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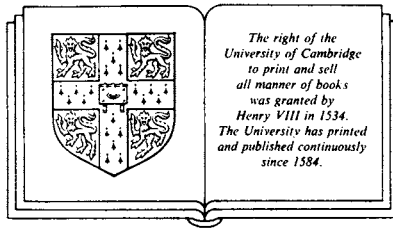
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THE VATICAN,
THE BISHOPS AND
IRISH POLITICS
1919–39

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*For Ann,
and in memory of my father,
a Christian devoid of
pious cant*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Armagh Archdiocesan Archives
Amigo	Archbishop Amigo Papers
Byrne	Edward Byrne Papers
CAB	Cabinet
Cahill	Edward Cahill Papers
DAA	Dublin Archdiocesan Archives
DE	Dail Eireann files
DO	Dominions Office
EC	Executive Council (Cabinet after 1937)
FF	Fianna Fail
FG	Fine Gael
FitzGerald	Desmond FitzGerald Papers
FO	Foreign Office
Hagan	John Hagan Papers
Hales	Donal Hales Papers
ITGWU	Irish Transport and General Workers' Union
Kirby	Tobias Kirby Papers
Logue	Cardinal Michael Logue Papers
McGilligan	Patrick McGilligan Papers
MacRory	Cardinal Joseph MacRory Papers
Magennis	Peter Magennis Papers
MP	Member of Parliament
O'Donnell	Cardinal Patrick O'Donnell Papers
PRO	Public Record Office, London
PRO, Dublin	Public Record Office, Dublin
RTE	Radio Telefis Eireann
S	Provisional Government, Executive Council and Cabinet files
SE	Seanad Eireann
SPO	State Paper Office, Dublin

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Abbreviations

TD

Teachta Dala (Member of Parliament)

UCD

University College Dublin

Walsh

William Walsh Papers

PREFACE

Any historian writing on the theme of Church and State in Ireland must first acknowledge his or her debt to the four scholars who have been working extensively in this field for many years. Mgr Patrick Corish of Maynooth has inspired many by his writing and his teaching.¹ Professor Emmet Larkin is one of two American scholars who have published a series of monographs of quality and originality in the area.² Professor David Miller has produced the standard book on the Catholic Church between 1898 and 1921,³ a fine piece of work given the archival limitations under which it was written. Professor John Whyte has contributed most directly in the area covered by my work.⁴ I am deeply indebted to all four for the indirect way in which they have influenced me.⁵

The person who originally inspired the subject of this study was the late Maureen Wall, of University College Dublin. It was she who first suggested in 1969 that John Hagan, the Rector of the Irish College in Rome from 1920 until his death in 1930, might have privately exercised a significant influence over the direction of Irish politics and on the personality of Eamon de Valera in particular; as in so many other cases, she was accurate. His private papers are one of the richest sources for the study of modern Irish history.

As a doctoral student and now a colleague of Joe Lee, I have been fortunate to benefit over the past eight years from his advice and encouragement. Without his support and infectious enthusiasm for the subject of history I would never have gone to Florence. I am very grateful to Anne and Joe for their support at crucial moments. I have also been privileged to enjoy the friendship and supervision of Desmond Williams, the most outstanding modern historian in the country; he has given generously of his time and shared both his archives and knowledge with a newcomer. He is a man with a unique sense of history and of time. Equally, I would like to thank Dr Kevin

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Kennedy, Dublin Archdiocesan Archivist, for his help that has extended far beyond the bounds of his archival duties. There are few people who are as much at home in French, German or Italian Church history as he is. In this regard, I would also like to thank warmly Geoffrey Hand and Margaret MacCurtain for their help and friendship. A special word of thanks to Deirdre McMahon, who shaped this book in a very direct way.

I would like to thank both the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, Dr Tomas Ó Fiaich, and the late Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Dermot Ryan, for granting me access to ecclesiastical sources in Dublin, Armagh and Rome. In all three archives, I enjoyed hospitality and courtesy which made the research all the more enjoyable and memorable. My thanks also to Bishops Eamonn Casey of Galway, Dominic Conway of Elphin, Patrick Lennon of Kildare and Leighlin and Michael Harty of Killaloe.

The Department of Foreign Affairs might take note of such a liberal ecclesiastical archival policy. Although granted permission to see material in 1977 by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Garret FitzGerald, I have not as yet succeeded in having the decision acted upon by the Department concerned. However, I have learned that some – if not most – of the relevant files may have been assigned for ‘Confidential Destruction’ in 1940, when there was fear of invasion. Tracing the authorisation for such a decision may prove an interesting task for the historian. However, the general obstructionism of departmental policy has been superseded by the helpfulness of many retired and serving diplomats. I would particularly like to thank Drs F. H. Boland and Cornelius Cremin for giving long interviews.

The progressive attitude of the Department of the Taoiseach stands in marked contrast to the tardiness of Iveagh House. Successive Taoiseachs are to be applauded for their archival policy: Liam Cosgrave, Jack Lynch, Charles Haughey and Garret FitzGerald. I am also particularly grateful to Catherine Meenan, Richard Stokes and Frank Dunlop for their help. Dr Garret and Mrs FitzGerald kindly allowed me to consult family papers in their busy household. Mr Charles Haughey made files on the constitution available to me. Mr Liam Cosgrave spoke to me at length about his time in office and about the career of his father. Mr Maurice Moynihan and Col. Dan Bryan both gave me extensive interviews and many insights.

Sadly, a number of people who gave me extensive assistance in the research of this book have not lived to see its publication. Both Sean MacEntee and Frank Aiken allowed me to intrude a number of times on the peace of their retirement and gave generously of their time and knowledge. The late Denis McDaid, former Rector of the Irish College, Rome, spoke and wrote of his experiences for me. I also greatly valued

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the help of another Rector of the Irish College who died recently, the urbane and cultured Bishop of Ferns, Donal Herlihy. His wit and wisdom will be missed, as will the contribution of Bishop Birch of Kilkenny. It was with great regret that I learned of the sudden death of my thesis supervisor, Professor Walter Lipgens. Although he might have been happier with another subject, he was most supportive and encouraging.

I would also like to thank the former Rector of the Irish College in Salamanca, Alexander J. McCabe, who, like Bishop Herlihy, was a gracious guide to the events and personalities of the 1930s. A number of civil service and clerical sources who have helped in the research of this book prefer to remain anonymous; my thanks to them for their substantial help.

I wish to record my thanks to the following: Mr Pat Quigg, Beatrice Doran, Nora Brown, Finola O'Donovan, Ned Fahey of University College Cork library; the staff of the National Library of Ireland; Professor R. Dudley Edwards and the Archives Department, University College Dublin; Ken Hannigan and David Craig and Gay Gaynor of the Public Record Office; Desmond Byrnes of the Taoiseach's office library; the staff of the Library of Congress, Washington and of the Italian State Archives, Rome; the Istituto Luigi Sturzo in Rome; Ms Nancy Emmick, San José State Library; the staff of Stanford, Hoover and Berkeley libraries; and Mr Kenneth Humphries, of the European University Institute, Florence.

In Italy, I would like to thank Francesco and Gioliolla Margiotta Broglio; Brian Coughlin of the Carmelite Order and the Dominican Community at San Clemente; the Rector and staff of the Irish College and Robert Graham SJ. Mrs Kathleen McKenna Napoli was a gracious host.

In the United States, I would like to thank the Fulbright Commission and Professor Jim Walsh for affording me the opportunity to spend a semester at San José, Stanford and Berkeley, where this manuscript was completed. My thanks to Mrs Agnes Peterson, Director of the Western European Collection, at the Hoover Institution and the staff of the National Archives, Washington.

My thanks to Paul Hurley of the *Word*; Liam Moher and Fergus O'Callaghan of the *Cork Examiner*; Stephen O'Byrnes of the *Independent*; and Pat Cashman of the *Irish Press* for supplying photographs and illustrations for this book. Joe Carroll of the *Sunday Tribune* was very helpful on the background to recent events.

I am also grateful to Dr Miriam Hederman O'Brien, Katie Kahn-Carl, Professor Patrick Masterson, and Frs Michael Sweetman SJ and Oliver Trainor. Special thanks to Mattie and Madelaine MacNamara.

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Preface

I would like to thank Veronica Fraser and Charlotte Wiseman for their patience and skill in the typing of the many drafts of this book. I would like to thank also four post-graduate students, Gerard Brockie, Sheila Crowley, Micheal Martin and Bernadette Whelan, who have helped me with this text.

Finally, it is the custom of another generation to thank a wife for patiently typing manuscript drafts; but I am most indebted to Ann for her intellectual support and critical appraisal of this work at all stages. My thanks to Eoin, Niall, Aoife and Clare for their tolerance, patience, sacrifices and unfailing good humour during the long preparation of this book, which has involved me in a constant round of travel over the past nine years. My regret is that my father did not see the finished work. In the course of my research I have interviewed many leading politicians, church figures and academics in Ireland and abroad. They cannot be held responsible for the ideas and views expressed in this book.

*Badia Fiesolana,
Florence 1976–9;*

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