elite viewed the partition of Ireland as a successful template for solving colonial crises in general and the Palestine debacle in particular’ (ibid:175).

Arguably, as the supporting documents will illustrate, de Valera did not share the same viewpoint on partition as Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Palestine at this time. A letter from the Chief Rabbi to de Valera dated October 14th 1937¹⁴⁸, in which Rabbi Herzog appealed to de Valera to use his ‘influence’ at the League of Nations, to allow the ‘right of immigration’ to Palestine for the Jewish diaspora, to which the Chief Rabbi described as being ‘the most unfortunate of races ... that homeless race who wondered for nearly two thousand years’. In view of the ‘parallels’ with Irish history and the history of Israel, the Chief Rabbi urged de Valera to ‘ throw the weight of your influence and authority ... at the League of Nations’.

Following the correspondence of the 14th, Robert Briscoe wrote to Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog, dated 2nd November 1937¹⁴⁹. Briscoe informed Rabbi Herzog that while the President, had received his letter, the President, ‘seemed to have no idea as to your view on the proposed suggestion of partition ... I would like you to let me know so that I could

¹⁴⁸ ISA www.archives.gov.il File No. 4244/40. ‘Letter from Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog to Eamon de Valera, October 14th 1937.

¹⁴⁹ ISA, www.archives.gov.il , File No. 4244/40 Robert Briscoe to Rev. Isaac Herzog 2nd November 1937.

inform him as to your views on this point'. Briscoe also informed Chief Rabbi Herzog that he [Briscoe] was:

‘considering going out to Palestine at the end of this year with a view to bringing together contending parties to accept as a fundamental point or agreement the non – partition of Palestine’.

The protection of Jerusalem was also addressed in the letter, Briscoe suggested:

‘the only solution I see to Jerusalem itself would be that Jerusalem should be handed over to the protection of all recognised religions as distinct from being under the protection of the British Government. The recognised religions would include – naturally – the Roman Catholic Church; other Christian recognised Churches; the Mohammedan and Jewish religions’

Furthermore, the letter also alluded to the fact that Briscoe was not in favour of partition. It is interesting to note here, the emphasis on the natural position of the Roman Catholic Church in Jerusalem by Briscoe, which appears to reinforce as Stevens (1981, p.105), has alluded to as a ‘Catholic foothold in Jerusalem’. Thus, adopting the Vatican position on ‘internationalisation Jerusalem and the Holy Places’¹⁵⁰ (Miller 2005, p.11). A further letter was sent from Chief Rabbi Herzog to Robert Briscoe dated 2nd February 1938¹⁵¹, in which Rabbi Herzog clearly expressed his views on the suggested partition of Palestine:

‘In my letter to his Excellency President De Valera, I have summed up the Jewish world position ... Here in Palestine our position is being endangered by the clouded atmosphere in which the political aspect is wrapt [sic] up ... The actual position is that there is no choice left to us. It is not a question of a small Jewish state in a part of Palestine on one hand and the whole of Palestine west of Jordan under the British mandate with facilities [sic] for Jewish immigration and the growth and development, on the other. The only alternative to partition is a sovereign Arab state embracing the whole of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan with a Jewish population condemned to remain for ever a minority in the land of our fathers, at the mercy of the Arab majority. No self – respecting Jews with any sense of duty could possibly think of accepting such an alternative:

I venture to express the confident hope that His Excellency the President will, as befits his moral and historic greatness, lend his support at this critical moment in our history to the wandering nation ...’

¹⁵⁰ Ireland’s position in relation to the Holy Places in Jerusalem, ‘adhered closely to the position that the Vatican had adopted since Britain had handed over responsibility for solving the Palestine problem to the UN in 1947. The Vatican ... favoured the internationalisation of Jerusalem and the Holy places’ (Miller 2005, p. 10-11).

¹⁵¹ ISA, www.archives.gov.il File No. 4244/40. Chief Rabbi Herzog to Robert Briscoe dated 2nd February 1938.

However, as Miller (2005, p.8), asserts, Irish hostility to the concept of partition was no less fierce in the wake of the UNGA vote on the matter in November 1947’.

This section has so far traced Ireland’s historical stance on the creation of a Jewish State. The final section will now examine Ireland’s reaction to the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. As mentioned above, on 29th November 1947, The United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 181(II), which sanctioned the partition of Palestine in order to form two states between the Jews and Arabs (Keogh 2008 see also Miller 2005). Owing to Ireland been denied membership to the newly formed United Nation (Hereafter UN), in 1946 by a ‘Soviet veto at the United Nations Security Council’ (Miller 2005, p.4). Ireland’s wartime neutrality and post-war diplomatic isolation was Russia’s justification to veto Ireland’s admission to the United Nations (Macqueen 1984). Thus, Ireland had no participation in the eventual decision making by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), established in 1947 (Miller 2005). Ireland would eventually gain admission to the UN in December 1955 (ibid).

When the State of Israel was declared in May 1948, de Valera and Fianna Fáil were no longer in power. Ireland’s first inter-party government headed by John. A. Costello were now in government. International recognition for the new Jewish state followed in quick succession with recognition coming from the United States and the Soviet Union (Keogh 2008). Notwithstanding Ireland’s refusal to recognise the new Jewish state, news of David Ben – Gurion’s declaration made headlines in the Irish newspapers. *The Irish Press*¹⁵² dated May 15, 1948, stated, ‘United Sates First Country to Recognise Israel’, ‘Jews Declare State In Palestine’. *The Irish Independent*¹⁵³ dated May 15, 1948, also carried the report ‘U.S. Recognises New Jewish State’.

Indeed, while no political recognition of the nascent Jewish state came from Ireland at this time, however, financial aid was forthcoming from Ireland’s Jewish community in support of the new Jewish state. The headlines ¹⁵⁴‘Money, Volunteers for Israel’, appeared in *The Irish Press* 26 May 1948, as reported by the newspaper article:

¹⁵² NLI *The Irish Press*, 15 May 1948, front page.

¹⁵³ NLI *The Irish Independent* 15 May 1948, p.7

¹⁵⁴ NLI *The Irish Press*, 26 May 1948, p.1.

‘Over £10,000 has been subscribed by Jews in Ireland for the support of the new Jewish State in Palestine. After a meeting in Dublin last Saturday more than £2,000 was forthcoming for the Zionist cause ...’

The Irish Independent, 24 May 1948,¹⁵⁵ reported, on a meeting which had taken place in Bloomfield Avenue. Mr. S. Z. Shragai, an executive member of the Jewish Agency had travelled to Dublin to recruit members of Ireland’s Jewish community to join the ‘Jewish Fighting Forces’. It was also reported that Mr. Shragai was returning to London to have an ‘unofficial discussion with the British government on the question of recognition of the Jewish State ...’ *The Irish Press* on the 24 May 1948¹⁵⁶, also covered an account of the meeting, which stated, ‘Dublin Jewry Asked To Help Israel State’. Other prominent Jewish leaders such as Rabbi Philip Pincus a Zionist leader from Chicago, travelled to Ireland in September 1948, in order to deliver a speech entitled ‘The Call Of Israel’, appeared in the *Irish Press* 28 September 1948¹⁵⁷. As discussed in chapter six of this thesis, it was suggested by some commentators that a number of ‘Jews went to Palestine in those years ...’ (Keogh 2008, pp.114-115). Further to this Keogh noted ‘the exact number remains to be determined by further research’ (ibid:115). Prior to Keogh, Ó Gráda (2006), attempted to offer an estimate of Irish – Jewish migration after the founding of Israel in 1948, by citing ‘guessed’ numbers released in 1956 by the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, “the number of Irish citizens and their families in Israel “should not exceed about fifty” (ibid:214). However, we feel the statistics provided in the previous chapter has dealt with the ambiguity surrounding Irish – Jewish migration at this period.

Along with Britain, Ireland withheld any formal recognising the new Jewish State In 1948. The hope for Irish recognition of Israel was expressed in a telegram from Moshe Sharett Israel’s first foreign minister to Seán MacBride Ireland’s newly appointed Minister for external affairs (Miller 2005). The telegram received in May 1948:

‘requested that the Irish Government “grant official recognition to the State of Israel and its provincial government” ... that such recognition would “soon be accorded” and expressed the wish that it would “establish a relationship of sympathy and friendship between [the] people of Eire and the Jewish people of Palestine to [the] mutual advantage of both”

(ibid:5).

¹⁵⁵ NLI *The Irish Independent*, 24 May 1948, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ NLI *The Irish Press*, 24 May 1948,p.5.

¹⁵⁷ NLI *The Irish Press*, 28 September 1948, p.4.

Indeed, while recognition for the ‘fledging Jewish state’ was sought ‘in order to legitimise its tentative existence and to counter its economic and political isolation’ (Miller 2005, p. 5 see also Keogh 2008)), endeavors to gain Irish recognition remained an important factor for the new State of Israel. Arguably as the following documents will illustrate, Ireland was of strategic importance to Israel owing to the large Irish diaspora in America and Ireland’s links to the Vatican as a Catholic country.

On September 19th 1948, Michael. S. Comay head of the British Commonwealth Section at the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Ivor Linton, the Representative of the Provisional Government of Israel with an offer of assistance from Mr. Seligman an lawyer in Tel Aviv. Seligman informed the Foreign Office of his nephew Raphael Seligman, also an lawyer whom was working in Dublin, for Elyan, Seligman & Co. Solicitors. Mr. Seligman claimed that his nephew had ‘good contacts with the present Foreign Ministry of Eire’. The letter suggested an offer of assistance from Raphael Seligman to ‘take up political discussions with the Irish government on our behalf’. Conway informed Linton of his reply to Mr. Seligman in which Conway advised Mr. Seligman, ‘that we cannot give him any such authority’. However, Comay suggested to Linton, the usefulness of Seligman in the event of an official approach being made to the Irish government.¹⁵⁸. As Eliash (2007, p.80), states, the failure of the Ministry to ‘give the green light’ to Seligman was based on a decision ‘that no action should be taken before the United Nations decided whether to accept Israel as a member’. However, the United Nation would reject Israel’s application for membership at this time (ibid). The rejection of Israel’s application by The United Nations were based on:

‘ ... the fact that the international status of Palestine at the termination of the Mandate on 15 May 1948 is not yet established so as to permit the legitimate creation of a Jewish sovereign State in any part of that country against the wishes of the majority of its population and the recognition of that State by certain member nations as *de facto* authority does not entitled this *de facto* authority to enjoy sovereign equality with *de jure* authority and sovereignty of other Member States under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations’

(United Nations 1948)¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁸ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15.

¹⁵⁹ United Nations Israel admission to the United Nations Organisation. S/PV. 358, 17 December 1948. [online], available: [https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/437DD877E349151B052566CE006D9189/\[accessed \[20-11-2019\]](https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/437DD877E349151B052566CE006D9189/[accessed%20-11-2019])

Following Israel rejection for membership to the United Nations, Raphael Seligman wrote to S. Rosenne, legal adviser for the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs in December 1948. The letter dated 22nd December 1948, discussed Ireland pursuing an independent foreign policy after severing ‘her last remaining links with the Britain Commonwealth’. Seligman’s correspondence informed Rosenne as to Ireland’s links with the Vatican. Seligman stated:

‘I further feel that apart from the desirability of securing recognition for Israel by as many Nations as possible, there are special considerations in the case of Eire which merit the closest scrutiny by your government, and these considerations particularly include the fact of there being merely at least eight million people in the United States of America who are Irish, or at least of Irish decent, many of whom wield tremendous political influence and the development of close relations between Israel and Eire would automatically establish an important sympathetic bond between Israel and the United States of America.

In the second place it should be noted that Eire has a status of a Roman Catholic Nation and a consequential moral influence with the Vatican and powerful catholic nations which is far out of proportion to the physical size of the Country and she could easily become a valuable link in the establishment of a satisfactory relations with the Vatican.

I have in the meantime arranged for an Independent Socialist Member of Parliament to ask a question when the Dail reassembles in February next as to whether the Government proposes to recognise Israel’¹⁶⁰

While further assistance was forthcoming from Raphael Seligman, Comay’s reply dated 13th January 1949, clarifying the Ministry’s position stating, it was ‘not desirable for you as a private citizen of Eire to take the matter up with Government leaders on our behalf’¹⁶¹. In a reply letter from Raphael Seligman to Comay dated 25th January 1949¹⁶², Seligman informed Comay of his opinion regarding the failure of Ireland to grant recognition to The Provisional Government of Israel, stating, ‘that Mr De Valera took the view at the time that it would be unwise for the Irish Government to “fish in troubled waters’. Seligman was of the view however, that the present Minister for Foreign Affairs Sean McBride ‘would give the matter far more favourable consideration’. Indeed, the only ‘difficulty’ Seligman claimed, was:

‘Mr James Dillon ... the Minister for Agriculture is firmly convinced Zionism and Communism are synonymous and it will be very difficult to overcome this obstacle as Mr Dillon has tremendous influence in the Government’.

¹⁶⁰ ‘ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15

¹⁶¹ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. Letter dated 13th January 1949, from Michael Comay to Raphael Seligman’ Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15

¹⁶² ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15.

On the 26th January 1949¹⁶³, Ivor Linton reported to Comay after an approach was made to Sean McBride by ‘friends in Dublin’. According to the latter dated 26th January 1949, McBride stated, ‘that it would be difficult at the moment for Eire to give recognition: in the present rather delicate relationship between Eire and Britain, to do so might be regarded as an unfriendly act’. However, as the documents reveal it was suggested by Comay that the issue of Irish recognition was brought up with the Irish Minister in Washington. Indeed, while Ireland would eventually grant *de facto* recognition to Israel in February 1949, agreement came with a proviso to which Israel would ‘agree to the international control of the Holy Places, in order to ensure their inviolability and freedom of access ¹⁶⁴’. On 12th February 1949, McBride sent a cable to Moshe Sharett confirming Ireland’s ‘*de facto* recognition of the Provisional Government of Israel’¹⁶⁵. It is important to note here, de Valera was not in government at the time of *de facto* recognition of Israel in 1949. While Ireland’s then government was avoiding ‘any public act or utterance that might be construed as implicit *de jure* recognition of the Jewish state’ (Miller 2005, p.8), de Valera made an unofficial visit to Israel in 1950 and was accompanied by his two sons and Robert Briscoe. Documents obtained from the Israel State Archives, relating to de Valera’s visit to Israel, include correspondence between Robert Briscoe and Chief Rabbi Herzog dated 12th May 1950, wherein, Briscoe advises Chief Rabbi Herzog that ‘it is necessary to keep, until the last moments, the arrangements from becoming public property¹⁶⁶’. In a previous letter from Chief Rabbi Herzog to Robert Briscoe dated 19th April 1950¹⁶⁷, Chief Rabbi Herzog suggested, the ‘cost of the journey, the expenses in the country will not have to be covered by you both and will be done in such a way as to avoid any embarrassment to Mr. De Valera and yourself’. Regardless, of the ‘close ties’ (Miller 2005, p.9), between Ireland and Israel, Ireland would withhold *de jure* recognition of Israel until 1963. Miller (2005, p.9), suggests, Ireland’s decision not to afford recognition until 1963 ‘relates to what Conor Cruise O’Brien has neatly termed as the “Vatican Factor”. Miller states:

‘in the wake of the Irish decision to extend *de jure* recognition to Israel in May 1963 an internal DEA memorandum noted that the main reason for the refusal to grant this status in the proceeding fifteen years had

¹⁶³ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15.

¹⁶⁴ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15.

¹⁶⁵ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. document No. 31/1502/3. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 2586/15.

¹⁶⁶ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No. 42244/40.

¹⁶⁷ ISA, -mfa-BritishCommonwealth-000Ivyf. ‘Knowing Ireland in Israel’, File No 42244/40.

been due to disagreements over the status of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and the desire to see Jerusalem placed under international supervision'

(Miller 2005, p.13).

Prior, to Ireland's *de jure* recognition of Israel in 1963, Ireland became a member of the United Nations in 1955. Although Ireland had established formal diplomatic relations with other states, Ireland had yet to develop international relations with countries in the Middle East (Miller 2004). Indeed, Ireland's entry into the United Nations enabled full participation in international affairs, including the contribution from Ireland to UN peace keeping missions in the Middle East during the 1950s. Ireland's increasing international profile (ibid), force Ireland to reconsider its foreign policy of non – recognition (Eliash 2007). By 1962 Ireland had afforded *de jure* recognition to 'Egypt, Syria and Lebanon'. A year later Ireland extended *de jure* recognition to 'Algeria, Morocco, Jordan Libya and Kuwait', including Israel. (Miller 2004, p.127). Indeed, while Ireland's decision to withhold official recognition of Israel was in line with the Vatican's concerns over the Holy Land, as discussed above, interestingly, Ireland's eventual recognition of Israel in 1963, according to Eliash (2011, p.170), was again based on the Vatican's position, which stated, "there would be no objection to the granting of full recognition to Israel; the Holy See would be pleased, however, if due care were taken by the Government not to recognise Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel". Thus the 'Vatican's response enabled Ireland to back away from its position of ... adhering to Vatican policy' (ibid).

7.6 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter set out to discuss the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine in 1948, in particular Ireland's political response to the creation of Israel in Palestine. While we acknowledged the limitations of this research project, the individual sections were therefore, presented in a chronological order, considered the most relevant to the main focus of the chapter. Hence, the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the British Mandate for Palestine became our starting point. As discussed, the declaration was viewed by Zionist as a pledge by the British government to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, fulfilling the aspirations of Theodore Herzl. Conversely, Friedman (1973, p.105), argued the motivation for British support of the Zionist movement was to offset the likelihood of a 'Turco-German protectorate of a Jewish Palestine emerging in the aftermath the war'.

This section also examined the British Mandate for Palestine and the decision taken by the League of Nations to incorporate the Balfour Declaration into the Mandate. Thus, obliging Britain to create a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Also under discussion was the establishment of the Peel Commission in an effort to stem the outbreaks of violence between the Jews and the Arabs. The solution to the conflict as recommended by the Peel Commissioners was to partition Palestine into two separate states. However, as we have discussed not every member of the League of Nations supported partition, specifically Ireland. While the recommendations from the Peel Commissioners were not implemented, Britain it was suggested, conceded to pressure by the Arabs over Jewish immigration to Palestine, by issuing the White Paper in 1939, ensuring a reduction on Jewish immigration to Palestine just before the outbreak of World War Two (Gavron 2004).

The chapter then proceeded to examine the consequence of the White Paper in 1939, on Jewish migration to Palestine. Furthermore, the anti – immigration policies which limited Jewish migration to many European countries, leaving many of Europe’s Jews unable to escape the Nazi regime. We also raised the question of the international response to the Holocaust, including the responsibility of the International Military Tribunal, arguably the first international response to the Holocaust. We have argued that while the ITM failed to focus on the victims of the Holocaust, we also illustrated the significant role of the United Nation in adopting a mandate which became ‘the first human rights treaty of the modern era’(Sands 2017, p.377).

The final section of this chapter has examined Ireland’s political stance to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. In addition, we discussed de Valera’s anti – partition speech at the League of Nations in 1937, whereby de Valera clearly stated his objection to partition. In fact we also noted, how some commentators maintained, de Valera took the opportunity at the League to advance Irish opposition to the partitioning of Ireland, by questioning the feasibility of the partitioning of Palestine as a solution to the Palestine problem. Our discussion then focused on the passing of Resolution 181(II) in 1947, by The United Nations General Assembly, which sanctioned the partition of Palestine. We also discussed the proclamation of the State of Israel in 1948, and Ireland’s reluctance to acknowledge the new state, only affording *de facto* recognition in 1949. Furthermore, we argued that Irish recognition was of strategic importance to Israel due to a large Irish

diaspora in America and equally Ireland's links with the Vatican. Furthermore, we supplied documentary evidence in order to support this argument.

In reaching the end of our exploration of Ireland's Jewish community, the subsequent chapter will therefore, bring together the individual findings discussed throughout this research project. Furthermore, future research areas which have been identified as possible avenues worthy of additional exploration will also be a consideration in the closing chapter.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Further Research Areas

8.1 Introduction

At the outset of this thesis, the initial approach was to conduct an analyses of Ireland's Jewish community, encompassing a particular timeframe, thus, leading to an overall conclusion. As the research developed over the prescribed two year period for a Master's thesis, each chapter became an individual research piece, given the expanse of the research and the range of documents utilised. Therefore, each chapter required its own conclusion based on the information obtained from the archival material, this did not change the original trajectory or historical timeframe of the research study. In order to link together the individual conclusions, we need to return to the early Jewish community and commence from there.

8.2 Overall Conclusions

Chapter three commenced our exploration of Ireland's Jewish community, which focused on establishing the push and pull factor of Jewish migration specifically to Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s. A further consideration of this research study was the social interaction between these early Jewish settlers and the wider Irish Catholic community, in the main intergroup relations we have determined were more positive than negative. As discussed in chapter three, the majority of Ireland's early Jewish community originated from Kovno in Lithuania. Although we established that opinions varied among leading historians as to the events that motivated Jewish immigration from Russia to Ireland, economic migration versus pogroms and fleeing persecution, this present study suggested that no pogroms occurred in Lithuania at the time of the Russian pogroms of 1881. Though mass migration did occur from Russia during this period, for the majority Britain and America appeared to be the preferred choice. Thus, in relation to Ireland we established a pattern of chain migration using case studies while also suggesting Ireland absorbed some of the migrants from Britain to alleviate the economic and social pressures brought about by the large influx of inward migration from Russia. While Ó Gráda's argument for economic migration was certainly valid, the opposing suggestion from Keogh in favor of the pogroms of 1881 equally had merit. Therefore, this chapter

concluded that both Ó Gráda, and Keogh had contributed to the narrative of Ireland's early Jewish community. Finally, one of the most unexpected themes and one that was worth noting, was the role of the media in the Russian pogroms and the events in Limerick in 1904, as we have seen in both cases, the misrepresentation of the Jews through 'media framing', (Breen et al. 2005, p.2), created an atmosphere of hostility sparking violent attacks against the Jews by the wider community.

Moving then to chapter four of this thesis, which examined Ireland's Jewish community throughout the Irish revolutionary years, with particular attention on the Jewish community's engagement with the nationalist cause. We concluded that postponing Home Rule in Ireland was the catalyst for the Easter Rising to occur. In addition, we explored the role of the Jewish community's contribution to the nationalist movement, a cause more representative of the Catholic community owing to intertwining of Catholicism and Nationalism, thus, viewed as exclusionary to minority groups. However, as we have seen, for some members of Ireland's Jewish community their religious identity was not a factor in national identification, as they pursued the nationalist struggle for independence from Britain, both politically but more significantly from their co-religionists in Britain. We also considered the view that the Irish - Jewish narrative had for some commentators become problematic, with some questioning the historical accuracy of Jewish participation in the nationalist cause. We suggest that this argument was somewhat selective, based on the evidence produced to substantiate this claim. Also, as part of chapter four, we discussed briefly the role of women in Catholic Ireland, and how women like Estella Solomon and Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim were actively participating in the political and social emancipation of women in a predominantly patriarchal society. What did become apparent throughout this chapter, was the desire for a more inclusive and equal Irish society, this was expressed by the engagement of minority groups such as the Jewish community with the broader Irish society, including women's movements who sought to remove the gender barrier from Ireland's cultural and political arena as Ireland began the process of nation – building, along with securing independence from Britain.

Chapter five of this thesis examined the Second World era, or the Emergency years in Ireland. By employing archival documents to support our argument, we challenged the view that Ireland was isolated throughout this period. This chapter illustrated how Irish

society, but moreover, the Irish government were aware of the use of concentration camps and the mounting refugee crises. Furthermore, by utilising the unreleased documents held in the Immigration Office of the Department of Justice, we also established that Irish immigration policies prior to, during and after the Second World War were specifically implemented to keep Jewish refugees out of Ireland, regardless of the knowledge the Irish government had via their diplomats in Europe. In fact, we illustrated how political discourse found expression in the racially motivated immigration policies, thus, severely restricting the granting of visa applications to Jewish refugees. Of those who were granted visas, which was a minimal amount, no permanent residency was on offer.

This chapter considered how the far-reaching power of the Emergency Powers Act, 1939, enabled the Government to implement any legislation it deemed appropriate in the name of national security, which included the censorship of all media. We also noted how censorship was deployed as a mechanism to suppress public opinion and general attitudes towards the war. In addition, we argued, that in relation to the Emergency era in Ireland, censorship never fully ended. The period after the war left millions of displaced persons in Europe. Ireland's position on immigration was again reaffirmed by the introduction of Aliens Order 1946, interestingly, as this chapter illustrated, Ireland's humanitarian aid program was much more liberal.

Chapters (six and seven) explored the notion of identity and belonging in relation to the Irish Jewish community's affiliation with the Zionist movement, and the foundation of the Israeli State in 1948. We began by discussing the origins of Zionism including the Zionist movement under Theodor Herzl. Moreover, we considered the parallels that exist between Zionism and Irish nationalism. This study established how both these groups were deemed racially inferior by international ideals, thus, beginning a process of reinventing the national self-image. We also examined the role of religion in both Nationalism and Zionism and noted how religion became a unifying instrument which created a sense of religious heritage and shared values in an effort to construct a national homeland. The Zionist movement in Ireland also formed part of this exploration, we noted that support for the Zionist cause among Ireland's Jewish community was more of a financial commitment, especially among organisations such as the Daughters of Zion. While Ireland's Jewish community had been viewed as existing on the periphery of the wider Jewish diaspora, we illustrated that this was certainly not the case when we

considered not only the financial contribution but how instrumental the Daughters of Zion were in founding the Women's International Zionist Organisation. Likewise, the support from individual members of the Irish – Jewish community such as Robert Briscoe and Chaim Herzog, were significant in championing the cause for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Central to these two particular chapters, was the Zionist movement in Ireland and the founding of Israel. We set out to explore the extent to which Ireland's Jewish community was in supporting not only the Zionist cause but the founding of a national homeland. The following chapter (seven) discussed Ireland's political response to the founding of the Israeli State in Palestine, and equally, the relevance of Irish diplomatic recognition of Israeli Statehood. To understand the events which lead to the creation of Israel in 1948, we considered firstly, the broader narrative of this period in history, therefore, the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the British Mandate for Palestine became our starting point. In keeping with the chronological order of events, we examined the British Mandate for Palestine and the decision take by the League of Nations to incorporate the Balfour Declaration into the Mandate which obligated Britain to create a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Our exploration proceeded then to examine the significance of the White Paper in 1939, on Jewish migration to Palestine, and similarly the effects of anti – immigration policies at this time which limited Jewish migration, in particular the Jews of Europe trying to escape the Nazi regime. We also highlighted the first international response to the Holocaust, by way of an International Military Tribunal. Moving forward to May 14, 1948, when David Ben – Gurion Chairman of the Jewish Agency proclaimed the State of Israel, we had previously discussed de Valera's speech at the League of Nations in 1937, whereby, de Valera stated Ireland's position on the partition of Palestine. We further discussed Ireland's reluctance in acknowledging the new state of Israel, while demonstrating the significance of Irish recognition for the new fledging State.

Finally, this research has identified and addressed the literature gap in relation to Irish – Jewish migration to Israel, an area which had received insufficient attention. This new contribution will disprove previously held assumptions in relation to immigration to Israel after the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. Arguably while the Irish - Jewish community did experience a decrease in numbers in the following years, evidently, this was not due to any significant numbers emigrating to Israel.

8.3 Future Research Areas

While some of the findings in this thesis were not anticipated, they have highlighted possible research avenues for further exploration. Indeed, as we have seen throughout this research project, the way archival documents and artifacts are passed from one generation to another allowing the present generation glimpses of past lives and events. The interrelationship that exists between oral histories, archival material and artifacts collectively play a role in preserving cultural identity and national memory. In the main, national buildings which house museums, archives and so forth we would argue, denote cultural homogenous history and cultural memory, thus, excluding the cultural memory and identity of minority groups such as Ireland's Jewish community. Therefore, an area worthy of further research is the everyday exclusion of minority cultural memory from museums that represent the national narrative. More specifically, this practice of exclusion we will argue reinforces the 'othering' of ethnic minorities in contemporary Irish society. Thus, an in-depth study which examines the role of museums as agents of social inclusion or indeed exclusion, and the centrality of museums in shaping national identity including our perception of what it means to be Irish.

A further revelation to come out of this study and an new contribution to the area of identity and belonging in relation to ethnic minority populations in Ireland, was the census figures from the Irish – Jewish immigration to Israel in 1948. While the statistical information from the census records highlighted the low migration figures from Ireland to Israel, the census also revealed the trend continued, only peaking from 1965 onwards. Considering these new findings further research may shed light on the reasons for such initial low migration figures and why only from the 1960s did immigration to Israel rise.

Finally, due to the limitations of this research project the Irish – Jewish community in Israel along with related archival documents could not be included in this research study. Therefore, this should be the natural progression for this research project. By extending this current project to include the Irish – Jewish community in Israel, thereby, this research can further explore themes such as migration, integration, identity formation and cultural memory in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of this minority group.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

National Archives of Ireland, Dublin

Department of An Taoiseach

TAOIS/S 12043

TAOIS/11007/B1

Department of Justice

JUS/2013/50/1-4

JUS/Wartime Censorship 1939-46 Box 1

Alien Files, 69/80/899

Alien Files, 69/80/207

Alien Files, 69/80/206

Alien Files, 69/80/129

Alien Files, 69/80/627

Alien Files, 69/80/607

Alien Files, 96/80/650

Alien Files, 69/80/920

Alien Files, 69/80/975

Alien Files, 69/80/1100

Alien Files, 69/622

Alien Files, 69/80/364

Department of Foreign Affairs

DFA 34/125

2/1/31 Presentation of Benemerenti medal to Mr Bewley

Box 34 File 239

Box 243/67

Box 34 File 234

Box 33 File 234

Box /10/2/57

Box 419/44

Box P150/2349

Military Archives, Ireland

WS0400/Statement by Witness, Richard Walsh

WS0707/Statement by Witness, Michael Noyk

University College Cork Archives

The Evening Herald dated August 8th, 1939

The Belfast Newsletter dated August 9th, 1939

The Irish Examiner on December 13th, 1939

University College Dublin Archives

EUCDA P150/2689 Papers of Eamon de Valera (1882-1975)

P150/2349, 17 September 1937, Memorandum by Eamon de Valera

UCDAP 104, Papers of Frank Aiken

National Library of Ireland

The Irish Press, 9 July 1937, p. 9

The Irish Press, 10 July 1937, p.9

The Irish Press, 15 May 1948

The Irish Independent 15 May 1948

The Irish Press, 26 May 1948

The Irish Independent, 24 May 1948

The Irish Press, 24 May 1948

The Irish Press, 28 September 1948

United Nations Archives

League of Nations Official Journal, Special Supplement No. 175, Records of the
Eighteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

Dublin Archdiocesan Archives

Edward Byrne papers

IE/DDA/AB7

John Charles McQuaid papers

IE/DDA/AB7

IE/DDA/AB8

Jewish Museum Archives, Dublin

DJMA, box no. 49, Category 56.031. Regional Council of Zionists. No's 1-23

DJMA, Box no. 49, Category 56.01 Dublin Daughters of Zion. (DDZ)/ Ziona, No's 1-
57

The document entitled Bertha Weingreen regarding the daughters of Zion and the
Establishment of the Federation of Women's Zionist (FWZ), of Great Britain and
Ireland was supplied by Carol Briscoe (Jewish Museum)

Israel State Archives

4244/40, Embassies and Legations, Ireland

File No. 4244/40. 'Letter from Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog to Eamon de Valera, October
14th 1937

File No. 4244/40 Robert Briscoe to Rev. Isaac Herzog 2nd November 1937

File No. 4244/40. Chief Rabbi Herzog to Robert Briscoe dated 2nd February 1938

Knowing Ireland in Israel', File No 2586/15

Knowing Ireland in Israel', File No. 42244/40

Irish Aliyah statistics, Central Bureau of Statistics Israel

Robert Briscoe Family Archives

Newspaper Collection

The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (82)

The Revolution Papers 1943, vol (85)

The Tablet, 5 August 1950: The Unwanted: The Aged, Sick and Maimed Refugees
Whom No Country Will Take, Vol 196, No. 5750

Online Sources

Office of the Historian: Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the annual message of the President, December 5, 1881, No. 623. Mr Foster to Mr Blaine. [online], available: <https://history.state.gov/> [accessed 17-5-2019]

Office of the Historian: Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the annual message of the President, December 5, 1881. No. 628. Mr Blaine to Mr Foster. Department of State, Washington, July 29, 1881. [online], available: <https://history.state.gov/> [accessed 15-5-2019]

Letter by Margaret MacCarthy 22nd September. Mayo County Library, [online], available: <http://www.mayolibrary.ie/en/LocalStudies/Emigration/LetterSamples/> [accessed 13-3-2019]

Census figures obtained from the Government of Ireland 2004, Material compiled and presented by the Central Statistics Office

Central Statistics Office (2018) 'Jewish Population (Number) by year, county and religious denomination' [online], available: [CNA28: Population by County, Religious Denomination and Year](#), information accessed directly from the CSO [accessed 29-2-2018]

Census 2011 Profile 7 Religion, Ethnicity, and Irish Travellers – Ethnic and cultural background in Ireland [online], available:

<https://www.cso.ie/en/census/census2011reports/census2011profile7religionethnicityandirishtravellers-ethnicandculturalbackgroundinireland/> [accessed 19-03-2019]

Collins, L. (2005) 'Michael MacWhite Papers' P194 UCD Archives, [online], available: <https://www.ucd.ie/archives/t4media/p0194-macwhite-michael-descriptive-catalogue.pdf> [accessed 8-9-2019]

The Limerick Chronicle dated May 3rd, 1884. [online], available:

<http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/jews%20of%20limerick%2002.pdf> [accessed 25-3-2019]

Limerick Chronicle dated 9th January 1904. [online], available:
<http://www.limerickcity.ie/Library/LocalStudies/LocalStudiesFiles/J/JewsofLimerick/>
[accessed 25-3-2019]

Judaeo- Irish Home Rule Association. Meeting in the Mansion House', *Irish Times*
dated 11th September 1908. Judaeo-Irish Home Rule Association [online],
available:[findmypast.iehttps://search.findmypast.ie/bna/viewarticle?id=b1%2f0001683%2f19080911%2f096&stringtohighlight=judaeo](https://search.findmypast.ie/bna/viewarticle?id=b1%2f0001683%2f19080911%2f096&stringtohighlight=judaeo) [accessed 28-5-2019]

Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, No. 2, Reprinted *Minutes and Proceedings of the First Dáil of the Republic of Ireland 1919 -1921* (Dublin, 1994) 'Declaration of Independence'

Dublin 21 January 1919 [online], Available: <https://www.difp.ie/> [accessed 14- 07- 2019]

Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, No. 2, Reprinted *Minutes and Proceedings of the First Dáil of the Republic of Ireland 1919 -1921* (Dublin, 1994) 'Message to the Free Nations of the World 'Dublin 21 January 1919 [online], Available: <https://www.difp.ie/> [accessed 14- 07-2019]

Documents on Irish Foreign No. 12 NAI DFA ES Paris 1919, Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count George Plunkett to Georges Clemenceau (Paris) (Copy) Dublin, 26 May 1919 [online], Available: <https://www.difp.ie/> [accessed 15- 07-2019]

DFA 34/125 Leo T. McCauley for Joseph P. Walshe (Dublin) on the general political situation in Germany, 15th March 1933 [online], Available:
<https://www.difp.ie/volume-4/1933/political-situation-in-germany/1561/>[accessed 12- 07-2019]

Military Service Pensions, Military Archive Ireland, 'Estella Solomon', [online], available: http://msearch.militaryarchives.ie/docs/files//PDF_Membership/9/MA-MSPC-CMB-126.pdf [accessed 28- 6 2019]

Decade of Centenaries Irish Independent 1916 Collection, [online], available:
<https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/1916/thinkers-talkers-doers/estella-solomons-a-portrait-of-the-artist-as-a-republican-34379332.html> [accessed 7-8-2019]

Murry, G. (2014) 'The Countess of Desart: Ellen Odette Bischoffsheim 1857 – 1933, [online], available:
http://www.jewishmag.com/184mag/countess_of_desart_ellen_bischoffsheim/countess_of_desart_ellen_bischoffsheim.htm [accessed 11-10-2019].

The National Archives of the UK (TNA) CAB/24/128 Proposals of His Majesty's Government for an Irish Settlement. Mr. de Valera's reply to the Prime Minister, Dublin June 28, 1921[online], Available: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> [accessed 14-06 2019]

Dáil Éireann debate 27th June 1946, Aliens Entering Ireland, [online], available: <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1946-06-27/> [accesses 6-7-2019]

European Jewish Congress. Ireland, [online], available: <https://eurojewcong.org/communities/ireland/> [accessed 18-10-2019]

Dáil Éireann debate 13 July 1938, Committee on Finance. – Vote No. 68-League of Nations. [online], available: <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1938-07-13/31/?highlight%5B0%5D=f%C3%83%C2%B3rsa%C3%83%C2%AD&highlight%5B1%5D=cosanta&highlight%5B2%5D=sealadacha> [accessed 20- 9-2019]

British War Cabinet, October 17, 1917. [online], available: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/> [accessed 7-7-2019]

ISA www.archives.gov.il File No. 4244/40. 'Letter from Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog to Eamon de Valera, October 14th 1937

ISA, www.archives.gov.il , File No. 4244/40 Robert Briscoe to Rev. Isaac Herzog 2nd November 1937

ISA, www.archives.gov.il File No. 4244/40. Chief Rabbi Herzog to Robert Briscoe dated 2nd February 1938

United Nations Israel admission to the United Nations Organisation, Official Records, S/PV. 358, 17 December 1948. [online], available: <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/437DD877E349151B052566CE006D9189/> [accessed 20-11-2019]

Department of Foreign Affairs: 'Speech by Simon Coveney, Celebration of the Centenary of the birth of Chaim Herzog 17th October 2018', [online], available: <https://www.dfa.ie/news-and-media/speeches/speeches-archive/2018/october/tanaistes-remarks-at-the-celebration-of-the-centenary-of-the-birth-of-chaim-herzog.php> [accessed 30-5-2019]

European Jewish Congress 'Communities Ireland' [online], available: <https://eurojewcong.org/communities/ireland/#> [accessed 23-09-2019]

Irish Times (2010) 'April 30th , 1957: Hungarian refugees 'left to rust' go on hunger strike', [online], available: <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/april-30th-1957-hungarian-refugees-left-to-rust-go-on-hunger-strike-1.659165> [accessed 14-12-2019]

Irish Independent (2019) Varadkar's remarks on asylum seekers branded 'gas – lighting and dangerous', [online], available: <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/varadkars-remarks-on-asylum-seekers-branded-gaslighting-and-dangerous-38657818.html>

[accessed 28-12-2019]

Jewish Virtual Library (2019) 'Aliya', [online], available <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/aliyah> [accessed 26-5-2019]

Jewish Chronicle, Ellen Odette Biscoffsheim [online], available: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/council-tribute-to-aristocrat-who-was-ireland-s-first-lady-of-giving-1.52265> [accessed 11-10-2019].

JFMR, [online], available: <http://jfmresearch.com/home/preserving-magdalene-history/waterford/> [accessed 2 -8 2019]

Margaret McCarthy in America on the 22nd September [online], available: <https://www.mayo.ie/library/local-history/historical-events/emigration/letters-ireland> [accessed 6-06-2019]

Mayo News (2018), 'Castlebar and the Irish Schindler' The story of Marcus Witztum [online], available: <http://www.mayonews.ie/comment-opinion/down-memory-lane/32803-castlebar-and-the-irish-schindler> [accessed 6-11-2019].

The Limerick Chronicle dated May 3rd, 1884. [online], available: <http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/jews%20of%20limerick%2002.pdf> [accessed 25-3-2019]

Limerick Chronicle dated 9th January 1904. [online], available: <http://www.limerickcity.ie/Library/LocalStudies/LocalStudiesFiles/J/JewsofLimerick/> [accessed 25-3- 2019]

Secondary Sources

- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities :Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Akenson, H.D. (1993) *The Irish Diaspora*, Toronto: P.D. Meany Company, Inc., Publishers.
- Alexander, C.S., and Becker, H.J. (1978) 'The use of vignettes in survey research', *The public Opinion Quarterly*, 42 (1) 93 – 104.
- Almog, S., Reinhartz, J., and Shapira, A. (1998) (eds.) *Zionism and Religion*, Hanover: University Press of New England, 25-43.
- Abrams, P. (1982) *Historical Sociology*, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Aronson, I.M. (1990) *Troubled Waters: The Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Almog, S., Reinhartz, J., and Shapira, A. (1998) in Almog, S., Reinhartz, J., and Shapira, A. (eds.) *Zionism and Religion*, Hanover: University Press of New England, xi-xii.
- Avineri, S. (1998) 'Zionism and the Jewish religious tradition: the dialectics of redemption and secularization', in Almog, S., Reinhartz, J., and Shapira, A. (eds.) *Zionism and Religion*, Hanover: University Press of New England, 1-12.
- Avineri, S. (1998) 'Herzl's road to Zionism', *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 98, 3-15.
- Avineri, S. (2008) *Herzl's Vision: Theodor Herzl and the Foundations of the Jewish State*, Israel: Zalman Shazar Centre.
- Ahmed, J. U. (2010) 'Documentary research methods: new dimensions', *Indus Journal of Management & Social Sciences*, 4 (1), 1-14.
- Anderson, D., and Enoch, J. (2013) 'Introduction: Retrospective Prospecting- Notes towards a Future', in Anderson, D., and Enoch, J. *Burke in the Archives: Using the Past to Transform the Future of Burkean Studies*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1-15.
- Atkinson, R. (2013) 'The road to d -day: behind the battle that won the war', *Council on Foreign Affairs*, 92 (4) 55- 75.
- Archives and Records Association UK & Ireland (2016) 'Code of Ethics', [online], available: <http://www.archives.org.uk/membership/code-of-ethics.html> [accessed 15-4-2018]
- Aly, G. (2011, 2014) *Why the Germans? Why the Jews?* New York: Metropolitan Books.

- Blegen, T.C. (1955) 'The Immigrant Image of America', (in Blegen, T.C.) (eds.) *Land of their Choice; The Immigrants Write Home*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota. 3-14.
- Briscoe, R., and Hatch, A. (1958) *For the Life of Me*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Boyce, D.G. (1982) *Nationalism in Ireland*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge
- Berk, S.M. (1985) *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope: Russian Jewry and the Pogroms or 1881-1882*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Brown, T. (1985) *A Social and Cultural History, 1922 to the Present*, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Boyd, M. (1989) 'Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas', *The international Migration Review*, 23 (3) 638-670.
- Baily, K.D. (1994) *Methods of Social Research*, 4th ed. New York: The Free Press.
- Brew, P. (1998) *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism, 1912-1916*, oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Biletz, F.A. (2002) 'Women and Irish – Ireland: The domestic nationalism of Mary Butler', *New Hibernia Review*, 6 (1) 59 – 72.
- Brendon, P. (2000) *The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930's*, New York: Vintage House.
- Ben- Israel, (2003) 'Zionism and European nationalisms: comparative aspects', *Israel Studies*, 8 (1) 91-104.
- Bruce, S. (2003) *Politics and Religion*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Browning, C. R. (2007) *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939- March 1942*, University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem.
- Breen, M.J., Hayes, A. and Devereux, E. (2005) 'Smuggling Zebras for lunch: Media framing of asylum seekers in Irish print media', *Études Irlandaises*, 30 (1) 1 – 18.
- Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*, London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Bryman, A. (2016) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brothman, B. (2010) 'Perfect present, perfect gift: finding a place for archival consciousness in social theory', *Archival Science*, 10 (2) 141 – 189.
- Bartlett, T. (2014) 'When histories collide: the third home rule bill for Ireland', in Doherty, G. (eds.) *The Home Rule Crises 1912-14*, Cork: Mercier Press.
- Baer, N. (2014) 'The rebirth of a nation: cinema, Herzlian Zionism, and emotion in Jewish history', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, (59) 233-248.

- Beatty, A. (2017) 'Zionism and Irish nationalism: ideology and identity on the borders of Europe', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45 (2), 315-338.
- Beatty, A., and O'Brien, D. (2018) *Irish Questions and Jewish Questions: Crossover in Culture*, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Beatty, A. (2019) 'The Gaelic League and the spatial logics of Irish nationalism', *Irish Historical Studies*, 43 (163) 1-18.
- Cousens, S.H. (1960) 'The regional patterns of emigration during the great Irish famine, 1846-51', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, (28) 119- 134.
- Cohn, H.J. (1974) 'Theodor Herzl's conversion to Zionism', *Jewish Social Studies*, 32 (2) 101-110.
- Chalk, F. and Jonassohn, K. (1990) *The History and Sociology of Genocide*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cesarani, D. (1994) *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-199*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooney, J. (1999) *John Charles McQuaid: Ruler of Catholic Ireland*, Dublin: The O'Brien Press.
- Cole, R. (1997) *Doing Documentary Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Edelheit, A.J. (2000) 'The Holocaust and the rise of Israel: a reassessment reassessed', *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 12 (1/2) 97-112.
- Clairmont, F.F. (2003) 'Stalingrad: Hitler's nemesis', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38 (27) 2819 – 2823.
- Culleton, J.(2004) 'A vast lost chance: Ireland's immigration policy and the Jews 1939-1948' *ERGA (WIT Journal)* vol 1, 53-65.
- Culleton, J.(2007) 'Institutional racism in Ireland: ethnic and religious minorities in criminal justice and social care provision systems', *European Journal of Social Education*, no. 12/13, 51- 62.
- Corti, L. (2004) 'Archival Research', (in Lewis-Beck, M.S., Bryman, A. and Futing Liao, T.) (eds.), *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods*, London: Sage Publication, Inc. 20- 22.
- Catic, M. (2008) 'A tale of two reconciliations: Germans and Jews after World War II and Bosnia after Dayton', *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, 3 (2) 213- 242.
- Chassanoff , A. (2013) 'Historians and the use of primary source material in the digital age', *The American Archivist*, 76 (2) 458 – 480.

- Culleton, J. (2014) 'Celticism: the Gaelic revival, race and Irishness', *Sociology and Anthropology*, 2 (5): 201-205.
- Crowley, J., Ó Drisceoil, D., Murphy, M., and Borgonovo, J. (2017) *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, Cork: Cork University Press.
- Cohen, M.J. (2020) 'The British Mandate in Palestine: A Centenary Volume, 1920-2020', in Cohen, M.J. (eds.) *Editors Introduction*, London: Routledge.
- Donaldson, A.G. (1955) 'The constitution of northern Ireland: its origins and development', *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, 11 (1) 1- 42.
- Dawidowicz, L.S. (1981) *The Holocaust And The Historians*, London: Harvard University Press.
- Daly, M.E. and O'Callaghan, M. (2007) 'Introduction- Irish modernity and 'The Patriot Dead' in 1966', in Daly, M.E. and O'Callaghan, M., (eds). *1916 in 1966 Commemorating the Easter Rising*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1-18.
- DeLaney, E. (2007) *The Irish in Post – War Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Daly, M. E. (2008) 'Cultural and Economic Protection and Xenophobia in Independent Ireland, 1920s-1970s', in Faragó, B., and Sullivan, M. (eds.) *Facing the Other: Interdisciplinary Studies on Race, Gender and Social Justice in Ireland*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Dwyer. T.R. (2010) *Behind the Green Curtain Irelands Phoney Neutrality During World War Two*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Dorney, J. (2017) *The Civil War in Dublin: The Fight For The Irish Capital 1922 – 1924*, Kildare: Merrion Press.
- English, R. (1998) *Ernie O'Malley IRA Intellectual*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eliash, S. (2007) *The Harp and the Shield of David Ireland, Zionism and the State of Israel*, London: Routledge.
- English, R. (2006) *Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland*, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- English, R. (2011) 'History and Irish nationalism', *Irish Historical Studies*, 37 (147) 447-460.
- Epstein, L. D. (2016) *The Dream of Zion*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
- Evans, B. (2014) *Ireland During the Second World War Farewell to Plato's Cave*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge And The Discourse Of Language*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Friedman, I. (1973) 'The response to the Balfour Declaration', *Jewish Social Studies*, 35 (2) 105 – 124.
- Fisk, R. (1983) *In Time of War Ireland, Ulster and the Price of neutrality 1939 – 45*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- Fraser, T.G. (1988) 'A crisis of leadership: Weizmann and the Zionist reactions to the Peel Commission's proposal, 1937 -8', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 23 (4) 657-680.
- Fanning, R. (2013) *Fatal Path: British Government and Irish Revolution 1910 -1922*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd.
- Frankfort-Nachmias, C., and Nachmias, D. (1996) *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, 5th ed. London: St Martin's Press.
- Fitzpatrick, D. (1992) 'Ireland Since 1870', (in Foster, R.F.) (eds.), *The Oxford History of Ireland*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 174-229.
- Finger, S.M. (1996) 'The United Nations', ((in Wyman, D.S.) (eds.) *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 811-835.
- Fahey, T. (1998) 'The catholic church and social policy', *The furrow*, 49 (4) 202-209.
- Fallon, B. (1998) *An Age of Innocence Irish Culture 1930-1960*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Fanning, R., Kennedy, M., Keogh, D. and O'Halpin, E. (eds). (1998) *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy: Volume 1919 -1922*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- Foy, M. T. and Barton, B. (2011) *The Easter Rising*, 4th ed. Gloucestershire: The History Press.
- Fanning, B. (2002) *Racism and social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Fitzpatrick, D. (1998). *The Two Irelands 1912-1939*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferriter, D. (2005) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000*, London: Profile Books Ltd.
- Frawley, O. (2012) *Memory Ireland: Volume 2: Diaspora and Memory Practices*, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Frawley, O. (2011) 'Introduction', *Memory Ireland Volume 1, History and Modernity*, New York: Syracuse University Press, xiii – xxiv.

- Fanning, B. (2016) 'Jewish, Catholic, and Collaborator refugees in Ireland', *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 105 (419) 362- 372.
- Farge, A. (2013) *The Allure of the Archives*, (Translated by Railton, T.S.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Farrell, M. (2017) *Party Policies in a New Democracy: The Irish Free State, 1922 – 37*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fanning, B. (2018) *Migration and the Making of Ireland*, Dublin: Dublin City Press.
- Fewer, M. (2018) *Battel of the Four Courts: The First Three Days of the Irish Civil War*, London: Head of Zeus Ltd.
- Grindstaff, L., Ming – Cheng, M.L., and Hall, J.R. (2019) *Routledge Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, 2nd eds. London: Routledge.
- Grant, A (2019) *Doing Excellent Social Research with Documents: Practical Examples and Guidance for Qualitative Researchers*, Oxon: Routledge.
- Gordis, D. (2016) *Israel: A Concise History of a Nation Reborn*, New York: Harper-Collins Publishers.
- Gold, D. (2017) 'The historical significance of the Declaration 'Jewish Political Studies Review, 28 (1/2) 8 - 13.
- Gillon, D.Z. (1969) 'The antecedents of the Balfour Declaration', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 5 (2) 131 - 150.
- Garvin, T. (1987) *Nationalist Revolutionaries In Ireland 1858-1928*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gray, T. (1994) *Ireland This Century*, London: Little, Brown and Company.
- Gray, T. (1997) *The Lost Years The Emergency in Ireland 1939-45*, London: Little, Brown and Company.
- Gavron, D. (2004) *The Other Side of Despair Jews and Arabs in the Promised Land*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Garner, S. (2004) *Racism in the Irish Experience*, London: Pluto Press.
- Goodman, J. (2010) 'Nationalism as a social movement', *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of International Studies*, [online], available: <http://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-267?print=pdf> [accessed 20-4-2019]
- Gaillt, L.L. (2012)' (Per) Forming archival research methodologies', *College Composition and Communication*, 64 (1) 35-58.

- Gsir, S. and Mescoli, E. (2015) ,Maintaining national abroad – countries of origin, culture and diaspora, INTERACT RR 2015/10, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute,[online],available: https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/35881/INTERACT-RR-2015_10_Culture.pdf?sequence=1 [accessed 22-11-2019]
- Herzl, T. (1941) *Theodor Herzl: Excerpts from His Diaries*, New York: Scopus Publishing Company, Inc.
- Hyman, L. (1972) *The Jews of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Year 1910*, Shannon: Irish University Press.
- Hogan, G.W. (1987) ‘Law and religion: Church – state relations in Ireland from independence to present day’, *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 35 (1) 47-96.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992) *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hilberg, R. (1992) *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Hughes, R. (1998) ‘Considering the vignette technique and its application to a study of drug injecting and HIV risk and safer behaviour’, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 20 (3) 381 – 400.
- Hochberg, A. (1988,1992) ‘The repatriation of Eastern European Jews from Great Britain: 1881-1914’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 50 (1) 49-62.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1994,1995) *Age of Extremes the Short Twentieth Century 1914-199*, 2nd ed. London: Abacus.
- Hiro, D. (1996) *Sharing the Promised Land: An Interwoven Tale of Israelis and Palestinians*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Hatton, T. J., and Williamson, J.G. (1998) *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herzog, C. (1998) *Living History A Memoir*, London: Phoenix.
- Howe, S. (2000) *Ireland and Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harris, N. (2002) *Dublin’s Little Jerusalem*, Dublin: A. & A. Farmar.
- Hachey, T.E. (2002) ‘The rhetoric and reality of Irish neutrality’, *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, 6 (4) 26 – 43.
- Hopkinson, M. (2002) *The Irish War of Independence*, Dublin: Gill and McMillian.
- Hunt, C. (2005) *The History of Iraq*, London: Greenwood Press.

- Hayes, P. (2017) *Why*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. Manchester University Press.
- Hogan, G. (2009) 'Duffy, George Gavan', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Cambridge University Press, vol 3, pp 510- 512. [online], available: <http://treaty.nationalarchives.ie/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Duffy.pdf> [accessed 13-11-2018]
- Hunter, P. (2012) 'Using vignettes as self – reflexivity in narrative research of problematised history pedagogy' *Policy Futures in Education*, 10 (1) 90 – 102.
- Hamill, L. (2017) *Archival Arrangement and Description: Analog to Digital*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Hanley, B. (2021) 'Jewish fenians' and anti-Semites: the jewish role in the irish fight for freedom', [online], available: <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/jewish-fenians-and-anti-semites-the-jewish-role-in-the-irish-fight-for-freedom-1.4526074> [accessed 28-08-2021]
- Hession, P. (2018) "New jerusalem" , in Beatty, A., and O'Brien, D. (eds.) *Irish Questions and Jewish Questions: Crossover in Culture*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 47-60.
- Israel, M., and Hay, I. (2006) *Research Ethics for Social Scientists*, London: Sage Publication, Ltd.
- Jenkinson, H. (1937) *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making*, London: P Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd.
- Jalland, P., and Stubbs, J. (1981) 'The Irish question after the outbreak of war in 1914: some unfinished party business', *The English Historical Review*, 96 (381) 778- 807.
- James, S. (1999) *The Atlantic Celts Ancient People or Modern Invention*, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin.
- Jackson, A. (2003), *'Home Rule an Irish History, 1800-2000'*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jeffery, K. (2000) *Ireland and the Great War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keating, P. (1970) 'Ireland and the league of nations', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 59 (234) 133 -147.
- Jockusch, L. (2012) 'Justice at Nuremburg? Jewish response to Nazi-war crimes trials in Allied – occupied Germany', *Jewish Social Studies*, 19 (1) 107-147.
- Kuznets, S. (1975) *Immigration of Russian Jews to The United States; Background and Structure*, Perspectives in American History.

- (Klieman, A.S. (1980) 'The resolution of conflicts through territorial partition: the Palestine experience', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22 (2) 281 – 300.
- Keogh, D. (1988) *Ireland and Europe 1991 -1948*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd.
- Keogh, D. (1989) 'Eamon de Valera and Hitler: an analysis of international reaction to the visit to the German minister, May 1945', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 3 (1), 69-92.
- Keogh, D. (1994) *Twentieth – Century Ireland Nation and State*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- Kennedy, M. (1996) *Ireland and the League of Nations 1919 – 1946, International Relations, Diplomacy and Politics*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Kiberd, D. (1996) *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*, London: Vintage Books.
- Keogh, D. (1998) *Jews in Twentieth- Century Ireland :Refugees, Anti – Semitism and the Holocaust*, Cork: Cork University Press.
- Kershaw, R., and Pearsall, M. (2004) *Immigrants and Aliens: A guide to Sources on UK Immigration and citizenship*, 2nd ed. Surry: The National Archives.
- Kissane, B. (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keogh, D., and McCarthy, A. (2005) *Limerick Boycott 1904: Anti- Semitism in Ireland*, Cork: Mercier Press.
- Kenny, K. (2004) 'Ireland and the British Empire: An Introduction', in Kenny, K., (eds.) *Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series Ireland and the British Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1-26.
- Keogh, D. (2008) 'Making Aliya': Irish Jews, the Irish State and Israel', (in Keogh, D., and Whelan, D.) (eds.) *Gerald Goldberg A Tribute*, Cork: Mercier Press.
- Kaufman, H., and Galily, Y. (2009) 'Sport, Zionist ideology and the state of Israel', *Sports in Society*, 12 (8) 1013-1027.
- Krippendorff, K. (2013) *Content Analysis an Introduction to its Methodology*, 2nd ed. London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Kinealy, C. (2008) *A New History of Ireland*, Gloucestershire: The History Press.
- Kumar, R. (1997) 'The troubled history of partition', *Council on Foreign Relations*, 76 (1) 22 – 34.

- Klier, J.D. (1992) 'Russian Jewry on the eve of the pogroms', (in Klier, J.D., and Lambroza, S.) (eds.) *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klier, J.D. (1995) *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855-1881*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenny, K. (2003) 'Diaspora and Comparison: The global Irish as a case study', *The Journal of American History*, 90 (1) 134 – 162.
- Klier, J.D. (2011) *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kennedy, R. (2016) 'Estella Solomons: A portrait of the artist as a republican', *UCD*
- Kridel, C. (2017) 'An introduction to documentary research' *American Educational Research Association*, [online], available: <http://www.aera.net/SIG013/Research-Connections/Introduction-to-Documentary-Research> [accessed 27-11-2017]
- Laffan, M. and the Historical Association of Ireland. (1983) *The Partition of Ireland 1911 -1925*, Dundalk: Dundalgan Press.
- Lee, J.J (1989) *Ireland 1912 – 1985: Politics And Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lookstein, H. (2001) 'Was enough done', (in Bard, G.) (eds.) *The Complete History of the Holocaust*, San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc, 460 - 463.
- Loyal, S. (2011) 'A land of a hundred thousand welcomes? understanding established and outsiders relations in Ireland', *The Sociological Review*, 59 (1) 181- 201.
- Levene, M. (2011) 'The 'Jewish Question' in International Affairs, 1919-1939' (in McDonough, F.) (eds.) *The Origins of the Second World War: An International Perspective*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 342-359.
- Lentin, R. (2014) 'Who ever heard of an Irish Jew'? 'The intersection of 'Irishness' and Jewishness', (in Lentin, R. and McVeigh, R.) (eds.) *Racism and Anti-racism in Ireland*, Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin, 162- 175.
- Laqueur, W. (1972, 2003) *A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of Israel*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd.
- Lemkin, R. (2005) *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redness*, ,2nd ed. New Jersey: The Law Book Exchange, Ltd.
- Leedy, P.D and Ormrod, J.E. (2015) *Practical Research Planning and Design*, 11th ed. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

- McCaffery, L. J. (1973) 'Irish nationalism and Irish Catholicism: a study in cultural identity', *Church History*, 42 (4) 524-534.
- McDonald, J.S., and McDonald, L. D. (1964) 'Chain migration ethnic neighbourhood formation and social networks', *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 42 (1) 82-97.
- Mosse, G.L. (1964) *The Crisis of Germany Ideology*, New York: The Universal Library.
- Macqueen, N. (1984) 'Frank Aiken and Irish activism at the united nations, 1957-61', *The International History Review*, 6 (2) 210 – 231.
- Murphy, R. (1986) 'Walter Long and the making of the government of Ireland act, 1919 – 20', *Irish Historical Studies*, 25 (97) 82 -96.
- Mansergh, N. (1991) *The Unresolved Question The Anglo – Irish Settlement and its Undoing 1912-72*, London: Yale University Press.
- McDermott, A. (1991) *Political Propaganda in the Nationalist Press in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, unpublished thesis, NUI Galway.
- Miller, J. (1997) 'The struggle for statehood', (in Gwertzman et al.) (eds.) *Israel the Historical Atlas: From Ancient Times to the Modern Nation*, New York: Macmillan Publishing USA, 32-39.
- Marcus, H. (2021) *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McMillian, M. (2001) *Peace Makers: Six Months that C hanged the World*, London: John Murray.
- McAuley, J.W. (2002) 'Editors introduction: sociological perspectives of the Irish diaspora', *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 11 (2) 3-7.
- McCullagh, C (2002) *Media Power: A Sociological Introduction*, Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Mogalakwe, M. (2006), 'the use of documentary research methods in social research', *African Sociological Review*, 10 (1), 221-230.
- McAleese, M. (2007) '1916 – A View From 2006', (in Doherty, G., and Keogh, D.) (eds.) *1916 The Long Revolution*, Cork: Mercier Press.
- Miller, R. (2004) 'The politics of trade and diplomacy: Ireland's evolving relationship with the Muslim middle east', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 15, 123 – 145.
- McDowell, W.H. (2002) *Historical Research: A Guide*, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Macionis, J. J. and Plummer, K. (2005) *Sociology A Global Introduction*, 3rd eds. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

- Mondry, H. (2009) *Exemplary Bodies: Constructing the Jew in Russian Culture since the 1880's*, Boston: Academic Studies Press.
- Mills, A.J., Durepos, G., and Wiebe. E. *Encyclopaedia of Case Study Research* (2010), eds. [Vol. 2], London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Moore, F.P.L. (2010) 'Tales from the archive: methodological and ethical issues in historical geography research', *The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)*, 42 (10), 262-270.
- Miller, R. (2010) 'Introduction Britain Palestine and the empire: the mandate years', in Miller, R. (eds.) *Britain Palestine and the empire: the mandate years*, Surry: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1-14.
- Mathew, W.M. (2011) 'War – Time contingency and the Balfour Declaration of 1917: an improbable regression', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 40 (2) 26 -42.
- Miller, R. (2011) 'The look of the Irish: Irish Jews and the Zionist project, 1900-48', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 43, 189-211.
- Mckee, H. A. and Porter, J.E. (2012) 'The ethics of archival research', *College Composition and Communication*, 64 (1) 59 – 81.
- Medoff, R. and Waxman C.I. (2012) *Historical Dictionary of Zionism*, New York: Routledge.
- McGarry, F. (2010) *The Rising Ireland: Easter 1916*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, K. J. (2014) Exploring the Zionist evolution of Robert Briscoe: History and memory. PHD. Thesis, University College Cork.
- McCarthy, K. (2014) 'Éamon de Valera's relationship with Robert Briscoe: a reappraisal', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 25 165-186.
- McCarthy, C. (2014) *Cumann na Ban, and the Irish Revolution*, 3rd ed. Cork: The Collins Press.
- McCarthy, A. (2015) 'Introduction: Ireland in the World: Comparative, Transitional, and Personal Perspectives', (in McCarthy, A.) (eds.) *Ireland in the World: Comparative, Transitional, and Personal Perspectives*, London: Routledge. 1-14.
- McCarthy, K. (2016) *Robert Briscoe: Sinn Féin Revolutionary, Fianna Fáil Nationalist and Revisionist Zionist*, Bern: Perter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers.
- Miller-Rubens (2018) 'Rebellious Jews on the edge of empire *the judaeo – Irish home rule association*', in Beatty, A., and O'Brien, D. (eds.) *Irish Questions and Jewish Questions: Crossover in Culture*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 96-106.

- Moore, N., Salter, A., Stanley, L., and Tamboukou, M. (2016) *The Archive Project: Archival Research in the social science*, London: Routledge.
- Nutt, K. and Gray, P. (1994) 'Re-thinking Irish nationalism: identity, difference, and the northern conflict', *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 83 (329) 7-19.
- Norum, K.E. (2008) 'Artifact analysis', (in L.M. Given) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Volumes 1&2, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 21-25.
- Ní Bhroiméil, U. (2001) 'The creation of an Irish culture in the united states: the gaelic movement, 1870-1915', *New Hibernia Review/ Iris Éireannach Nuá*, 5 (3) 87 -100.
- Nathans, B. (2002) *Beyond the Pale The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*, Los Angeles: California of University Press.
- Nelson, B. (2012) *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Neuendorf, K.A. (2017) *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, 2nd ed. London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- O'Brien, E. (1981) "From the waters of sion to liffeside": The Jewish contribution medical and cultural', *Journal of the Irish College of Physicians and Surgeons*, 10 (3) 1-10.
- O'Riordan, M. (1988) 'Connolly Socialism and the Jewish Worker', *Irish Labour History Society*, vo. 13, 120-130.
- Ofek, A. (1993) 'Jewish children as soldiers in Tsar Nicolas's army', *Modern Judaism*, 13 (3), 277-308.
- Ó Drisceoil, D. (1996) *Censorship in Ireland 1939-1945 Neutrality, Politics and Society*, Cork: Cork University Press.
- Ó Driscoll, M. (2004) 'Concluding Thoughts' (in Keogh, D., and Ó Driscoll, M.) (eds.) *Ireland in World War Two Neutrality and Survival*, Cork: Mercier Press. 285-293.
- O'Halpin, E. (1999) *Defending Ireland: The Irish Free State and Its Enemies since 1922*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ó, M. Driscoll, (2004) *Ireland, Germany and the Nazis Politics and diplomacy, 1919-1939*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Ovendale, R. (2004) *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, London: Routledge.
- Ó Gráda, C. (2006) *Jewish Ireland in the Age of James Joyce A Socioeconomic History*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- O'Loughlin, C. (2008) 'Irish foreign policy during World War 11: a test for realist theories of foreign policy', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 99 -117.

- O'Toole, F. (2009) 'Forward' (in Maher, E.) (eds.) *Cultural Perspectives on Globalisation and Ireland*, Oxford: Peter Lang.
- O'Rourke, K. (2009) 'The era of free migration: lesson for today', (in Sobel, A. C.) (eds.) *Challenges in Globalization: Immigration, Social Welfare, Global Governance*, London: Routledge, 58 -77.
- O' Connor, S. (2017) *Irish Government Policy and Public Opinion towards German-Speaking Refugees, 1933-1943*, Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ó Laoire, M. (2018) 'The historical revitalization of Hebrew as a model for the revitalization of Irish', in Beatty, A., and O'Brien, D. (eds.) *Irish Questions and Jewish Questions: Crossover in Culture*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 179-192.
- Pellew, J. (1989) 'The home office and the Aliens Act 1905,' *The Historical Journal*, 32 (2), 396-385.
- Percival, J. (1995) *The Great Famine Ireland's Potato Famine 1885-1851*, London: BBC Worldwide Publishing.
- Portes, A. (1995) 'Economic Sociology and the Sociology of immigration: A Conceptual Overview' (in Portes, A) (eds.) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Parekh, B. (2000) *The Future of Multi -Ethnic Britain*, London: Profile Books Ltd.
- Parker, R.A.C. (2002) *The Second World War: A Short History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paso, A.H. (2004) 'Literature as historical archive', *New Literary History*, 35 (3) 373 – 394.
- Pappe, I. (2006) *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, Oxford: Oneworld Publications Limited.
- Prasad, B.D. (2008) 'content analysis', *Research Methods for Social Work*, 10, 1-20.
- Penslar, D. (2007) *Israel in History: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective*, London: Routledge.
- Pritsak, O. (1987) 'The pogroms of 1881', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 11(1/2), 8-43.
- Quinn, E., Stanley, J., Joyce, C., O, Connell, P.J. (2008) *Handbook on Immigration and Asylum in Ireland 2007*, Dublin: The Economic and Research Institute.
- Paseta, S. (2013) *Irish Nationalist Women 1900- 1918*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ruppin, A. (1934) *The Jews in the Modern World*, London: Macmillan and Co, Limited.
- Reich, B. (1991) 'Themes in the history of the State of Israel', *The American Historical Review*, 96 (5) 1466 – 1478.
- Rees, R. (1998) *Ireland 1905 -25 Volume 1 Text and Historiography*, Down: Colourpoint Books.
- Rubenstein, R. and Roth, J. (2001) 'What is the Holocaust' (in Bard, M.G.) (eds.) *The Holocaust*, California: Greenhaven Press, Ltd, 26-32.
- Reynolds, D. (2003) 'The origins of the two 'world wars': Historical discourse and international politics', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38 (1) 29-44.
- Rowley, C.K. and Taylor, J. (2006) 'The israel and palestine land settlement problem: An analytical history, 4000 b.e.c.-1948', 128 (1/2) 41-75.
- Renton, J.(2010) (in Miller) (eds.) *Britain Palestine and the empire: the mandate years*, Surry: Ashgate Publishing Company,15-38.
- Reynold, N. (2014) *Britain's unfulfilled Mandate for Palestine*, London: Lexington Books.
- Rivlin, R. (2003) *Shalom Ireland A Social History of Jews in Modern Ireland*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- Ryan, L. and Ward, M. (2004) *Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags*, (eds.) Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Rosenblatt, S. (2005) *Jewish Ireland Series Vols. IV & VI. Alien Registration File 1914-1922 (A Police Record), Ada Shillman (Midwife), Birth Records Dublin 1893-1908*.
- Renton, J. (2007) *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance, 914-1918*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rivlin, R. (2011) *Jewish Ireland: A Social History*, Dublin: The History Press Ireland.
- Read, P.P. (2013) *The Dreyfus Affair: The Story of the Most Infamous Miscarriage of Justice in French History*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.
- Regan, B. (2017) *The Balfour Declaration Empire, the Mandate and Resistance in Palestine*, London: Verso.
- Shepard, W. J. (1912) 'The government of Ireland (Home Rule) Bill', *The American Political Science Review*, 6 (4) 564-573.
- Stevens, R.P. (1981) 'The Vatican, the Catholic church and Jerusalem', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 10 (3) 100 -110.
- Scott, J. (1990) *A Matter Of Record*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Sanger, C. (1995) *Malcolm McDonald: Bringing an End to Empire*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Salmon, Y. (1998) 'Zionism and anti-Zionism in traditional Judaism in eastern Europe', in
- Shimoni, G. (1995) *The Zionist Ideology*, Hanover: University of New England Press.
- Shlaim, A. (2000) *The Iron Wall Israel and the Arab World*, London: Penguin Books.
- Segev, T. (2000) *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, London: Little, Brown and Company.
- Smith, P. C. (2000) 'Content Analysis and Narrative Analysis' (in Reis, T., and Judd, C.) (eds.) *Handbook of Research Methods in Social and Personality Psychology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schrier, A. (1958) *Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Said, E.W. (1992) *The Question of Palestine*, New York: The New York Times Books,
- Sachar, H.M. (2007) *A History of Israel From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Scott, J. and Marshall, G. (2005) *A Dictionary of Sociology*, (eds.) 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schneer, J. (2010) *The Balford Declaration: The origins of the Arab – Israeli conflict*, New York: Random House, Inc.
- Schoeps, J.H. (2013) *Pioneers of Zionism: Hess, Pinsker, Rülff: Messianism, Settlement Policy, and the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
- Steedman, C. (2014) 'Archival methods', in Griffin, G., (eds.) *Research methods for English studies*, 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Shannon, C.B. (2016) 'A major exhibition on New Bedford and Ireland: Famine, friends, and fenians', *Old Dartmouth Historical Society/New Bedford Whaling Museum*, Massachusetts.
- Stanislawski, M. (2017) *Zionism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sands, P. (2017) *East West Street: on the Origins of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Tosh, J. (2015) *The Pursuit of History Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, Oxon: Routledge.

- Tracy, R. (1999) 'The Jews of Ireland', *Judaism: A Quarterly of Jewish Life and Thought*, 48 (3) [online], available: <https://www.questia.com/magazine/1G1-64507455/the-jews-of-ireland> [accessed 6- 10- 2019]
- Tóibín, C. and Ferriter, D. (2004) *The Irish Famine A Documentary*, London: Profile Books Ltd.
- Townshend, C. (2006) *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion*, London: Penguin Books.
- Taylor, A.R. (1972) 'Zionism and Jewish history', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 1 (2) 35-51.
- The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (2017) [online], available: https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/h2020-ethics_code-of-conduct_en.pdf [accessed 16-4-2018]
- The Sociological Association of Ireland (2018) Ethical Guidelines, [online], available: www.sociology.ie/uploads/4/2/5/2/42525367/sai_ethical_guidelines.pdf [accessed 15-2-2018]
- Vereté , M. (1970) 'The Balfour Declaration and its makers' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 6 (1) 48-76.
- van Dijk, T.A. (1987) *Communicating Racism*, London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Veldeman, M. C. (2009) 'Cultural nationalism in late nineteenth - century Ireland, a step towards political separatism?', *Équivalences*, 36 (1-2) 145-155.
- Viorst, M. (2016) *Zionism: The Birth and Transformation of an Ideal*, New York: St Martin's Press.
- Weber, R.P. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*, 2nd ed. London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Wyman, D.S. (1996) 'Introduction', (in Wyman, D.S.) (eds.) *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, xix – xxiii.
- Wicks, B. (1997) *Dawn of the Promised Land: The Creation of Israel*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.
- Wegge, S.A. (1998) 'Chain migration and information networks: evidence from nineteenth-century hesse cassel', *The Journal of Economic History*, 58 (4), 957-986.
- Wray, H. (2006) 'The aliens act 1905 and the immigration dilemma', *Journal of Law and Society*, 33 (2), 302-323.
- Wheatley, M. (2007) *Nationalism and the Irish Party: Provincial Ireland 1910 – 1916*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walter, B. (2002) *Outsiders in: Whiteness, place and Irish women*, London: Routledge.

- Wills, C. (2007) *That neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War*, London: Faber and Faber Limited.
- White, T.J. (2010) 'The impact of British colonialism on catholicism and nationalism: repression, reemergence, divergence', *Etudes irlandaises*, 35 (1) 21-37.
- White, T.J. (2007) 'Catholicism and nationalism in Ireland: from fusion in the 19th century to separation in the 21st century', *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 4 (1) 47-64.
- Woods, I.S. (2010) *Britain, Ireland and the Second World War*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Wynn, N. (2015) 'The history and internal politics of Ireland's Jewish community in their international Jewish context (1881- 1914) [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin Ireland). Department of Germanic Studies, pp 395.
- Wynn, N. (2017) 'Remember, reflex, reimagine: Jews and Irish nationalism through the lens of the 1916 centenary commemoration', *Kultura Popularna*, 1 (51) 4-25.
- Waterford Institute of Technology Research Ethics [online], available: https://www.wit.ie/research/for_postgrads [accessed 17-2-2018]

Appendix A - Office of the Historian no. 632, Mr. Foster to Mr. Blaine, dated, St Petersburg, May 24, 1881.



OFFICE OF THE
HISTORIAN

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED
PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, TRANSMITTED TO CONGRESS, WITH
THE ANNUAL MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT, DECEMBER 5, 1881

No. 623.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Blaine.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
St. Petersburg, May 24, 1881. (Received June 13.)

No. 121.] *Sir:* A disgraceful series of disorders have occurred during the past month in the southwestern provinces of Russia, directed against the Jewish residents, resulting in the loss of a number of lives and the destruction of an enormous amount of property. The scenes of these riots have been at and in the vicinity of Elizabethgrad and Kief, with less serious demonstrations at Odessa and other places. The participants have been almost exclusively of the lowest and most ignorant classes in the towns and cities, joined by the peasants, and the demonstrations in the two localities first named appear to have been so powerful that for days the authorities were paralyzed, and the rioters were able to give full sway to their work of bigotry and destruction. In Kief, a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, with a large Jewish population, the work was so thorough, it is stated, that not a single Jewish house escaped, the inmates being driven out, beaten, and stoned, and some of them killed, and the contents plundered or thrown into the streets. The damage there is [Page 1020] estimated at several millions of roubles, and business has been seriously affected thereby; many commercial houses have suspended payments, other bankruptcies are feared, and the prices of provisions and articles of prime necessity have temporarily risen greatly in price. Massacre and destruction of property have become so threatening in other localities, where no actual outbreaks have taken place, that the Jews in large numbers have fled from their homes and taken refuge across the frontier in Austria or in Moscow, where the military force is sufficient to guarantee safety. In some instances the railroad officials have refused to run the trains by which the Jews were seeking to escape, for fear of attack from the infuriated mobs debauched with liquor and plunder.

Indiscriminate pillage became so much feared that Christians chalked their houses with crosses or exhibited holy images with lighted lamps before them to save themselves from the fury of the rabble. The acts which have been committed are more worthy of the Dark Ages than of the present century.

The authorities were slow to realize the extent of the danger, but when once awakened to its wide-spread and deeply-seated character they have manifested a commendable zeal in suppressing the riots and in arresting and punishing the offenders. National troops have been freely used, sending them to the most threatened districts, and in some places, as at Odessa, they have promptly intervened with force to put down the riots.

Various causes have been assigned for these outbreaks additional to the prevailing bigotry and religious hatred of the lower classes towards the Jews. The country has not been prosperous for some time past; taxes have been heavy and exacted with severity; the depreciated paper currency has increased the cost of all commodities; the winter has been one of privation and suffering, and with many families indebtedness has been the rule annually. The Jews being the money changers, traders, and speculators, have profited by this state of affairs, and the poorer classes have felt that undue advantage has been taken of their misfortunes. Following the long fast so faithfully observed in the Russian national church, which was broken by Holy Week and its usual excesses in drinking it has been easy to work upon the passions and prejudices of the hungry and ignorant. It is asserted also that the Nihilist societies have profited by the situation to incite and encourage the

peasants and lower classes of the towns and cities in order to increase the embarrassments of the government, but the charge is probably conjectural and not based on very tangible facts. Certain it is, however, that the disorders have developed a state of discontent and lawlessness in the country that is by no means agreeable to the government. It is believed that the Emperor has no sympathy with the spirit manifested against the Jews, and, in addition to the active use of the imperial army to put down the riots, he has given orders to have an investigation made of the causes which have occasioned the disturbances. I have in previous dispatches referred to the proscriptive laws and disabilities imposed upon the Jews in Russia. If these events lead to a serious consideration of the wisdom of abolishing all the Jewish disabilities, and of placing Russian legislation on this subject alongside of that of the other enlightened nations, the loss of life and property will not have been in vain.

It may not be without interest to mention that these disturbances and the Russian laws affecting foreign Jews have twice during the past week been the subject of discussion in the British Parliament. As reference was made in that [Page 1021] discussion to the action of our government and this legation regarding the Russian laws prohibiting foreign Jews to reside in St. Petersburg, I send you herewith that portion of the Parliamentary report. It will be noticed that two questions were presented in the House of Commons: first, as to the propriety of the British Government making representations to that of Russia with regard to the atrocities committed upon the Jewish population in Southern Russia; and, second, as to the action of the British Government on account of the expulsion from St. Petersburg of a highly respected London merchant, having a British passport, on the ground that he was a Jew. To the first question the under secretary for foreign affairs indicated that his government was reluctant to make any representations in regard to the persecutions and to the second that a protest had been made against the expulsion of the British subject, but without avail.

This discussion in Parliament has occasioned an editorial in the St. Petersburg Journal, the semi-official organ of the Russian foreign office, of which I send you a translation. This article asserts that the disturbances being of a purely domestic character, the British cabinet would have no more right to address the Russian Government representations thereon than the latter would have to address Lord Granville on account of the agrarian crimes in Ireland. In reference to the expulsion, it maintains that if made according to Russian law a protest was not proper; and, on the other hand, if the expulsion was in violation of that law a protest was unnecessary, because the above would have been corrected.

In this connection I have to report that no new case has arisen of the enforcement against American citizens of the law in question.

I am, &c.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

CASE OF ARDMORE REFUGEES

Victims of the Nazi Persecutions

A special representative of the "Irish Times" writes :

In the pretty summer residence of Sir John Keane, perched high on the cliffs above Ardmore Bay, County Waterford, there are to-day twelve of the happiest and saddest people in Ireland. They are Austrian refugees, who came to Ireland a month ago. They themselves are safe at last from the terror and humiliations inflicted on them under the Nazi dictatorship ; but most of their nearest relatives and friends, their parents, sisters and brothers, are still somewhere in the land of that brutal rule. None of the refugees know where ; all contact has been lost.

The "crime" that drove these twelve people from their native land was that one of them was a young Jewess ; her pure-Aryan husband had committed the unpardonable Nazi sin of marrying her ; their two little children were the fruit of that "degraded" match ; and each of the other persons had a Jewish grandparent. Therefore, these twelve people have been deprived of their jobs and their livelihood ; all their worldly possessions have been confiscated by the Nazi State. They have been deprived of all civil rights as citizens of Austria, but the men, under military law, had to serve as soldiers and defenders of a State to which they could not, under civil law, belong. "We were put out of our houses," said one of these men with a Jewish grandmother, "and our savings and our jobs were taken from us." All gifts to these homeless, penniless people were forbidden under penalty of imprisonment. "They would not allow anyone to buy in our shops," said the little Jewish woman. "They wrote 'Jewish Pigs' above our doors . . . and . . . awful things . . ." she added pathetically with a tremble and tears in her voice. There was shame and humiliation on the averted face.

"We are very grateful to be the guests of the Irish people," said her husband, in his excellent English, hastening to change the painful subject. "We cannot express our gratitude for the great kindness we have been given. We cannot show our happiness. Everyone brings us presents, and we get always invitations to dance and go to parties. The boys are taken out for motor drives, and they are being taught to drive. They are learning also to ride horses, and they are going to fish after 1st February."

These seem but simple gestures of hospitality

and the very least to be expected of ordinary good-fellowship as Ireland understands those words, but all faces brightened again at the thought of this freedom and this "great kindness." It is wonderful for them, after these years of fear, to live for a spell in the quietness and splendour of the Ardmore cliffs, and to know that in that secluded place there need be no more dread of the Concentration Camp . . . or of "awful things."

In a short time their true Viennese good spirits had returned, and one young man, who is learning English, said: "We have such a light heart because we are free, and we can talk again." They had had "great sorrow," they said, for the future, but Sir Joseph Glynn has written to the Prime Minister of Australia and there is a strong chance of their getting permission to settle there. The thought of this new and permanent home, they say, is "a great joy" to them all. "We like Ireland very much," said one of the refugees, "and we shall be sorry to go away from this beautiful place, but there is already a problem of unemployment in this country, and we do not wish to be a burden anywhere."

During their stay in County Waterford these Viennese outcasts are working with the Irish farmers and learning the rudiments of farming. Some of them help the fishermen to mend their nets; the two little Viennese children have made many playmates in the neighbourhood, and in the evenings all of them have English lessons from members of the local Refugee Committee.

One member of the Committee told me that in all conversations she had never heard one of them say anything bitter against the German State or bewail his own fate. Their great anxiety, I found, was for the safety of their relatives who are still in Austria, and they begged, on that account, that their names should not be published, lest the list should get into the hands of the Nazi authorities. It would be very dangerous for their friends.

One man, a gifted linguist, who was decorated for War services with the Austrian troops, is among the refugees. His mother, his sister, and his brother, are still "somewhere in Austria." He does not know where. At present he is giving free lessons at Ardmore in German, French and Italian, and he has also a knowledge of Latin and Greek. Before the Anschluss he held a responsible job with a large mineral and oil combine. Another was the joint founder of an agricultural training camp for 200 persons outside Vienna. One sad-faced man, whose two chemist shops and his factory have been confiscated, is working on the land with his two sons, while his wife helps in the house. One son, a nineteen-year-old student, managed to get over the border into Switzerland and then into Jugoslavia, and from thence, by devious routes, he reached

England to join his parents. The family has adopted another youth, whose sister is a probationer nurse in England, but whose parents and brother are still in Austria—he does not know where. He himself managed to get into Holland, and from there, on a Norwegian vessel, he travelled in vain round half the ports of Europe before he got permission at last to land in Ireland. One other refugee used to be a teacher, and another was the manager of a book shop.

When most of these people left Austria last September they were allowed to take with them 30s. for each passport in the possession of the group, their clothes and 10 marks (7/-) each. One of them left the country, he said, with the clothes he stood up in and £3 with which to support his wife and two children. That regulation, however, has since been suspended, and now the refugees are allowed to take only their clothes with them. All men over eighteen years of age must, of course, have completed their two and a half years of compulsory military service before they may leave the country. Most of the twelve refugees at Ardmore owe their release, they say, to the work and assistance of the Society of Friends.

For the present they are living a completely simple and communal life. The day at Ardmore begins at 7 a.m., and, as there are only two women to do all the housework, the boys have to help. At the beginning they did only the dish-washing, the scrubbing, and the dusting, but now they are able to make beds and even help with the cooking. Then they go out into the fields or to the shore to help the fishermen to mend the nets. Most of their spare time, indeed, is spent on the shore or in climbing the cliff paths; for few of them had ever seen the sea before, and, to their unaccustomed eyes, it is one of the thrills of a lifetime. One of them thought the sea was "so lovely and thrilling." At Christmas they

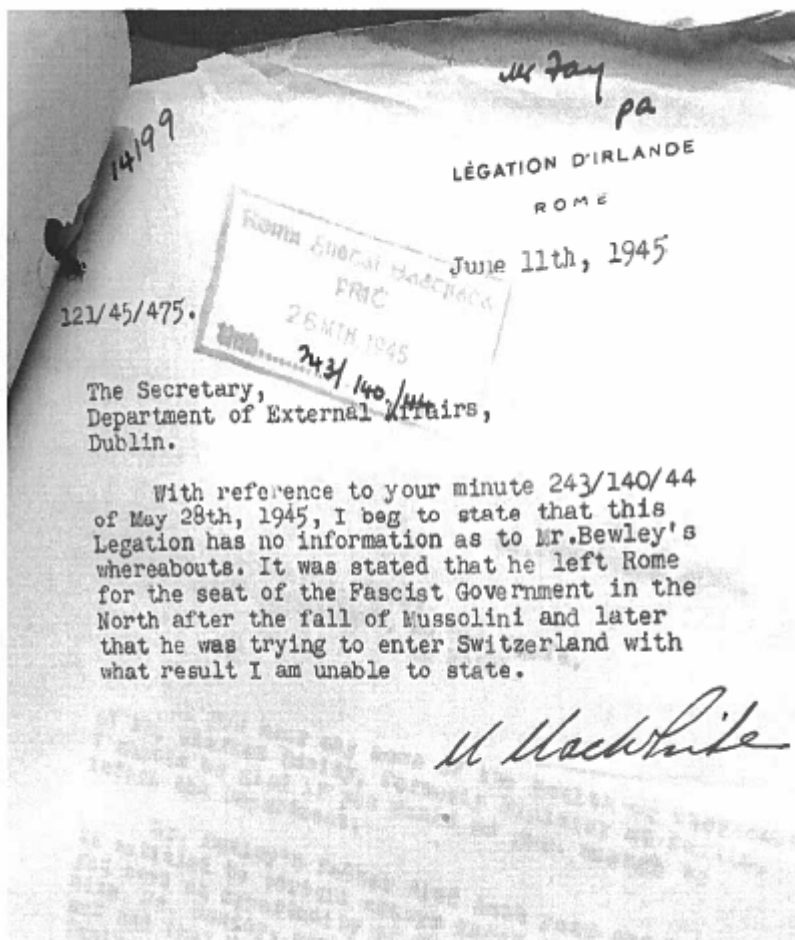
gave a party for the children in the neighbourhood, and when the Austrians had sung the Christmas carols of their country (they are all Catholics) the Irish children sang them Irish songs. Two of the young men—one of whom has done military service with the Nazi Air Force—are members of the choir of the local Catholic Church in Ardmore. The Austrians also gave a puppet show at Christmas with their clever home-made dolls. They have a little stage, complete with scenery and drop curtains, and the performance was enjoyed so much by the Irish school children that there is now a possibility of puppet-making being taken up in the local school.

The refugees were delighted at New Year to receive a message of greeting and blessing from the Pope. This was sent to them in return for their own message of greeting to His Holiness.

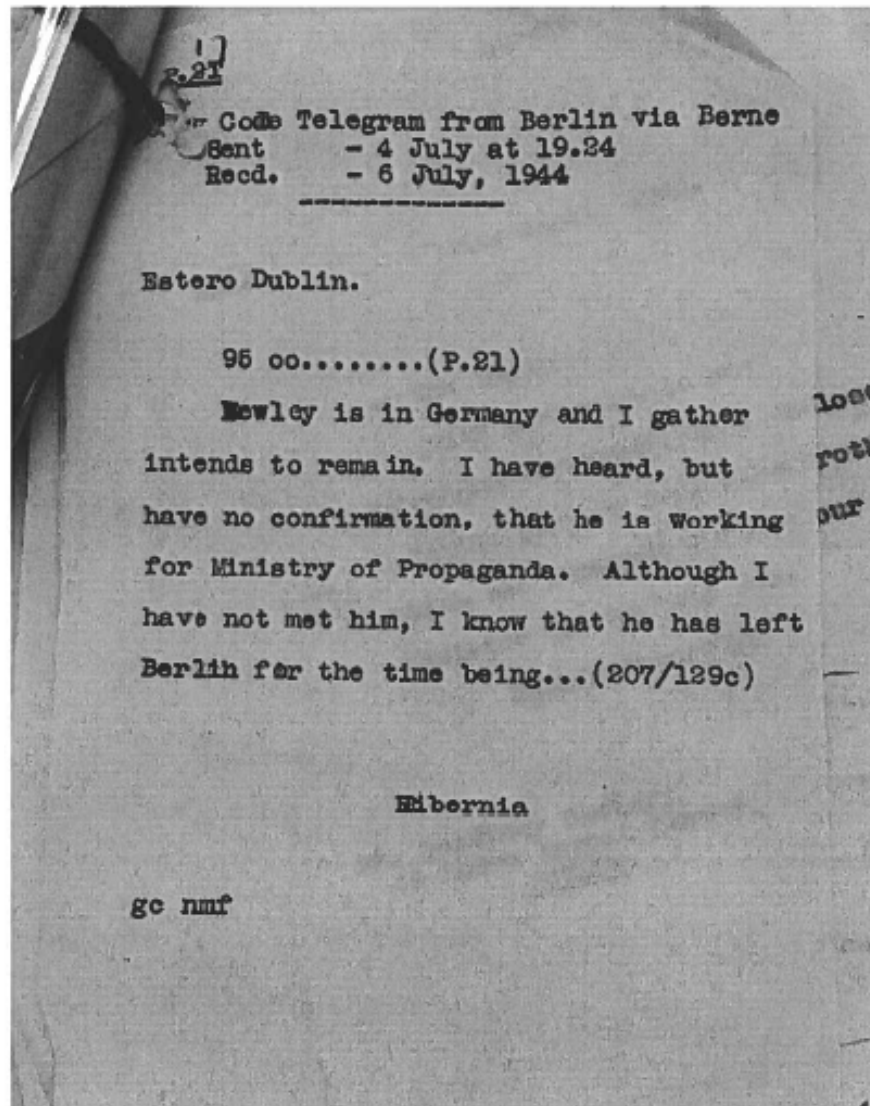
The guest of honour this afternoon, writes the representative, was Mr. Frank Fahy, the Speaker of the Dail, and chairman of the recently formed Refugee Committee. He was accompanied by Mr. E. J. Meryrick, one of the signatories to the appeal for funds, and Miss Maud Slattery, one of the organisers of the refugee movement, and a fluent speaker of German. The Austrians seldom have an opportunity of speaking their native language outside their own circle, as there are few speakers of German, if any, in the neighbourhood of Ardmore, and consequently they gathered with enthusiasm round Miss Slattery. Two of the young men, as a compliment to the visitors, had dressed in their native Austrian costume of heavy nail-studded shoes, white wool stockings, short leather pants, gaily decorated braided jacket and Tyrolean hats. This, of course, is summer wear, so it was somewhat chilly for the time of the year.

Mr. Fahy told me that the Committee has now arranged for the accommodation of some twenty adults and a few children at Cappagh House, near Dungarvan, which has been kindly lent by the owner, Mr. Arland Ussher. The Government has allowed permits for ninety persons to enter the country, and up to the present about twenty-five or thirty have arrived. There are six living at Bray, Co. Wicklow, and others are living at private houses throughout the country. More refugees are expected to arrive next week.

Appendix C - DFA/10/2/57/ Activities of Charles Bewley.



Appendix D - Telegram dated 4th July 1944, Bewley in Germany suspected of working for the Ministry of Propaganda.



Appendix E - DFA/10/2/57, Activities of Charles Bewley, G.2 Branch Department of Defence (Irish Military Intelligence), dated 12th December 1945 to Joseph P. Walsh.

Ref. No: G2/3666.

Secret **Secret.**

G.2 Branch,
Department of Defence,
Parkgate,
Dublin.

12th December, 1945.

Dear Joe,

The following information concerning Charles Bewley, formerly Irish Minister at Berlin, has recently been received.

The report alleges that Bewley used the alias of Dreher; that he lived at Via Porta Pinciana 4 and later at Albergo Meale, Rome; that he received a salary of 1000 Marks per month directly from Berlin; that he had contacts in the Vatican and advised on German propaganda in the Vatican and in Ireland; and that he also had contacts in Ireland.

One of his missions allegedly was to arrange for Professor Hale or Hales to go from Genoa or Turin to Ireland for the German Intelligence Service. The person who told this story does not know if Bewley was successful in doing so, but says that he brought another agent, name unknown, to Ireland who worked during the period 1941-42. Bewley was transferred to the jurisdiction of Amt.VI. after its formal constitution in 1943.

Amt. VI. as you may be aware was the section of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) Himmler's Security Organization which dealt with the collection of secret political intelligence in countries abroad. The more important items of information went to Himmler himself after evaluation and some of it was passed to the Foreign Office for comment. In conjunction with this work the agents of Amt.VI. promoted Fifth Column activities in the various countries to which they were assigned and acted as intermediaries between the German Government and its sympathisers abroad.

The Professor Hale or Hales mentioned is evidently Mr. Daniel Joseph Hales about whom you wrote us under Reference - 201/63 dated 20th October, 1942. According to reports in our records Hales visited this country in 1938 or 1939 and spent his vacation in Bandon. He was alleged to be a personal friend of Mussolini. He met General O'Duffy while here. He was a pro-Fascist and it is alleged that his propaganda was responsible for the formation of a Fascist group in Bandon, which, however, died for want of support.

The opinion is that, while there is little doubt Bewley was working for the German Intelligence Service and Amt. VI. in Rome and was being regularly paid by them, it is doubtful whether the information about Hales coming to Ireland on a mission for Bewley is correct. The possibility of Bewley actually having sent anyone here at all may be regarded as remote in the extreme.

Yours sincerely,

J.P. Walsh, Esq.,
Secretary,
Dept. of Ex. Affairs,

Appendix F - Correspondence from The Department of Foreign Affairs.

From: <Lauren.Clifton@dfa.ie>
Subject: RE: Charles Bewley HR file
Date: 12 November 2018 at 08:53:07 GMT
To: <carolinewalsh.

Hi Caroline,

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade does not, as a matter of course, transfer and/or release HR files into the public domain. After consultation with our HR unit, and reviewing the HR file relating to Charles Bewley, unfortunately it has been agreed that we are not in a position to release this file, in accordance with standard procedure.

Appendix G - The Tablet (1950), 'The Unwanted'.

THE UNWANTED

The Aged, Sick and Maimed Refugees Whom No Country Will Take

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

IN a small room in a refugee camp in Austria, Valentin, aged sixty-nine, Marfa, aged sixty-eight, are packing their bags and dividing their tiny hoard of possessions. Marfa is taking the photograph of Valentin in his uniform of the Tsar's Guards, Valentin is taking the wedding picture. For the first time in forty-one years of marriage they are preparing to live apart. They have no choice. Old, destitute and friendless, political refugees who have faced forced migration and starvation together, they must separate. The only offer of a place for them to live is from Little Sisters of the Poor, whose institutions are planned in dormitories and bound by rules that permit visiting only during stipulated hours.

Among other refugees living in the camp they are leaving, Valentin and Marfa are considered fortunate. "At least they know where they are going and that they will eat," old Stefan, their neighbour, commented. "Now, as for the rest of us"—he waved his hand to take in the hut—"who knows where we will be buried?"

Collected in dilapidated shantytowns and improvised homes, scattered throughout Germany and Austria, thousands of old, crippled, maimed and chronically sick political refugees, barred by infirmities from resettlement, are living a frightened, day to day existence. There have been few offers of sanctuary. Early next year, when the International Refugee Organisation's term of office ends, they are to be handed over to authorities in their present country of exile, authorities who neither want them, like them, nor have means to look after them, authorities already burdened with influx of more than ten million of their own people from Soviet-controlled zones and territories.

Valentin and Marfa live at Asten, a former Nazi slave labour centre, a few miles from Linz, an equal distance from the Russian zone frontier. Asten's population is slightly over six hundred, and classified on official reports as "Three hundred and ninety aged, two hundred and twenty-five chronic sick."

The Camp Director, a great-hearted Scotsman, does what he can for his charges. They have their hut hospital served by refugee doctors and nurses—who themselves have little hope of resettlement, for they are mostly over immigration age—an old people's home, where elderly nurses patter along rotting wood corridors to keep an eye on small dormitories where former colonels, bank directors, farmers, professors and once active business men live and keep their few belongings—faded photographs and tarnished medals. In the same buildings there are painfully neat quarters which elderly spinners and widows tidy interminably, and cell-like rooms which white-haired wives try to turn into homes for aged husbands, with jam-jars of field

flowers and corner shrines of family and holy pictures.

There are little gardens outside hut windows, where old men potter among vegetables, benches under small trees, where they sit and argue or draw diagrams of past campaigns in the dust with crutches and sticks. Furniture for communal dining-rooms has been made and painted by maimed craftsmen in the carpenter's shop, camp craft is displayed in the Common Room, and three times a day music is broadcast over the improvised loud-speaker system from a home-made amplifier. Records and instruments, like the musicians, are old, and appropriately enough the piano has one makeshift wooden leg, but the music is familiar. Occasionally a truck takes those who want to go to a nearby town, just to walk around and look at the shops. When it is necessary the Camp Director delves into Camp Welfare funds, mainly supplied by profits from a small canteen run for camp staff, and provides a few pennies for one of the destitute to spend. Asten is a good camp, with care, skill and cultivation of nearby land; the Director has made it almost self-supporting, but in the back of everyone's mind, including that of the Director, there is fear for the future, fear that sometimes amounts almost to panic, as to what will happen when the International Refugee Organization withdraws leadership, protection and support.

Few of the old people have any chance of leaving. One or two have faint hopes of being sponsored by relatives. Matthias Schaffler, a Budapest bank director, and his wife—aged sixty-four and fifty-nine—who live a door or two down from Valentin and Marfa, are clinging to plans for the future based on the faint possibility that their daughter and son-in-law, who will soon be emigrating to the States, will be able to send them a sponsorship during the brief months before IRO closes, taking with it land and emigration aid. There are few invitations to the odd. In the past three years Norway has offered homes to one hundred of the total four thousand aged political refugees; New Zealand has found places for another hundred, and Holland and Belgium for a few. The United States accepted twenty Poles through the Polish Society. The main offer, beds for 1,025, came from the Little Sisters of the Poor, and though given in greatest kindness, fills many of the old people with dread. In response to an appeal by the Vatican Representative at Geneva, the Sisters canvassed their institutions and offered to provide 175 beds for old people in Belgium, 960 in France, but as the accommodation is in dormitories and staff limited, old couples must be separated and visit only when rules allow, though these rules are very generous, and the old people may have their meals together and spend most of their time in each other's company.

Valentin talked of his days as a refugee in Yugoslavia, when he worked as an architect and "we had the only home we have ever had, but I was anti-Communist, so we had to leave again." He thought it better that they should also leave Austria. Marfa heated food she had brought from the communal dining-room, on a small stove, and explained Valentin ate more when they had their meals together. It was only as we turned to leave that she caught my arm. "Will they be kind to him?" she questioned in the pierc-
ing

EDITOR'S NOTE: We are glad to say that the British Government have approved a scheme whereby two thousand Displaced Persons in the categories described in the above article may be brought to this country by relatives, friends, private persons or voluntary organizations who are prepared to take a continuing responsibility for them. Details may be obtained from the Catholic Women's League Relief & Refugee Committee, 29 Ebury Street, S.W.1, or from The British Council for Aid to Refugees, 19 Duanwen Street, W.1.

whisper of the deaf, and suddenly was sobbing against my shoulder, the heartbroken sobs of the old. Valentin's hands trembled on his stick, tears rolled over wrinkles and down his long white moustache. "What else can we do, where else can we go?"

Even if every place in the Sisters' convents is filled and all other invitations accepted, more than three thousand old people will remain in Europe's sordid camps, managing as best they can, in huts that are now literally falling to pieces.

And the old are the least numerous of groups of refugees as yet unaccepted by any country. Keeping the aged company at Asten, as in most of the camps, are a number of the "maimed." Some of them from among the eighteen hundred refugees who have lost one or more limbs, but the greater number with some small defect that disqualifies them from ordinary immigration but does not impede their strength. There are thousands of such cases among the seventy thousand refugees now officially listed "hard to settle." The Asten Camp Director has a "work squad" of five men classified as "diseased" and refused by immigration selection teams. They were working at demolishing and reconstructing a shack, putting in new electric wiring and new plumbing during our visit. Their work differed from that of usual labourers only in intensity of effort. There was no lounging or chatting, they worked as if they were running a race to prove they were fit and as if they did not want time to think. Six-foot-tall Karl, twenty-six, expert metalworker and mechanic, has a mark in one eye from a spark; Obed, twenty-seven, lost a hand as prisoner of war; Franciszek, twenty-four, has a deep scar on one shoulder; Josef, twenty-three, limps; so they, and their families who stay with them, are among the rejects along with the old.

The Director of Asten is running classes for disabled. Some, former farmers, are taught to work tractors and were busy harvesting adjoining fields and adding to camp revenue, as well as to their own value in the labour market.

In special rehabilitation centres, hundreds of disabled are attending classes, hoping against hope that their added qualifications will place them again on lists of eligible for emigration. There is such a school at Reid, housed in well-maintained huts of a former German army hospital, a few miles south of Munich. Work classes are turning out hopeful graduates. Men with arrested cases of tuberculosis are becoming shoemakers and silversmiths. The French Director, with great humanity, has done much to raise morale of amputees, neglected, as hopeless immigration prospects, from the time they reached camps as refugees. Now, equipped with artificial limbs, they work along with other men. But even so, in Reid, as in Asten, there is an atmosphere of panicky urgency, almost of desperation. In the tailoring class the students, several among them with artificial limbs, worked without looking up, the shoemakers did not stop hammering to greet visitors, the draughtsman kept their eyes on their drawingboards, as if afraid that they might read something in the expression of strangers that might dampen their own hopeful enthusiasm. Training continues, though no immigration rules have as yet been phrased to admit such workers as immigrants. A few are going as expensively bonded and sponsored relatives to next-of-kin, a very few to special bonded jobs.

An ambulance took away a tuberculosis case from Asten to a hut sanatorium, as we toured the Refugee hospital. The chronic cases kept there do not include the T.B.s. They have special centres. There are eleven thousand. As yet there has been only one very limited alternative to improvised

camp treatment. Sweden found room in her well-equipped hospitals for 150 refugee cases and accepted 150 of their relatives, but each case had to be subsidized by \$1,000, and each relative by \$250, from the precious million dollars IRO has set aside as capital to encourage care of the 150,000 political refugees who will be left in Central Europe.

In Vienna, Salzburg, Frankfurt and Munich, when discussions on the fate of refugees took place with members of selection teams of countries admitting immigrants, they appeared completely oblivious as to the present population of camps. One earnest young man in particular summed up the situation from his viewpoint as "cleared up, our job is nearly over, we're scraping the bottom of the barrel, there's nothing left now." That many of the workers he had passed into labour schemes in his country had left elderly or maimed relatives behind, that families were broken up, was none of his affair; rules limit equally his selection and his vision.

Resettlement Directors of IRO regarded the matter in a different light. They are trying in every way possible to move as many refugees as can be found any place, before their time expires. That many old people will be unhappy is a minor detail. "What is important is that we are getting them out. In any circumstance it is better they are out of Germany and Austria, than that they remain with no protection. We are trying to select old people for the Sisters' institutions, who really won't mind where they are—old people who will be content just to sit, sleep or eat. We are very grateful indeed to the Sisters for their offer."

In other office buildings among trained welfare workers, when the "case history" of Valentin and Maria was brought out, it was considered an unimportant aspect in "The Problem of the Aged," and their names checked off, on the list of the aged going to the Sisters' institutions, meant two less places to fill.

Now, looking back on the whole long trip through camps, hospitals, workshops and offices, two incidents stand out.

As we were leaving Asten with the Director, two old men requested we visit the Common Room. Laid out on a table was a large doll's house. Turreted and gabled, with Baroque ornamentation and elaborate colouring, it was as gay as the home of a fairy princess. Only when one old man unrolled an architect's drawing and in explaining the floor plan mentioned that there was no second storey, as "old people do not like to climb stairs," did we realize the miniature palace was the model of an old people's home. One whole wing was devoted to rooms for old couples.

Later, in the office of the Director of a Jewish Welfare Agency, an executive explaining that Jewish communities were able to take complete charge of all Jewish refugees and build a home for the aged in Palestine by imposing a 10 per cent tax on all members' incomes, mentioned that 50 per cent of refugee camp inhabitants are Catholics, and that the Catholics had been most generous in sponsoring immigrants and in providing supplies. "Too bad they haven't a country," this citizen of new Israel remarked in all sincerity; "they might be able to do something about the rest." The Christian countries of the world have taken nearly one million refugees to work in development of agriculture and industry. They had admitted a few well-bonded and sponsored non-workers. The others—old, sick, maimed, twenty-two thousand needing institutional care—are being parcelled out where they will give the least trouble, or left behind to rot. Not one country has put forward a plan or made an effort to take part of the responsibility. Not one Christian country has opened its doors in Christian charity to the unwanted.

Appendix H - Government meeting 26th September 1950.

69/8027.

18 Mean Fohhair, 1950.

A Dhuine Uasail,

I am directed by the Minister for Justice to inform you that at a meeting held on 26th September, the Government agreed

- (a) that the Minister for Justice will be prepared to admit any incapacitated displaced persons for whom voluntary institutions in this country are willing to take responsibility, provided that the persons are of classes such as the blind, the senile, the chronically ill, the disabled, the mentally defective, and are not of classes of cases, such as tuberculous, the available accommodation for which is already taxed to the full,
- (b) that any application for an employment permit in respect of a displaced person will be considered on its merits, provided the offer of employment is for a minimum of 12 months, at standard rates of wages, and that the trade unions concerned do not object,
- (c) that the Irish Red Cross Society are being asked to approach voluntary institutions in regard to the admission of incapacitated persons, to act as a co-ordinating committee for the admission of these persons, and if possible (without incurring financial expense) to help to solve problems of transport, housing, welfare, etc., for any refugees who are admitted for employment, it being made clear that housing is a difficult problem, and that there is no guarantee that the Red Cross Society will be able to give such help,
- (d) that there will be no objection to the Organisation's opening an office in Dublin, or to their representative approaching trade unions and charitable institutions with a view to the placing of displaced persons,
- (e) that it is regretted that dependants of incapacitated persons, whom charitable institutions are willing to receive, cannot be admitted unless the institutions are willing to provide for the dependants as well as incapacitated persons, and
- (f) that dependants of refugees who are admitted for employment will be admitted freely, but that the State cannot undertake to provide housing for them.

Mise, le mess,

John Dillon Esq.,
Special Representative,
International Refugee Organisation,
3, Fitzwilliam Square,
Dublin.

(Sgd.) P. BERRY

Admission of Displaced Persons

Government's Decisions

- (1) The Irish Red Cross Society should be asked to approach voluntary institutions providing accommodation for such classes as the blind, the senile, the chronically ill, the disabled and the mentally defective - but not tuberculosis cases or other classes of cases the available accommodation for which is taxed to the full - with a view to ascertaining whether they would be willing to receive refugees.
- (2) The Irish Red Cross Society should be asked to give assistance in solving the special problems of transport, housing, orientation, welfare, etc., of refugees admitted for the purpose of employment and resettlement.
- (3) The Representative of the International Refugee Organization should be informed
 - (a) that the Minister for Justice will be prepared to admit any incapacitated displaced persons for whom voluntary institutions in this country are willing to take responsibility, provided that the persons are of classes such as the blind, the senile, the chronically ill, the disabled and the mentally defective, and are not of classes of cases such as tuberculosis cases, the available accommodation for which is already taxed to the full,
 - (b) that any application for an employment permit in respect of a displaced person will be considered on its merits, provided the offer of employment is for a minimum of 18 months, at standard rates of wages, and that the trade unions concerned do not object,
 - (c) that the Irish Red Cross Society are being asked to approach voluntary institutions in regard to the admission of incapacitated persons, to act as a co-ordinating committee for the admission of those persons, and if possible - without incurring financial expense - to help to solve problems of transport, housing, welfare, etc., for any refugees who are admitted for employment, it being made clear that housing is a difficult problem, and that there is no guarantee that the Irish Red Cross Society will be able to give much help,
 - (d) that there will be no objection to the Organization's opening an office in Dublin, or to their representative's approaching trade unions and charitable institutions with a view to the placing of displaced persons,
 - (e) that it is regretted that dependants of incapacitated persons, whom charitable institutions are willing to receive, cannot be admitted unless the institutions are willing to provide for the dependants as well as incapacitated persons, and
 - (f) that dependants of refugees who are admitted for employment will be admitted freely, but that the State cannot undertake to provide housing for them.

Appendix I - Document entitled Bertha Weingreen.

In 1987, Dublin Ziona, the Zionist women's group in Dublin, celebrated its Golden Jubilee with events including a presentation to Bertha Weingreen. Dublin Ziona also received congratulations from other Irish groups such as South Dublin W.I.Z.O., Belfast Young W.I.Z.O., and The Regional Council of Women Zionists, Dublin.

A number of womens Zionist groups have been active in Ireland. The oldest of these is the Dublin Daughters of Zion, which was formed in 1900, and, in 1918, a Dublin women's group was one of the ten societies which founded the Federation of women Zionists (F.W.Z.) of Great Britain and Ireland. This was a very important contribution because the F.W.Z. gave birth to the Women's International Zionist organisation (W.I.Z.O.) in 1920, and W.I.Z.O. became, and remains, the most important women's Zionist movement internationally.

A group affiliated to W.I.Z.O. was later formed in Belfast and, in 1937, a similar group was formed in Dublin by Bertha Weingreen. Mrs Weingreen, who still lives in Dublin, continues to play an active role in W.I.Z.O. of which she is currently Honorary Vice-President.

Bertha Weingreen was born in South Africa, she is a trained Social Worker and teacher. She attended Witwatersrand University, and became a lecturer in English. She studied Social Sciences at Trinity College Dublin from 1941-1942.

At the end of the war, she volunteered to go to the continent to help with relief work. As Lieut. Weingreen she was sent to Belgium and Holland. She then moved on to Germany to become Liason Officer for the camps in Schleswig-Holstein. She reached the rank of Lieut. Colonel and was the Commanding Officer of the Belsen zone with three camps in her care.

The outstanding work of Mrs. Weingreen in the field of Women's Zionism, has brought her international recognition. Her involvement with W.I.Z.O., has led to the establishment of the Regional Council of Women Zionists in Ireland. At home, she has been an active worker for women's rights in Dublin, and she has a great interest in speech and drama. A fellowship in speech and drama was conferred on her by Trinity College of Music London.

Appendix J - Central Bureau of Statistics Israel.

From: **Aliza Peleg** <alizap@cbs.gov.il>
Date: 26 June 2018 at 08:21
Subject: RE: Aliyah Statistics from Ireland to Israel for the years 1945-1948
To: [REDACTED]

Hi,

I have Aliya statistics from 1948-1984.

1948/51 -14

1952/60 – 46

1961/64 – 32

1965/71 – 113

1972/79 – 157

1980/84 – 152

Aliza

Appendix K - Ethical Clearance.

Institiúid Teicneolaíochta Phort Láirge

Waterford Institute of Technology

Port Láirge, Éire.
T: +353-51-302000
info@wit.ie

Waterford, Ireland.
T: +353-51-302000
www.wit.ie



REF: 18/AA/02

2nd May, 2018.

Ms. Caroline Walsh,
101, Pinewood Avenue,
Hillview,
Waterford.

Dear Caroline,

Thank you for bringing your project '*Hiberno-Jewish Communities: Ireland, Zionism and the creation of Israel*' to the attention of the WIT Research Ethics Committee.

I am pleased to inform you that we fully approve the conduct of this project.

We will convey this decision to Academic Council.

We wish you well in the work ahead.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. John Wells,
Chairperson,
WIT Research Ethics Committee

cc Jonathan Culleton
Peter Simpson

Appendix L - Research Integrity – Arts and Humanities, Epigeum Online Course.



Certificate

Number: 3899620692

This is to certify that

Caroline Walsh

Successfully completed the course

**Research Integrity - Arts and
Humanities**

as part of the Epigeum Online Course System with a score of 91%.

Dated: 11 October 2019

Appendix M - Response Tánaiste's Office Dated January 1st 2020.

From: "eCorrespondence (Dfat)" <Dfat-eCorrespondence-noreply@cloud.gov.ie>

Subject: Response to your email - DFAT-TO-00239-2020

Date: 31 January 2020 at 16:53:41 GMT

To: "carolinewalsh


Reply-To: Tánaistes Office <tanaiste@dfa.ie>

Reference No: DFAT-TO-00239-2020 Dear Ms. Walsh, On behalf of the Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr. Simon Coveney T.D., I wish to thank you for your email of 15 January 2020. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade does not, as a matter of course, transfer or release HR files into the public domain. In response to your previous request, the HR file relating to Charles Bewley was reviewed. It was agreed that the Department was not in a position to release this file, in accordance with standard procedure. The case remains the same. The Department is committed to a policy of openness and transparency. It is also aware of its duty to protect the privacy of the individual.

Yours sincerely,

Clare Brosnan
Private Secretary

Appendix N - Instructions from de Valera regarding letter to the Papal Nuncio.



EIRE

The Taoiseach suggests a paragraph here stating that the
medical profession in this country is controlled by
a Council ... who would object strongly
to the admission of his doctor. It would not
allow them to practise. (Dublin) He thinks
it would strengthen the letter.

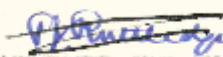
5th April, 1939.

Excellency,

I have given careful consideration to the cases of Dr.A.S.Fenyves, Dr.Schwarz Laszlo, Dr.Giuseppe Salom and Dr.sa Grumberger Aranka Maria who desire to establish themselves in this country.

As your Excellency is, no doubt, aware, a very large number of Irish citizens qualify as medical doctors every year, and many of them find it necessary to emigrate in order to earn a livelihood in the practice of their profession. For that reason I cannot see my way to allow foreign medical practitioners to establish themselves here, and I regret that I cannot agree to the admission of Dr.A.S.Fenyves, Dr.Schwarz Laszlo, Dr.Giuseppe Salom and Dr.sa Grumberger Aranka Maria.

Accept Excellency the renewed assurance of my highest consideration,


 MINISTER FOR JUSTICE.

Excellency The Most Reverend Paschal Robinson,
 Nuncio Apostolic,
 The Nunciature,
 Phoenix Park,
 Dublin.

Appendix O - Draft letter for the Papal Nuncio dated April 6, 1939.

Dr.
See by the Secretary
for issue



6th April, 1939.

Excellency,

I have given careful consideration to the cases of Dr. A. S. Fenyves, Dr. Schwarz Laszlo, Dr. Giuseppe Salom and Dr. sa Grumberger Aranka Maria who desire to establish themselves in this country.

The medical profession in this country is controlled by an independent body, entitled the Medical Registration Council, who would object strongly to the admission of foreign medical practitioners.

As your Excellency is, no doubt, aware, a very large number of Irish citizens qualify as medical doctors every year, and many of them find it necessary to emigrate in order to earn a livelihood in the practice of their profession. For these reasons I regret that I cannot agree to the admission of Dr. A. S. Fenyves, Dr. Schwarz Laszlo, Dr. Giuseppe Salom and Dr. sa Grumberger Aranka Maria.

Accept Excellency the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

MINISTER FOR JUSTICE.

His Excellency The Most Reverend Paschal Robinson,
Nuncio Apostolic,
The Ambasciata,
Phoenix Park,
DUBLIN.

Appendix P- Seán McEntee to Patrick Rutledge May 24, 1939.



ÓIFIS AN AIRE AIRGEADAIS,
DEPARTMENT OF THE MINISTER FOR FINANCE,
BALLINACRY, DUBLIN,
IRELAND.
24th May, 1939.

Dear Paddy,

I am interested in the case of a Dr. Gruen, who has been recommended to the University College Catholic Committee for Refugees by the Pope. He had to leave Italy under the racial laws and is now in England being maintained there by the English Catholic Committee. He is most anxious to come over here for a limited period until his emigration to America can be arranged; but it would be necessary to find some paid employment for him during the period of his stay in Ireland. Holles Street Hospital is being approached in the hope that they may be able to take him on as a clinical clerk for a limited period, but this may fail, and the ideal thing would be if permission could be got for him to practise here as a Doctor.

Dr. Gruen is on the British Medical Register and would therefore, I understand, if he were allowed to come to this country, go automatically on to the Irish Register.

In the circumstances the only thing that appears to stand between him and a practice in this country is your agreement to his admission. I am aware that your Department does not look with favour on the admission of foreign doctors, having regard to the large number of Irish citizens who qualify each year as medical doctors, ^{and} many of whom have to emigrate; but I think that if it were clearly understood

- the

P.J. Rutledge, Esq., T.D.,
Minister for Justice.

The Annual Meeting

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

that Gruen was coming in for a limited period only, there would not perhaps be such serious objection.

I should be glad if you would look into the matter personally and say whether in the special circumstances you would be prepared to make a concession in this case.

Yours sincerely,

Alan MacEntee

P.S. I ought to explain, perhaps, in this case that my interest arises from the fact that Margaret's brother, David Browne, in Rome, wrote to me on behalf of the Dominicans there to see whether I could do anything for Dr. Gruen, and thanks to Dr. Fairfield in London I was able to get him put on the British Medical Register. Dr. T.W.F. Dillon, who is Secretary of the University College Catholic Committee for Refugees, has since written to Mrs. MacEntee about him, and I enclose a copy of this letter.