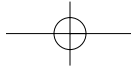


Catholic Stakhanovites? Religion and the Irish Labour Party

NIAMH PUIRSÉIL

The modern Labour Party in Ireland prides itself on its support for the 'liberal agenda', over recent decades. Speaking in 2007, the Labour leader Eamon Gilmore claimed that its support for socially progressive causes was one of the party's core values and argued that 'more than any other political movement, it was Labour and its allies which drove the modernisation of this State.'¹ Nevertheless, while it is undoubtedly the case that since the 1980s, Labour has often taken a courageous stance on social issues and was in the vanguard of change on issues such as contraception, divorce and secular education at a time when such views were profoundly controversial, it would be wrong to suggest that support for liberalism was always a 'core value'.

In fact, for much of the party's history, the opposite was the case. Not only did Labour shy away from anything that could have been construed as liberal (to be fair, so too did every other major political party²) but it tailored its policies and its language in such a way as to avoid criticism by the Catholic Church, which led to the somewhat unkind description of the party as the 'political wing of St Vincent de Paul'. Of course, it is only natural that political parties should reflect the culture from which they originate and the people they aim to represent. That Labour was influenced by Catholicism is neither unusual in the Irish context (clearly both Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil are also products of this predominantly Catholic society) nor more generally – after all, it is often said of the British Labour Party that it owes more to Methodism than Marx.³ This essay explores some of the ways religion has influenced Labour in Ireland.



POLITICS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH BEFORE 1922

The impact of the Roman Catholic Church on Irish politics has been immense ever since the early nineteenth century when clerical engagement and popular mobilization spurred the campaign for Catholic emancipation to victory. As Patrick Murray has noted, 'having thus acquired a taste and talent for political activity, and for the exercise of political power, priests soon came to regard these as their right, and even their duty'.⁴ The Catholic Church remained active in politics, lending its support to land agitation, home rule and, in the twentieth century, the pro-treaty side during and after the civil war.

Where Ireland differed from other predominantly Catholic countries of the time was in that the Church was not identified with the ruling class or regime but with those working against them, which meant that the Catholic Church enjoyed both spiritual and political authority among the Catholic population, and was intrinsically identified with the nationalist cause. There were occasions when some nationalists were prepared to ignore the Church's stance on particular issues – most notably in the case of the Fenians, the Parnell split and the Civil War – but while there may have been ambivalence and occasionally hostility towards the Church among some nationalists and republicans, these views were seldom expressed publicly, and certainly not by anyone trying to succeed in politics. In effect, there was a high level of support for the Church on political matters, and among those who opposed the Church, there was a propensity to keep quiet. Across the political spectrum, there was consensus that crossing the Church did not pay at the ballot box.

This caused particular problems for the Irish left. The Catholic Church's teaching on socialism outlined in the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) was unequivocally hostile, and following the arrival of James Larkin in Dublin many churchmen there had become especially preoccupied with the dangers of the socialist menace. Several socialist campaigners, most notably James Connolly in his pamphlet *Labour, Nationality and Religion* (1910), tried to spread the word that it was possible to be a socialist and a good Catholic⁵ (indeed, as far as Christian socialists were concerned, it was impossible to be a good Christian if one was not a socialist); so far as the hierarchy and religious were concerned the two were mutually exclusive. Churchmen might occasionally intervene in industrial disputes and the like, but notions such as common ownership and state welfare were anathema and became all the more so with the rise of the welfare state and later during the Cold War. Until the

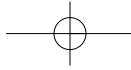
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advent of the second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church's attitude towards labour's forward march was one of 'thus far shall thou go and no further'. Labour more often than not circumscribed its policies accordingly, which tended to render the party a pale imitation of itself.

LABOUR IN THE NEW STATE, 1922–27

While elements within the Catholic Church had been worried about the labour movement's threat to faith and morals, by the early 1920s the outbreak of civil war meant that Labour was left relatively unmolested as the Church focused on condemning republicans. After contesting its first general election in 1922, and with republican deputies abstaining from the Dáil, Labour found itself the main opposition to a government which was self-consciously Catholic and inclined to legislate accordingly. It was a priggish administration, of which the Minister for Justice, Kevin O'Higgins, was probably the worst offender as he crusaded against the evils of drink and literature and preached to the Catholic Truth Society on the decline of morality among the Catholic laity.⁶ Both inside and outside the Dáil Labour stood somewhat aloof from the ostentatious piety that had become the order of the day. That is not to say it opposed Cumann na nGaedheal's moral legislation – it supported the 1925 ban on divorce, for instance – but it did so without Catholic grandstanding.

In fact, much of Labour's rhetoric and ethos during the 1920s might best be described as Christian socialist. The ILP&TUC was informed by its roots in the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in Britain which had a strong Christian socialist tradition.⁷ Thomas Johnson, leader of the parliamentary Labour Party, was one of those to have come through the ILP, having been brought up in the Unitarian church. Johnson's right-hand man in Congress, R.J.P. (Ronald) Mortished, was also from a Protestant background, although he listed himself as an atheist in the census of 1911.⁸ Their religious backgrounds, combined with the fact that both men were English-born, left them open to attack. Several other senior members of the parliamentary party and/or trade union movement, such as William O'Brien and Cathal O'Shannon, were atheists. Naturally, there were others who were Catholics of varying degrees of observance, but in a small party the relatively high proportion of non-Catholics was noted with suspicion. For instance, the future of the Irish labour movement was called into question by a number of speakers at the Catholic Truth Society annual conference in 1923 because of the presence of non-Catholics in its leadership.⁹ O'Shannon used the pages

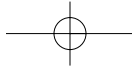


of the *Voice of Labour* to point out the beam in the eyes of these critics, arguing that 'in the struggles of the Irish workers against the inhuman and unchristian forces of Mammon it is an incontrovertible fact that the clergy of all denominations have been conspicuous by their absences.'¹⁰ His uncompromising, almost aggressive, stance against the Catholic clergy's criticism was by no means unique at this time. If anything, it was the norm, with the labour movement's newspapers regularly highlighting attacks on Labour by the Church, and responding with the unambiguous message that not only was the Church wrong, but it had no business expressing an opinion in the first place. As O'Shannon put it in one editorial, 'the general feeling is certainly that the less the Church has to do with party politics the better both for the Church and for politics.'¹¹

This anti-clericalism was echoed elsewhere. Following the September 1927 general election, for instance, Labour's paper, the *Irishman*, noted that there had been an effort by the clergy to intimidate the electorate against voting Labour. In one case a 'clerical school manager let it be known that any teacher who supported Labour "would be dealt with" – the result being that teachers who had been somewhat lukewarm promptly became very active in the west.'¹² In another incident, the Galway Labour deputy Gilbert Lynch recalled coming home one evening to find the local curate departing from his flat, leaving Lynch's wife in tears. It seems the curate had expressed surprise at the presence of a Sacred Heart, on account of Mr Lynch being a 'Godless socialist'. Whether because of his wife's distress or because of the aspersions cast on his own faith, Lynch claimed that he became enraged to the point where he threw the curate down the stairs.¹³ Assault was, nevertheless, unusual.

While the party was always prepared to put up a robust defence against clerical attacks, its ethos and often its language was profoundly Christian, for it was still possible to be anti-clerical without being anti-Catholic. Parallels were drawn between Labour's lack of success and Fianna Fáil's popularity, noting: 'after all, it was Jacob, the cheat and liar, who was multiplied and not Esam, the honest man, whose first consideration was bread and butter.'¹⁴ The Free State government was criticized for administering over a jurisdiction 'free from any "taint" of "socialism" or Christianity',¹⁵ and W.T. Cosgrave was pointed in the direction of *Rerum Novarum*.¹⁶ Significantly, when Æ (George Russell) wrote that Labour was a Marxist party, Tom Johnson responded that

For the original inspiration of the Labour Party you should look to



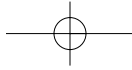
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the medieval denunciations of usury, to Fintan Lalor and John Mitchel, Robert Owen and John Ruskin, Edward Carpenter and Walt Whitman, James Connolly and George W Russell, Bernard Shaw and A.R. Orage, Pope Leo XIII, the Book of the Prophet Isaiah and the Epistle of St James rather than to Karl Marx and *Das Kapital* or the 'Communist Manifesto'.¹⁷

This emphasis on Christian socialism was not without its critics. When a visit to Dublin by the general secretary of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions garnered several pages of coverage in the *Irishman*, for instance, the ITGWU official and Citizen Army veteran Frank Robbins complained that there should be no place in the working-class movement for religiously based unions.¹⁸ Equally, there was resistance to making Labour a religiously based party, even by implication. In 1930, the Irish Labour Party and Irish Trade Union Congress separated into two individual organizations, which meant each had to formulate a new constitution, but while earlier drafts of Labour's new constitution referred to the responsibilities of the 'Christian state', these had all been removed by the time the constitution was put before the new party's conference for approval.¹⁹

LABOUR AND 'INTELLECTUAL TERRORISM' IN THE 1930S

Notwithstanding the absence of references to religion or Christianity in the party's new constitution, Labour's religious character had begun to change. This was due to a change in personnel since Ronald Mortished had left Congress to work in the International Labour Organisation in Geneva and Thomas Johnson had lost his Dáil seat in 1927 (although he remained active and was a senator). T.J. O'Connell, general secretary of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation (INTO) became leader of the parliamentary Labour Party. Not only was he a practising Catholic, but he enjoyed 'a close relationship with a number of prominent clerical figures', and was especially close to John Charles McQuaid,²⁰ the future archbishop of Dublin who was then headmaster of Blackrock College. Any change in the party's ethos was largely imperceptible but Johnson, at least, was conscious of a shift. When, in 1930, two members of the parliamentary party were expelled after breaking the whip to support Cumann na nGaedheal's draconian security legislation, Johnson warned against the party taking such a strong line against conscientious dissidents, telling Mortished: 'Gently as possible I referred to possible religious issues – thinking of myself!'²¹



Evidence that Johnson's concern was justified was soon forthcoming. That same year, controversy arose over Mayo County Council's refusal to appoint Letitia Dunbar-Harrison, a Trinity graduate, as county librarian after she had been awarded the post by the Local Appointments Commission.²² Ostensibly, Dunbar-Harrison's lack of proficiency in Irish rendered her unsuitable for the post, but the reality was that her Trinity education and the fact she was Protestant rendered her unappointable in the eyes of the Mayo County Library Committee, a view shared by all too many local politicians and clergy, among them the dean and archbishop of Tuam.²³ The Cumann na nGaedheal government reacted by dissolving the council, but Fianna Fáil, noting the level of popular approval for the county council's stance, not to mention the opportunity to curry favour with the Church, seized upon the issue and rounded on the government's efforts to have Dunbar-Harrison appointed. It was a crass piece of sectarian populism in which Labour proved happy to join. It was a decision, no doubt, influenced by T.J. O'Connell's position as a Mayo deputy, but it is inconceivable that Labour would have taken such a stand only a few years earlier.

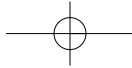
By the 1930s, the Free State had gone from self-conscious Catholicism to a full-scale devotional revival, with the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 representing a celebration of nationhood as well as faith. An important part of this Catholic revival was the establishment and rapid growth of lay organizations,²⁴ and their popularity was bolstered significantly by the sense of crisis and instability at home and on the continent, the latter the driving force behind the thinking in *Quadragesimo Anno* which updated Leo XXIII's *Rerum Novarum* in the context of the Great Depression. With the emphasis on Catholicism and orthodoxy the cultural climate soon became one of 'intellectual terrorism', in John Swift's phrase,²⁵ in which religious or political dissent was tolerated by neither state nor society.

The year 1932 was a hugely significant one for Labour as a general election saw its parliamentary party halved to a paltry seven deputies. Party leader, T.J. O'Connell was one of those to lose his seat and his successor was William Norton, the thirty-two-year-old general secretary of the Post Office Workers' Union. Taking on this role at Labour's lowest ebb, Norton was determined to arrest Labour's decline and was prepared to take the party in whatever direction he felt would pay electoral dividends. Norton abandoned the pretence of equidistance between Labour and Fianna Fáil and Cumann na nGaedheal, not only through external support for the government but also by shifting his party's rhetoric towards a more republican and Catholic stance. This was especially evident in his maiden speech

as Labour leader in which he spoke of how the new government's task was to work towards 'that life of frugal comfort which Pope Leo XIII laid down as the God given right of every man and woman'.²⁶ Norton was a member of the Knights of St Columbanus, the Catholic lay organization devoted to furthering Catholic social teaching (especially that of Leo XIII), but he was never regarded as particularly devout and it seems likely that his membership owed more to political expediency than faith. Certainly, Norton was a consummate opportunist, and was willing to move the party in whatever direction he felt would benefit it most. In Archbishop John Charles McQuaid's eyes, Norton's sole criterion was 'votes from anywhere and how to get them'.²⁷

Norton's reorientation of Labour towards a more friendly relationship with Fianna Fáil soon proved problematic as it became increasingly clear that it was losing votes to the larger party as a result rather than vice versa, and in an effort to put clear red water between the two parties, Labour began to shift rather sharply to the left. This culminated in 1936 when the party conference adopted a new constitution which called for the setting up of a Workers' Republic.²⁸ Although the Workers' Republic constitution amounted to little more than window dressing, it did not take long before it began to raise alarm bells within Church circles. The timing of the new departure had been inauspicious, since the outbreak of war in Spain in the summer of 1936 saw the political climate turn. Encouraged by sensationalist headlines in the *Irish Independent* and the *Catholic Standard* which told of republican church burnings and the mass murder of religious, public opinion saw the war in Spain as a battle between Christianity and atheistic communism, a view which was also common within Labour. Though many others within the party's ranks supported the republicans, the leadership felt – probably correctly – that any identification between Labour and the Spanish government's cause was bound to damage the party. As Fearghal McGarry has noted, this meant Labour's attitude towards Spain became one of 'don't mention the war'.²⁹

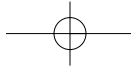
Nonetheless, the Catholic hierarchy began to display a preoccupation with the dangers of communism in Ireland, notably in Lenten pastorals, and various newspapers including the *Limerick Leader*, the *Catholic Standard*, the *Irish Rosary* and the *Irish Catholic* all expressed concern that, with its new constitution, Labour had placed itself on a slippery slope towards communism.³⁰ Norton and his colleagues were perturbed about calumnies at home but the news that these accusations had been re-printed in the Vatican's own newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, caused even greater alarm and prompted the Labour leader to write to the papal secretary of state,



Cardinal Pacelli, in protest and to reassure him that his party 'strongly opposed any attempt to introduce anti-Christian doctrines into the movement'.³¹ The Vatican newspaper published a retraction, but closer to home, where it mattered the most, the press campaign against Labour continued apace. Norton's behaviour was a let-down to many in his party, however, not least his predecessor Thomas Johnson. Norton's letter, he complained to the party secretary, represented an unreasonable blurring of the boundary between politics and personal morality and he was particularly upset that Norton had suggested to Cardinal Pacelli that he (Pacelli) ought consult a 'recognised Catholic authority qualified to interpret authoritatively such tendencies' among the Irish labour force, rather than Congress or the Labour Party. 'If the party adopts the position that this question is one concerning faith and morals and in consequence is a matter for the Hierarchy to pronounce authoritatively upon,' Johnson warned, 'I for one will have to reconsider my position as a member.'³²

An indication of the degree of sensitivity within the Labour leadership about the party's relationship with the Church can be gleaned from the fate of its weekly paper, *Labour News*, which was published from 1936 to 1938. Unlike its predecessors, *Labour News* was edited by a professional journalist, Christopher O'Sullivan. This made the paper easily the most lively and most readable Labour publication yet, but posed its own problems as the editor's eye for a good story or memorable headline saw him skirt a little close to the edge for the Labour leadership's liking. O'Sullivan was able to avoid mention of Spain readily enough but he proved less successful at avoiding taboo areas closer to home. At a time when Labour was being subjected to regular criticism from Catholic sources, *Labour News* editorials were frequently belligerent, as was its reportage. Far from avoiding controversy, its editor displayed a propensity to throw fuel on the fire – not satisfied with engaging in a week-by-week spat with the *Limerick Leader* over Labour's alleged communist leanings, the editor produced a poster proclaiming 'CHURCH HAS NO SOLUTION FOR LABOUR' to advertise a subsequent issue of the paper.³³ A week later, *Labour News* ran an article relating how Catholic clergy in Youghal had issued an edict that no women would be admitted to church if they were bare legged, *Labour News* arguing that they were only likely to be bare legged if they could not afford stockings and so the issue was not one of modesty but low pay.³⁴

The editor was warned to pay more heed to the party's particular sensitivities after a number of such incidents, but he paid scant notice to these entreaties. In the end, a seemingly innocuous verse entitled 'Poem



by a Negro boy to God' proved to be the final straw. It was no worse than a lot of the poems that had graced the pages of the paper, but one line, 'You must have a great laugh up there in your big sky, Lord!', proved too much.³⁵ One associate of Norton's wrote to him to complain about the issue, asserting: 'I am not a 'crawthumper' or a mass of religion but one must take exception to *tripe* of the nature as frequently published by *Labour News*.'³⁶ Norton agreed, and expressed his displeasure at this 'piece of blasphemy'.³⁷ After countless warnings about this type of content, he and his fellow directors had had enough. O'Sullivan's services were dispensed with immediately and publication suspended until a replacement editor could be found. It seems astonishing that a paper could be wound up on such a flimsy basis, but Norton was convinced, as he told the liquidation meeting that, useful as the paper had been, the party would have 'lost more seats if they had kept the paper on'.³⁸ As he conceded privately, 'certain individuals – who are non-Catholic – will probably disagree with our attitude but we cannot help that and must meet any criticism they make.'³⁹ No doubt by design rather than accident, the lead story in the final edition of *Labour News* suggested that there was to be 'a theological censor for Dublin'. It was the last time that the Labour leadership allowed itself to be put in such a position. No other newspaper was ever allowed sail as close to the edge as *Labour News*. A year later, the Dublin Regional Council began to publish a weekly paper called *Torch* – significantly, while it was more radical than *Labour News* in its politics, it never criticized the Church.

More significantly, the Workers' Republic constitution had been abandoned at Labour's 1939 conference after the INTO had secured the hierarchy's opinion that it ran contrary to Catholic social teaching. Clearly holding on to it was more trouble than it was worth, although several voices were raised in complaint at the Church's interference in the party's business.⁴⁰ It is important to remember in this case, however, that the hierarchy had interfered at the instigation of laymen. Norton had proved that if he could be opportunistically radical, he could be opportunistically conservative too, and he had no interest in sticking to a position that might lose his party votes and seats.

DEVILS CITING SCRIPTURE: SCHISM AND RELIGION, 1943–50

Norton's willingness to abandon ship when it came to the Workers' Republic paid off in the short term, but the party's respite from criticism proved short lived. In 1944, the ITGWU disaffiliated from Labour

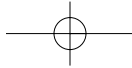
and the majority of its deputies left to form the National Labour Party, ostensibly because Labour had been 'infested by communists', although this was merely a smoke screen for the personality disputes (notably William O'Brien and James Larkin) and inter-union rivalry (the Irish unions, especially the ITGWU, and the British-based amalgamateds and the WUI) that were really behind the move.⁴¹ Regardless of the genuine reason for the split, Labour was subjected to a barrage of accusations about the activities of communists within the party from National Labour itself and in weekly exposés in the Catholic *Standard* penned by Alfred O'Rahilly, professor of ethics in UCC and a committed Catholic Actionist with close links to the labour movement. Perhaps more so than any other occasion in Irish politics, religion became a stick with which the cynical could hit their opponents. National Labour painted itself as the Irish ultra-Catholic party despite the fact that several senior members, such as Cathal O'Shannon and Frank Robbins, had been vocally anti-clerical in the past, not to mention the long-time atheist William O'Brien. Notwithstanding their secular pedigree of old, however, these men proved the maxim that the devil can cite scripture for his purpose as they proved only too happy to paint their former comrades as an anti-God, anti-national party. Other enemies of Labour, such as Seán MacEntee, enthusiastically copied their example. More than ever, Norton and his colleagues became determined that no ammunition should be given to the opponents of the party. Before long, no Labour speech was complete without at least one reference to an encyclical.

When Bishop Dignan of Clonfert's *Social Security: Outlines of a Scheme of National Health Insurance* was published in 1944, Labour became vocal proponents of the scheme, which proposed the organization of social insurance along vocational lines, a suggestion which one commentator described as neo-fascist.⁴² It was evidence of a certain à la carte attitude towards Catholic social teaching: the fact was, while Labour opposed vocationalism (as seen throughout the 1930s and on the publication of the report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation in 1944) it was unable to pass up a social welfare scheme written by a bishop, even if it fell far short of the type of state-organized universal scheme that the party actually favoured. The opportunist nature of Labour's support became clear some four years later when Norton became Minister for Social Welfare. Not only did he ignore the suggestions of the Dignan scheme but he dissolved the National Health Insurance Society of which Dignan was chairman and the organization on which the bishop's plan had been based.⁴³

With Labour competing with National Labour for the mantle of

most holy, it was vital that would-be heretics were kept silent. Brian Inglis, a (Protestant) journalist in Labour's weekly, the *Irish People*, remembered how the writers and editors were under strict instructions to 'avoid writing about any subject in which criticism, even if justified, could be construed as criticism of the Church',⁴⁴ but if its Dublin writers endured the paper's limitations with stoicism, outsiders were not always as understanding. When Seán O'Casey submitted an article which contained criticism of the Roman Catholic archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Griffin, its editor Sheila Greene had to write to him and explain that she could not print it as it stood, as 'without putting a tooth in it, it would be harmful to the Labour Party ... I think if you lived here you would understand what I mean'.⁴⁵ Greene asked O'Casey to resubmit the article without reference to the cardinal, but O'Casey was unsympathetic. 'Goethe's last words were, "More light. More light",' he wrote. 'Mine will probably be "More courage. More courage".' His conclusion was damning: 'I am not out to force the Labour Party of Ireland. Their ways rest with their own conscience. Please let me have the article back. No wonder Bill O'Brien has had his way.'⁴⁶

O'Casey's distain was very well, but the fact remained that even though Labour assiduously avoided anything which might leave it open to attack for the rest of the 1940s, it remained suspect in the eyes of both the state and the Church. It was regarded by the Knights of Columbanus, for instance, as a 'tentacle of Communism',⁴⁷ while a confidential dossier drawn up by the Department of Justice on communism in Ireland identified almost every senior member of the Labour Party in Dublin as a communist, or fellow traveller at the very least.⁴⁸ Significantly, it devoted a whole page to Trinity College Dublin's affiliations with communist and left-wing groups. As, effectively, a Protestant university, Trinity became home to many 'political queers' (as one Fianna Fáil Minister for Justice later put it)⁴⁹ at a time when clerical dominance in UCD, UCC and UCG meant that politically suspect lecturers were not hired and political radicalism on the part of the students was actively discouraged as late as the end of the 1960s.⁵⁰ The Justice dossier noted people's religious affiliations where known, with *Irish People* editor, Sheila Greene, for instance, identified as a Trinity graduate and a lapsed Quaker. It is interesting that although many of those active in the Labour Party in Dublin at this time were Protestant or non-Catholic, almost none was prepared to stand for election. Among the reasons given by one activist at the time for not going forward for election was that she felt she was 'too vulnerable in certain respects (not



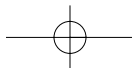
being a practising Catholic etc.)'.⁵¹

In the end, far from showing 'more courage', Labour's pronouncements became more sectarian and more reactionary as the decade wore on, not least when it tried to effect a *rapprochement* with National Labour in 1947. Unable to put their differences aside, the two parties went head to head at the 1948 general election, with candidates from both factions outdoing themselves in their citations of papal encyclicals.

IN GOVERNMENT, 1948–51

The end result of the general election was the formation of the first inter-party government which comprised of Labour, National Labour, Fine Gael, the farmers' party Clann na Talmhan, the new republican party Clann na Poblachta as well as various independents. Described by Fianna Fáil's Seán Lemass as a 'makeshift majority', the first inter-party government spanned the full spectrum of Irish politics from Commonwealth to republican and from right to left, but on one issue it was united, as the government went out of its way to emphasize its Catholic allegiance.⁵² One of the government's first actions was to send a message of homage to the pope through the Taoiseach in which the pontiff was assured not only of the cabinet's filial loyalty and devotion but of its 'firm resolve to be guided in all our work by the teaching of Christ, and to strive for the attainment of a social order in Ireland based on Christian principles'.⁵³ The letter represents the most obsequious correspondence by an Irish government to another power, but it is likely that the various parties had very different reasons for supporting it. Fine Gael, for instance, was an orthodox Catholic party which supported vocationalism and had a tradition of clerical support, Clann na Talmhan was a conservative rural party, its ministerial representative Joe Blowick's brother being a parish priest in Mayo, while James Dillon, the independent minister, was a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The other parties' ministers' motives are more ambiguous. All were nominally Catholic, and most were practising Catholics – but certain in the cases of Labour's William Norton and Clann na Poblachta's Seán MacBride, it does seem as though they lent their support to this type of ostentatious Catholicism in an effort to inoculate themselves from external criticism since both men's parties had been subjected to accusations of communism during the election, with Clann na Poblachta especially having been subjected to a smear campaign by the clergy.⁵⁴

Labour's priority going into government was to establish a new

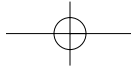


social welfare system, and as Minister for Social Welfare, Norton was determined that no-one should do anything which might endanger his plans. It was a very sensitive issue since the Catholic Church was opposed to increasing the state's role in welfare provision which it viewed as contrary to Catholic social teaching, a view shared within the government by the Fine Gael ministers and James Dillon. Norton knew he would have to act with great sensitivity if he was going to succeed on the issue, a view confirmed on the first occasion his scheme was put before cabinet, when the Fine Gael Minister for Finance, Patrick McGilligan, responded to the plans by suggesting that the views of Reverend Dr Peter McKeivitt, the chair of Catholic Sociology and Catholic Action in Maynooth, be taken on the matter before it went any further.⁵⁵ Norton's social welfare bill is a classic example of the gap between Labour's rhetoric and reality, for while the party had given its full backing to bishop Dignan's plan for social insurance after 1944, once in government the bishop's plan was dropped immediately. In an effort to avoid conflict on the subject, Norton worked behind the scenes to assuage the hierarchy's concerns and bring them onside. At the same time, it was made quite clear to members of his own party that it should avoid saying anything which might make Norton's task more difficult in this regard. Brian Inglis recalled that they were told:

Don't forget, Norton's drafting a new social security Bill. It can't go far, because Fine Gael won't vote for it if the Bishops don't like it, and if they won't vote for it we can't get it through; if you go rocking the boat and get people scared that we're all a lot of fellow travellers, we'll get nowhere. People have got to realise we're an Irish party, not taking our orders from Moscow.⁵⁶

How, it would be reasonable to ask, might the leap be made from not identifying with the British Labour government to looking like a puppet of the Soviets, but there was a deliberate blurring of the boundaries between the two by Irish conservatives. Certainly in the context of the escalation of the Cold War, socialism was identified as a stalking horse for communism. As the archbishop of Dublin, John Charles McQuaid, explained in 1948:

Atheistic Communism has not yet attempted violence in this land. It has not openly pronounced its brutal sentence on all the principles of our Catholic Faith and culture. Its agents have been content to disguise their aims under the mask of Socialism, which seems to look only for fair conditions of a decent livelihood.⁵⁷



As such socialism was portrayed as being, to all intents, the same as communism, except a more insidious variant of the latter – as one Catholic newspaper later remarked, ‘the Welfare State is diluted Socialism and socialism is disguised communism.’⁵⁸ For the purposes of Irish Catholicism, Clement Attlee was placed on an ideological par with Joe Stalin.

Having worked diligently to get the hierarchy onside, Norton managed to escape the Church’s full-scale wrath when he put forward his scheme, although he fell far short of securing its support.⁵⁹ If it seems distasteful that a government minister should devote so much time to garnering the support of the Catholic hierarchy, it is worth looking at the result of an alternative approach. Noël Browne, Clann na Poblachta Minister for Health, ignored the Catholic hierarchy to his cost when he tried to put in place the ‘mother and child’ scheme which had been formulated by his Fianna Fáil predecessor. Had Browne shown more of Norton’s diplomacy things might have worked out very differently, but he did not, and rather than succeeding in putting in place free health care for children under sixteen he merely provoked a furore. In the end, neither man managed to see in his scheme, but while one became a popular and left-wing martyr, the other’s reputation was tarnished irreparably. All the same, regardless of whether members of the first inter-party government kow-towed to the Church for reasons of devotion or opportunism, they had succeeded in winning the approval of the archbishop of Dublin, John Charles McQuaid. A year after the government’s collapse, McQuaid reflected on his experiences in dealing with it and with Fianna Fáil administrations, particularly on the question of health. ‘To deal with Mr Costello’s Cabinet was, with the exception of Dr Browne ... and Mr McBride ... a very pleasant experience,’ McQuaid opined to the nuncio. ‘To deal with Mr de Valera and his Ministers is indeed a different matter.’⁶⁰

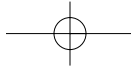
COLD WAR CATHOLICISM

The mother and child scheme marked the zenith of Church power in independent Ireland but it was a Pyrrhic victory. Although impossible to measure, its role in preventing the mother and child scheme engendered a backlash of sorts among ordinary people. Many shared Labour minister Michael Keyes’ belief that ‘they shouldn’t be allowed to do this’,⁶¹ and that on this occasion the bishops had gone too far.⁶² In response, the hierarchy pulled in its horns and removed itself from so overtly political interference but, behind the scenes, it was as active and

as influential as ever. There may have been occasional examples of resistance to Church edicts – the most famous being the mass attendance at the Ireland versus Yugoslavia football match in 1954 in defiance of a Church-led boycott – but for the most part Irish society remained intrinsically Catholic and profoundly hostile to the left. Throughout the 1950s, the heavy weight of peer pressure was brought to bear on individuals, unions and Labour to be seen to be acting in an orthodox Catholic fashion. There were fewer Catholic spectacles, such as McQuaid's massive collection for the Italian Christian Democrats in 1948, or the enormous street protests against the imprisonment by communist regimes of Cardinal Stepinac of Zagreb in 1946 and of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary in 1949 on which occasion an estimated 150,000 people marched through the streets of Dublin led by their lord mayor, John Breen, himself a former member of the CPI,⁶³ but at a practical level little had changed. Groups such as the Irish Housewives' Association remained under surveillance and subject to accusations of communism, while the case of the Church-orchestrated boycott of the Ballyfermot and Inchicore cooperative due to the involvement of a number of communists proved the clergy's ability to use the pulpit to bully was undiminished.⁶⁴ Where the men and women of the labour movement held views that were either too left wing, too liberal or too secular for the time, they simply kept their own counsel. When they did not they faced ignominy or assault.⁶⁵ The pressure to conform was unrelenting, as Mina Carney explained to Seán O'Casey in 1955:

Young Jim is having a hard time resisting the invasion of the union by the Church. There is a move to try and have all Irish Unions to each have their own chaplain. Many unions now have the crucifix over their doors which means every member entering the headquarters must genuflect.⁶⁶

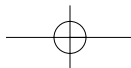
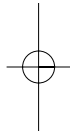
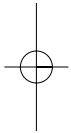
Similarly, one Labour man from the North Strand wrote to O'Casey some months later, lamenting that 'the ole place has changed for no good. A few months ago Larkins Union took over Vaughans Hotel as H.Q. and at a formal opening in it last week, half the clergy in Dublin were in it. "Hail Queen of Heaven" has now replaced the Watchword of Labour as the anthem of the union.'⁶⁷ Nor was this caution restricted to the Labour movement. During discussions about establishing a left-wing paper in 1956, Noël Browne's political partner, Jack McQuillan, was adamant that it should not take an openly socialist line because 'such a policy would not get the support of the people [and] his parish priest would be on his trail if he became publicly identified with socialism.'⁶⁸ It was an unedifying



state of affairs, prompting a typically cynical Seán O'Casey to muse: 'I should be surprised if there were not competitions soon of endurance and speed in the recital of rosary and litany. Catholic Stakhanovites. The Campaign of Emulation. 150 percent over quota in prayer and penance.'⁶⁹

A RETURN TO CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM?

This climate of stifling conformism was more than many Labour activists on the left could take, and many of those who had been active during the 1940s and 1950s had dropped out by the following decade when finally the atmosphere had begun to change. It was a long time coming, however, and even though the change was significant, it was by no means as profound as it appeared. In 1960 William Norton resigned as Labour leader after twenty-eight years in the role and was succeeded by Brendan Corish. Corish was generally well liked but there was concern in some circles over the shape his leadership would take. Known as a devout Catholic (and a Knight of Columbanus, as Norton was before him), he had firmly aligned himself with the Church on several controversial occasions. He had declared himself a 'bishops' man' on the mother and child scheme and later told the Dáil: 'I am an Irishman second; I am a Catholic first ... if the hierarchy give me any direction with regard to Catholic social teaching or Catholic moral teaching, I accept without qualification in all respects the teaching of the Hierarchy and the Church to which I belong,'⁷⁰ a comment which bore remarkable similarities to his father's proclamation two decades earlier when he told the 1936 Labour conference: 'I am neither socialist, syndicalist nor communist. I am a Catholic, thank God, and am prepared to take my teaching from the Church.'⁷¹ Sometimes this alignment manifested itself in a kind of unthinking conservatism. For instance, when *Plough* complained on one occasion that the 'lengths to which [Labour] will go in seeking to identify themselves with reactionary policies is almost terrifying', Corish was singled out for attack because of his support for 'bigger and better censorship' of everything from children's matinees to British television.⁷² More alarming, however, was his behaviour during the Fethard-on-Sea boycott in 1958. It was an extremely bitter episode, made all the worse because it involved the break up of a family, and its resolution required a combination of diplomacy and moral leadership, which de Valera (then Taoiseach) showed in spades. Corish, on the other hand, was happy to stoke the bigotry that was fuelling the boycott, and called on de Valera to ensure that 'certain people will not conspire ... to



kidnap Catholic children',⁷³ a stance which led Noël Browne, in typically jaundiced fashion, to refer to him subsequently as the 'Bastard of Fethard'.⁷⁴

In the event, however, Corish's conduct as leader was never as reactionary as some had feared. In fact, Labour shifted leftward under his leadership and declared itself to be a socialist party for the first time in its history. How could Corish's Catholicism be reconciled with the course his party took under his watch? This might be attributed in part to his kitchen cabinet or circle of advisors and speech writers who were more liberal than he, including Labour's parliamentary officer and Corish's chief speech writer, Catherine McGuinness, who was an active member of the Church of Ireland. Corish was deeply influenced by the changes brought about by Pope John XXIII, and became arguably the first Labour leader to quote from papal pronouncements and actually mean it. It was the middle of the 1960s before the fear of socialism began to wane, as the pontificate of John XXIII ushered in an age of détente after the Cold War Catholicism of Pius XII. Not only did Pope John move away from Pius XII's aggressively anti-communist outlook in international relations (the latter having issued 123 anti-communist proclamations during his nineteen years as pontiff⁷⁵), but perhaps equally significantly, he managed to reconcile Catholic social teaching to the positive aspects of the more interventionist nature of the contemporary state in his 1961 encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, and further enunciated his teaching on social justice in his 1963 encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*. For some on the left, this profound shift in Church thinking allowed them to reconcile themselves back to the Church, the late historian and socialist Miriam Daly being one such example.⁷⁶ For others, it allowed them to reconcile their politics to their faith. Arguably, Brendan Corish was among these. In an article published in 1969 Corish described Pope John as 'one of the greatest contributors of all to changing Irish attitudes', and taken at one level he was probably correct. It is difficult to exaggerate the ubiquity of *Mater et Magistra* in so many Irish publications in the months, and even years, after it was published. There were summer schools devoted to it for both religious and laity, and articles in the many Catholic periodicals and such like. So much might be expected, but it also received heavy coverage in everything from trade union publications to the *Irish Socialist*. In fact, the *Irish Socialist*⁷⁷ regularly referred to *Mater et Magistra* to back up Irish Workers Party policy on the economy. Even more bizarre was the occasion of the *Irish Socialist* denouncing the government because 'its whole line ... runs contrary to the doctrines of *Pacem in terres*!'⁷⁸

There was, it must be said, a certain amount of resistance within the Irish Church to the movement towards a greater emphasis on social justice and a more cuddly form of Catholicism, but the new teaching did trickle down nonetheless, not least among younger, more educated Catholics who were involved in organizations such as the Catholic sociology group, Christus Rex, the Dublin Institute for Catholic Sociology, or even, as the decade wore on, students of politics in UCD who were being taught by Rev. Fergal O'Connor, lecturer in political philosophy in the Department of Ethics and Politics.⁷⁹ On balance, however, the influence of Pope John was profound, but very uneven, and if delegates at Christus Rex conferences could quote chapter and verse of *Mater et Magistra*, the same might not be said for the average reader of the *Messenger*. The shallow impact of Pope John in Ireland became abundantly evident at the 1969 general election. Labour had adopted some very left-wing policies and had declared that the 1970s would be socialist. The party had expected to come under attack for its socialist policies but was taken aback by the ferocity of Fianna Fáil's campaign against it, which included telling voters that Labour planned to nationalize family farms and Guinnesses. Before long, General Secretary Brendan Halligan began making speeches across the country stressing Pope John's influence on Labour Party policy. Soon the *Irish Times'* political commentator, John Healy, was laughing at how 'Pope Halligan' (described elsewhere as the 'cleric in mufti') planned to take the 'stars from the plough and the stars to fashion a new version of the miraculous medal'.⁸⁰ None of this was enough to prevent Labour being called off the altar from one end of the country to another. It certainly could not hope to compete with Jack Lynch's infamous convent tour which he undertook the week before the poll. As Conor Cruise O'Brien later recalled:

The press and media were not present for that series of convent chats, but the word came through all the same. A Labour colleague from Munster told me ruefully of a mothers' meeting convened in his constituency by a Reverend Mother on the day before polling day. It was not, said the Reverend Mother to the other mothers, for her to advise them on a political matter. Certainly not! She only wished to remind them of their duty, as Catholic mothers, both to vote and to be very prudent about how to vote ... Whatever party they voted for, however, they should be sure ... was free from any tendency to communism. If there was doubt as to whether there might be communists in a certain party, it would be better not to vote for that party.⁸¹

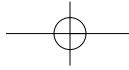
Not all nuns were as circumspect as their Munster sisters, however. One Roscommon remembered how

A nun in our local convent told fifth class primary to tell their parents not to vote Labour as they were all communists in the Labour Party. Now this spread like wild fire to every home, and even though I don't know what effect it had, I know enough to know it had its effect. I heard one mother saying, 'The two parties are much of a muchness, but I won't vote Labour because O'Brien and Thornley are communists and should be shot.'⁸²

As the British ambassador, Andrew Gilchrist, noted at the time, 'the priests in Ireland may no longer tell their parishioners who to vote *for* but are quite capable of telling them who to vote *against*.'⁸³ Far from making the advance it had expected, Labour suffered a net loss of seats. This was due to a variety of factors of which Church condemnation during the campaign was only one. It is impossible, especially at this remove, to assess how influential the Church's opposition to Labour was on people's voting behaviour, but it certainly cannot have helped, not least when political opponents are willing and able to capitalize on this distrust, as Fianna Fáil was on this occasion.

CONCLUSION

The Church rarely mobilized against Labour, but this is because Labour was assiduous in making sure that it was given no cause to do so. The degree of self-censorship was enormous in both policy and language, be it Labour's amendment of the Workers' Republic constitution, its silence over the Spanish Civil War, or its failure to support social reforms such as non-means-tested social welfare benefits or health reforms which would have, in the eyes of the Church in Ireland, been contrary to Catholic social teaching. Had Labour heeded O'Casey's call for 'More courage!', would this have won it more votes? It is impossible to tell. The truth is that, until very recently, it would *seem* that parties whose policies or doctrine went against that of the Catholic Church would suffer at the hands of the electorate. Anecdotal evidence tends to indicate that the Church was influential and for a politician or party to be called off the altar would be profoundly damaging, but we can never know just how important it was because each time Labour came close to getting a belt of the crosier they pulled back. At the 1969 general election when Labour stood under an avowedly socialist banner, the only occasion (during the timeframe being looked at here) that the party



showed 'more courage', it lost seats. Yes, some of this was due to other more mundane factors like constituency boundary changes and candidate rivalries,⁸⁴ but there was a belief nonetheless that the Church had played an important role in halting Labour's hoped-for advance. On the other hand, there are occasions, such as following the mother and child scheme, when more courage would almost certainly have benefited Labour in a most practical way. Despite the hierarchy's opposition to the scheme, it remained popular, and the election not only of Noël Browne himself, but other Browneite candidates gives a reasonably clear indication that people would vote against the bishops and the bishops' men when their health and welfare were so clearly at stake. Ultimately, Labour had to walk a tightrope when it came to matters religious. Ecclesiastical condemnation was a constant threat which, if realized, could prove hugely damaging, but we can never know how damaging because Labour so assiduously avoided doing anything which might bring it into effect.

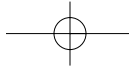
NOTES

My thanks to Susannah Riordan for her suggestions on an earlier draft of this chapter.

1. *Irish Times*, 27 August 2007.
2. The only party in Dáil Éireann to deviate from this until the 1970s was the National Progressive Democrats which was less a party than an umbrella for Noël Browne and Jack McQuillan.
3. See for example Graham Dale, *God's politicians: the Christian contribution to 100 years of Labour* (London: 2000).
4. Patrick Murray, *Oracles of God: The Roman Catholic Church and Irish Politics, 1922–37* (Dublin: 2000), p. 1.
5. See Donal Nevin, *James Connolly: 'A full life'* (Dublin: 2005), pp. 327–33; 673–90 for a review of the writings on Connolly and religion.
6. *Irish Times*, 13 October 1923
7. James Larkin and James Connolly were the most notable of these.
8. This was asterisked by the enumerator who wrote at the foot of the household schedule, 'further information refused'. Mortished's sister, Kathleen, put herself down as an 'Agnostic'. Thanks to Fintan Lane for bringing this to my attention.
9. *Voice of Labour*, 20 October 1923.
10. *Voice of Labour*, 20 October 1923.
11. *Irishman*, 25 June 1927.
12. *Irishman*, 1 October 1927.
13. Gilbert Lynch, unpublished memoir.
14. *Irishman*, 19 July 1930.
15. *Voice of Labour*, 13 December 1924.
16. *Irishman*, 1 October 1927.
17. *Irishman*, 26 March 1927.
18. *Irishman*, 28 April 1928.
19. See Provisional Draft of the National Labour Party (Confidential) 4 Dec. 1929 ILHM&A POWU.
20. Noel Ward, 'The INTO and the Catholic Church, 1930-1955'. (MA, UCD, 1987).
21. A. Gaughan, *Thomas Jobson* (Dublin: 1980), p. 474.

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22. See J.J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985* p.162.
23. Ibid.
24. O'Connor, *Reds and the Green* p.186
25. John P. Swift, *John Swift: An Irish Dissident* (Dublin: 1991), p. 83.
26. DD 29 April 1932.
27. John Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid: Ruler of Catholic Ireland* (Dublin: 1999), p. 224.
28. See *Labour Party Annual Report 1933-4*, p. 70; Fearghal McGarry, "Catholics first and politicians afterwards": the Labour Party and the Workers' Republic, 1936-39', *Saothbar*, 25 (2000), pp. 57-66. Niamh Puirseil, *The Irish Labour Party, 1922-73* (Dublin: 2007).
29. Fearghal McGarry, *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War* (Cork: 1999), p. 188.
30. *Irish Rosary*, February 1937; *Labour News*, 27 February 1937; McGarry, 'Catholics first', p. 60.
31. The letter was reprinted in full in *Labour News*, 6 March 1937 and *Labour Party Annual Report 1937-8*, pp. 14-16.
32. Johnson to Luke Duffy, 6 March 1937, NLI Ms 17231.
33. *Labour News*, 31 July 1937.
34. *Labour News*, 7 August 1937.
35. *Labour News*, 26 March 1938.
36. T. Kehoe to Norton, 9 April 1938, ILHM&A POWU.
37. Norton to T. Kehoe, 11 April 1938, ILHM&A POWU.
38. Skeffington in *Workers' Action*.
39. Norton to T. Kehoe 11 April 1938, ILHM&A POWU.
40. See Annual Report ...
41. See Puirseil, *Irish Labour Party*, pp. 91-103.
42. *Irish Times*, 26-8 October 1944 quoted in Susannah Riordan, "A Political Blackthorn": Séan MacEntee, the Dignan plan and the principle of ministerial responsibility', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvii, p. 49.
43. See Riordan, "A Political Blackthorn".
44. Brian Inglis, *West Briton* (London: 1962), p. 107.
45. Sheila Greene to Seán O'Casey, 7 October 1946. NLI O'Casey papers. Ms 38,005.
46. Seán O'Casey to Sheila Greene, 12 October 1946. NLI O'Casey papers. Ms 38,005.
47. Evelyn Bolster, *Knights of St Columbanus*, p.105.
48. Communism in Ireland. Department of Justice typescript, 31 December 1947. UCDDAD P67/548 (1).
49. *Irish Times*, 7 June 1969.
50. See for instance C.S. Andrews, *Man of No Property* (Dublin: 2001), p. 59 on the attitudes towards socialism held by UCD's Commerce faculty in the 1920s.
51. 'Peggy R' [Patricia Rushton] to John de Courcy Ireland, 14 May 1953, UCDDAD P29/I/156. One exception was Arnold Marsh, the headmaster of Drogheda grammar school and author of *Full Employment in Ireland*, who took 5 per cent of the poll in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown in 1948. Outside Dublin, R.M. (Bobby) Burke came close to taking a seat in Galway where he won 14 per cent of the poll on his second outing in 1943. Burke, a professed Christian socialist, ran a cooperative farm in Tuam and was appointed to the Seanad when Labour entered government in 1948.
52. J.H. Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland*, pp. 157-8.
53. Ibid.
54. MacBride, *That Day's Struggle* (Dublin: 2005), p. 141.
55. Minute of meeting of the cabinet committee, 30 August 1949. UCDDAD P190/554 (10).
56. Inglis, *West Briton*, p. 135.
57. Address on Radio Éireann, 11 April 1948 quoted in Cooney, *McQuaid*, p. 218. See also McQuaid's Lenten pastoral earlier that year in *Irish Times*, 9 February 1948.
58. *Hibernia*, February 1952.
59. For Norton's efforts on social welfare see Whyte, *Church and State*, pp. 179-83.
60. McQuaid to apostolic nuncio, Most Reverend Gerald P. O'Hara, DD 7 November 1952. DDA McQuaid papers.
61. Browne, *Against the Tide*, p. 175. Keyes was well liked and respected but by no means regarded as a radical, having attracted criticism from the left over a decade earlier when he had attended a meeting of the Irish Christian Front during the Spanish Civil War.
62. Tom Garvin, 'A quiet revolution: the remaking of Irish political culture', in Ray Ryan (ed.), *Writing in the Irish Republic: Literature, Culture, Politics 1949-1999* (London: 2000), p. 193. Apart



- from anecdotal evidence, this is backed up by the electoral successes of candidates at the subsequent general election who took a Browneite position either during the crisis or during the contest.
63. Young Jim Larkin did likewise. As one of his supporters later explained, 'he dared not do otherwise; if he hadn't it would have split the union.' Private source.
 64. Hilda Tweedy, *A link in the chain. The story of the Irish Housewives' Association* (Dublin: 1992); interview with Joe Deasy, 2001; Puirscíl, *Irish Labour Party*, pp. 146–9.
 65. For example, during the local election campaign in the summer of 1955, one Labour candidate in Mayo was denounced as a communist by the local parish priest (who was the brother of the Minister for Lands, Joe Blowick) while a former Blueshirt tried to pull him from his platform. The candidate abandoned his meeting in order to prevent further trouble. Thomas Kilroy to Jim Larkin, 6 June 1955, ILHM&A JLJ/3 1953–7 (LP).
 66. Mina Carney to O'Casey, 10 April 1955. NLI MS 37,989.
 67. Pat McDonnell to O'Casey ## 1955, NLI.
 68. Memorandum on recent meeting of new political group, 16 October 1956. UCDDAD P7b/120.
 69. O'Casey to Carney, 22 February 1945. Krause (ed.), *Letters Vol. 2*, p. 217.
 70. DD Volume 138, Column 839, 29 April 1953.
 71. Labour Party annual report 1936.
 72. *Plough*, June 1958. See for example DD 17 April 1958 vol. 167, col. 330.
 73. Quoted in Gallagher, *Irish Labour Party*, p. 42.
 74. Information from Owen Dudley Edwards and Justin Keating.
 75. Milotte, *Communism*, p. 247.
 76. Miriam Daly, 'Believing today', *The Furrow*, 18, 10, (October 1967), p. 555.
 77. July 1964. The vogue for citing papal pronouncements often resulted in quite ludicrous pronouncements. For instance, in August 1967 the *United Irishman* featured an article examining 'papal and republican parallels'. Comparing quotes from Paul VI's 'On the development of Peoples' with passages by Pearse, Lalor, Seamus Costello and Muintir Wolfe Tone's pamphlet 'The case against the Common Market', the pope was found to be in full agreement with all those on this particular pantheon.
 78. Milotte, *Communism*, pp. 247–8. See also *Irish Socialist*, July, August, September 1964; September, December 1965; January 1966; November 1967.
 79. See, for example, Denis McCullough, 'Protest and the Student' *UCD News* magazine, no.1 no date (NLI); interview with Brendan Halligan, 8 February 2002. It is also worth noting the appearance in Ireland of left-wing Christian groups at the end of the 1960s. These included the Student Christian Movement, eventually founded in UCD after a great deal of resistance from college authorities, an Irish branch of Slant and a short lived newspaper, *Grille*.
 80. *Irish Times*, 31 May 1969.
 81. O'Brien, *Memoir*, pp. 321–2.
 82. *Sunday Independent*, 29 June 1969.
 83. Gilchrist to Stewart, forthcoming election in Irish Republic, 29 May 1969. TNA FCO33/1753.
 84. For example, see Puirscíl, *Irish Labour Party*, p.269.

