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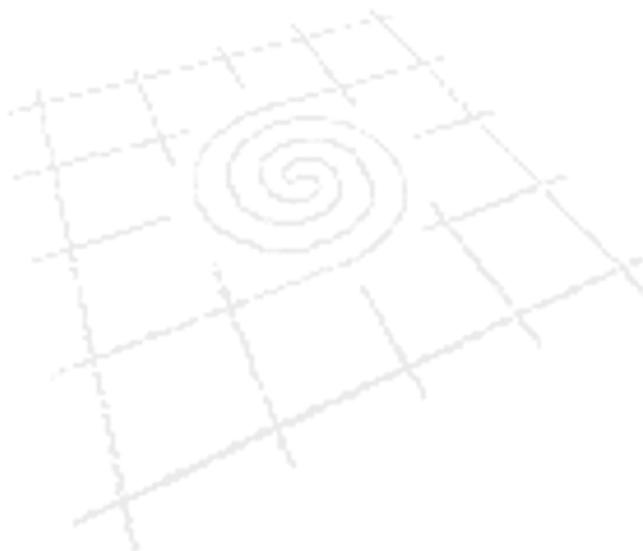
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Belting the Irish State with US Croziers. Theatre, Tourism, UN Policy and Church-State Relations, 1957-58

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**Belting the Irish State with US Croziers
Theatre, Tourism, UN Policy and Church- State Relations, 1957-58**

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Abstract

In February 1958, the Irish Catholic Hierarchy sent a letter to its US counterpart. The letter stated that the UN policy of the Irish government 'did not represent the feelings of Irish Catholics'. It also called on the US bishops 'make their influence effectively felt' by Irish representatives in the United States in relation to two plays in the programme of the 1958 Dublin Theatre Festival which the Archbishop of Dublin regarded as objectionable. This was to be done by, in effect, threatening to encourage a US tourist boycott of Ireland. On neither of these matters had the Irish hierarchy made representations to the Irish government. This paper reproduces the letter, sets out the context in which it was sent, examines the response to it by churchmen in the USA and the role this played in bringing about the postponement of the Theatre Festival. Irish diplomatic and ministerial reaction to the discovery of what the Irish hierarchy had done is also discussed.

Introduction

Where third party involvement in the relationship between Dublin governments and the Irish Catholic Hierarchy is discussed, the Vatican is usually the focus of attention. Examples of its involvement include Eamonn De Valera dispatching the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs to seek approval for key provisions in the draft of the 1937 Constitution and Garret FitzGerald later seeking endorsement from the same quarter for changes to that document – as well as to state and church laws - intended to promote island-wide peace and reconciliation (Keogh and McCarthy 2007: 162-170; FitzGerald 1991: 184-187). This paper explores in detail an attempt in the late 1950s to involve a different third party – the US Catholic hierarchy – in southern Irish church-state relations. A brief previous reference¹ to the episode can be found in John Cooney's biography of John Charles McQuaid:

The crusade against the two plays was internationalized when the two secretaries of the Hierarchy's standing committee, Bishop MacNeely of Raphoe and Bishop Fergus of Achonry, sent a letter to the American bishops explaining why McQuaid 'had felt compelled' to cancel the Mass on account Tostal's selection of O'Casey and Joyce. In an extraordinary initiative, they asked their powerful American counterparts to apply pressure on de Valera's government to ban objectionable plays from the stage. The Irish bishops further confronted the Government by stressing that a recent decision by the Minister for External Affairs, Frank Aiken, to vote for discussion of China's admission to the United Nations 'did not reflect the views of Irish Catholics'.

This letter was dynamite in the hands of Cardinal Spellman. At a lunch in the Cardinal's New York residence with Frank Aiken and Frederick Boland, the Cardinal brought up the subject of the Bishop's letter. A flaming row ensued, with Boland pointing out that Aiken's vote had been endorsed by a two-thirds majority in the Dail, a fact which the two Irishmen regarded as 'the crowning argument' against Spellman and McQuaid. The American bishops, however, remained so angry over the vote on China that they encouraged a boycott of pilgrimages to Ireland, which act constituted a tremendous blow to the tourist industry of an ailing economy. (Cooney 1999: 330)

This paper begins by reproducing in full the letter John Cooney refers to. It then traces the emergence of efforts to utilize the internationally admired Irish theatrical tradition to enhance earnings from tourism and the Irish government's independent policy stance at the United Nations as bones of contention between it and Catholic Churchmen on both sides of the Atlantic. It adduces evidence that, while Cardinal Spellman was certainly incensed by the China vote, his strength of feeling on the issue was shared by hardly any other bishops and by relatively few of the Irish-American laity. Cancellation of the 1958 Dublin Theatre Festival followed the emergence of church disapproval into the open in January of that year. This was brought about by the withdrawal of the Festival's subvention from public funds via Bord Failte and appears to have been prompted by fears of the damage any boycott campaign, should one emerge, would do to the Irish transatlantic air service which was due to be inaugurated in April 1958. With the offending plays removed (along with the non-offending ones), Spellman was in fact mollified at the meeting Cooney refers to and there is no evidence of any tourist boycott being encouraged thereafter by US bishops. Indeed the available evidence suggests that in general they responded negatively to

the call for them to put pressure on Irish government representatives while a case study of a bishop who shared Spellman's opposition to the China vote, Archbishop Cushing of Boston, shows him maintaining his longstanding support for pilgrimage and other tourism to Ireland despite his disagreement with the Irish government's stance in the UN. The paper's concluding section looks at the state response to this extraordinary church initiative and glances at the longer-term effects of this 'belt of the crozier' on the state's foreign policy and on the Dublin theatre festival project.

Box 1

Letter from William McNeeley, Rahoe and James Fergus, Achonry, Secretaries to Cardinal Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit 4/2/1958²

The Standing Committee of the Irish Hierarchy, at its meeting on 14th January 1958 under the chairmanship of His Eminence Cardinal D'Alton, thought well to bring to the notice of Your Eminence, and through Your Eminence to the notice of the whole United States' Hierarchy, the following points of information:

1 Mr. Aiken's Speech.

The Catholic Bishops of Ireland read with surprise and disappointment the speech of Mr. Aiken at the United Nations General Assembly, last September. They wish to assure the United States' Hierarchy that Mr. Aiken's views did not represent the feelings of Irish Catholics

2. An Tostal

As Your Eminence and your Venerable Brethren are probably aware, a festival called An Tostal is organized here each year, about Easter, in the various cities and towns, one of the chief objects of which is to attract visitors to Ireland. The committee responsible for organizing An Tostal in Dublin, in the present year, has proposed to put on, as an attraction for visitors, a dramatisation of James Joyce's Ulysses and a play by Sean O'Casey which no one has yet seen, and, in spite of strong objection and protest by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, has decided, at a recent meeting, to proceed with this project.

An Bord Failte, the government sponsored Board for the promotion of tourism, though not itself responsible for the actual Tostal arrangements, gives a substantial subsidy to the festival.

Knowing that our tourist bodies depend to no small extent on the support of the Catholics of the United States and have been accustomed to seek the good will of the United States' Bishops, the Standing Committee felt that Their Excellencies should know the situation as it exists. The Bishops of the United States could make their influence effectively felt by expressing their views to Irish Representatives in the United States.

The Standing Committee will be obliged if Your Eminence and the United States' Hierarchy treat this letter as confidential and for their personal information

The Theatre as an Irish Tourism asset

At the end of World War Two the Irish state was internationally isolated. Membership of the United Nations was denied to it until 1955 and the main forums open to it in the early post-war years were European ones such as the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). Becoming a member of OEEC was a condition of receiving U.S. Marshall Aid through the European Recovery Programme (ERP). Marshall Aid recipients were expected to actively address the 'dollar gap' between the (small) amount they earned from selling goods and services to the USA and the (large) value of the goods originating in the dollar area that they were consuming thanks in large part to an aid programme that would not continue beyond 1952 (Whelan 2000; Murray 2009). An Inter-Departmental Working Party on Dollar Earnings set up in late 1948 was the first Irish effort to address the dollar gap issue and it focused its attention on increasing tourist numbers from the USA.

The theatre first figured in its deliberations when the suggestion that the Abbey Theatre might go on a US tour was made but, in the light of Ernest Blythe's reaction to it, 'the Working Party decided that it would be unprofitable to pursue this point'. Shortly afterwards the Working Party heard from the Chairman of the Irish Tourist Board that consideration was being given to an annual drama festival with the first one to be held in October 1950 - 'Mr. Quinlan thought that this Festival would be of interest to many Americans – especially those connected with universities. The Board had been informed that there were 540 registered universities in the U.S.A., many of which contained a faculty of drama'.³

It was not until 1957 that 'an annual drama festival' was launched. Then it took place under the umbrella of An Tostal. 'Ireland's springtime festival', the Tostal was an attempt initiated in 1953 to lengthen the tourist season by giving it an earlier start. Local Tostal Councils around the country organised their own programmes with the aid of subventions from Bord Failte. These Councils were elected by subscribers of funds to support the local programmes. The number of Tostal Councils fluctuated from year to year and Bord Failte was sometimes obliged to step in directly as when 'the secession of the Dublin Council from all activities [left] the Board with the full responsibility of organizing and presenting the programme in Dublin in 1955'.⁴ The Dublin Council had been revived by the time the Dublin Theatre Festival was launched in 1957. The Dublin Theatre Festival Committee was then constituted as a sub-committee of the Dublin Tostal Council with some additional co-opted members.

Unlike England, Ireland did not have a formal system of theatre censorship (Dean 2004). Indeed plays barred from the London stage had occasionally been put on in Dublin – the 1909 Abbey Theatre production of George Bernard Shaw's *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* being a case in point. By the 1950s the absence of a mechanism controlling the Irish stage co-existed with a censorship of books that had become internationally notorious (Adams 1968). Attempts to promote Irish theatre to an international audience for tourism business purposes ran the risk of incurring the wrath of those who championed censorship in the drastic form in which it was applied to other art forms in Ireland. This potential for conflict made an early appearance when, via Bord Failte, the Department of External Affairs fielded a query from Theatre Festival Director Brendan Smith in October 1956. Smith had been in contact with Hungarian and Russian companies that were willing to participate in a Dublin festival. These would be comparatively cheap to bring over and Smith's query was

whether there would be `any objection on the political side'. Correctly anticipating that such objection would be expressed, the External Affairs officer who first received the query noted that:

There is no doubt that the Moscow Arts Theatre would be a great draw amongst Americans and other visitors to Ireland and also for many of our own people in view of the influence of the Moscow Theatre on the Abbey in its early days. On the other hand it is fairly safe to assume that there would be opposition from the Church and from certain sections of the Irish public to what they would regard as Communist penetration through culture.⁵

Trouble duly arrived during the first (May 1957) theatre festival with a police raid on the Pike Theatre production of Tennessee Williams' *The Rose Tattoo* and the prosecution of its Director, Alan Simpson (Whelan with Swift 2002). Despite this, much positive publicity was received by the Festival, to which Bord Failte had brought over a party of British newspaper drama critics. A lengthy appraisal written by the Irish Ambassador in London, Cornelius Cremin, in June 1957 noted the ongoing Pike Theatre prosecution but judged the recent festival as a whole to have been a success and the theatre to represent as good a focal point for developing English tourist interest as Ireland had available:

The decision to centre this year's Tostal on a theatre festival in Dublin was generally welcomed. Ireland's reputation for both plays and actors stands high in this country where Wilde, Shaw and O'Casey are regarded as being amongst the dramatic masters of the last fifty years in the English-speaking world and where the name of the Abbey is still mentioned with respect. Interest in Irish playwrights has been stimulated recently by the London productions of Sam Beckett's plays and by the success of Brendan Behan's "Quare Fellow". To educated English people, therefore, the theatre appeared a natural choice for an Irish tourist festival... One may conclude that, as far as the more serious organs of the English press is concerned, the theatrical festival was a success... critics seem to have found most stimulation in the efforts of the little theatres, especially the Pike...How successful the theatre festival was as a tourist attraction we are not, of course, in a position to surmise but it certainly would not be unreasonable to suppose that, as a result of this year's effort and with plenty of advance publicity, a similar festival in the spring of 1958 should have every prospect of attracting English visitors in considerable numbers. The appeal of a serious theatrical festival is, of course, limited to the educated classes but in a population of 50 million these represent a far from negligible number... In any event it seems certain that, having regard to the reputation which Ireland enjoys in the world of theatre, a theatrical festival is likely to prove a better tourist attraction as far as England is concerned than virtually any other enterprise that might be feasible.⁶

By the Autumn of 1957 preparations for a second international theatre festival that would again be put on as part of the overall Tostal programme were getting under way. Promotional work on its behalf was being undertaken by Bord Failte in North America as well as in Britain. Two premieres that might draw visitors to Dublin for the event were planned and a brochure for the upcoming festival highlighted these attractions:

May 11th-26th Tostal 1958 Ireland's Sixth Springtime Festival – The highlight of Dublin's Tostal programme will be the Second International Theatre Festival, a fitting event in view of Dublin's great theatrical tradition which through the centuries has embraced so many great names from Goldsmith and Sheridan to Shaw and O'Casey. There will be the world premiere of Sean O'Casey's new play, "The Drums of Father Ned", which appropriately has as a background theme the Tostal itself. Another premiere of special interest will be a dramatisation of James Joyce's "Ulysses". Mime plays, ballet, plays and players from at home and abroad will also be features of Dublin's Second International Theatre Festival.⁷

The organisers were not unaware that what might be internationally attractive could also be locally objectionable. According to an account later compiled in the Department of External Affairs by Conor Cruise O'Brien:

The question of the two controversial plays – Sean O'Casey's 'The Drums of Father Ned' and Bloomsday, a dramatization by Alan McClelland of Joyce's Ulysses – first came to the attention of the Tostal Council on 3rd October, in a letter signed by the Secretary of the Council, Mr. Boyle and addressed to each member of the Council. This letter stated that the two plays (O'Casey and Joyce) were recommended by the Festival Director (Mr. Brendan Smith) and also "by the promotion department of Bord Failte Eireann" but added that "it is felt that before proceeding further the views of every member should be obtained". An explanatory note on the plays by Brendan Smith, dealing with possible objections, was attached.

When the Council met on October 11, its *ex-officio* Chairman, Lord Mayor of Dublin James Carroll, informed the members that 'he had consulted his own chaplain about the moral aspects of both plays and, as he was not satisfied with the chaplain's reply, had taken the matter up with Archbishop's House':

In the Archbishop's absence, the Archbishop's Secretary had referred him to Father Tuohy, an authority on the moral aspects of drama, etc. Father Tuohy said "he could see nothing at all wrong with a dramatized version of Ulysses and saw no reason why both (Ulysses and O'Casey) should not be included in the Festival."

The Council then unanimously approved the inclusion of O'Casey's play and voted in favour of including the Ulysses adaptation by six votes to two, with one abstention.⁸ The two priests involved subsequently supplied their own accounts of what had transpired to Archbishop's House. The Lord Mayor's chaplain, a curate attached to the Pro-Cathedral, had offered:

My own personal view on Ulysses From what I know there are many things which personally I do not like and I am sure it would shock and offend the ordinary decent Dublin Catholic. I am not a Court of Appeal in these matters and I would just like to give my personal view for guidance. Re O'Casey's Play in question I know nothing about Drums of Fr. Ned but there are a lot of objectionable things in O'Casey's work.

The more expert Fr. Tuohy claimed to have offered a more general response - 'my reply... was simply a conditional and private opinion to the effect that if the scripts contained nothing objectionable, there could be no objection to their production'.⁹

With the Tostal Council's theatre festival business transacted, the Lord Mayor set off on a visit to New York. During his stay he made a courtesy call on Cardinal Spellman accompanied by a friend and by the Irish Consul General in the city, Jack Conway, on Sunday, October 20th. There as reported back to Dublin by Conway:

His Eminence said to me - "As long as you continue to represent the present government in Dublin you cannot come to this house. I will not receive you. I will not receive any member of the present government in Dublin. I will not receive Dr. Aiken. I will not receive Ambassador Boland. Any decent Irishman is very welcome to come to this house at any time and he does not have to be presented by the representative of the present government in Dublin. Their conduct in the United Nations has been disgraceful, to even think of supporting a lot of murderers and thieves." I should add that at this stage His Eminence had lost control of himself. He had thrown all dignity to the winds and was clearly in the mood to be both rude and offensive. Up to this point I did not say anything. I then said to His Eminence - "Have I your permission to report this conversation to my Government?" and he answered, raising his voice, "Yes, you can tell it to them, tell it to anyone you like". I replied "I shall do that Your Eminence". I then knelt down and kissed his ring. During all this extraordinary performance the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Mr. Grimes were standing at the other end of the dining room and as I started to go towards them to leave the dining room, the Cardinal walked along beside me and when he came to the Lord Mayor and Mr. Grimes he said to the Lord Mayor - "I have just told the "Ambassador" that he should not come to this house again, that I will not receive him, that I will not receive any member of the present government in Dublin. Their conduct has been disgraceful". He then said to the Lord Mayor - "Did you read Dr. Aiken's speech in the United Nations". The Lord Mayor, who to me looked rather stunned by the whole performance, simply shrugged his shoulders and did not, so far as I could see, make any reply. The interview was now concluded and the Cardinal let forth a laugh. In a high pitched tone he said "Ha, ha, ha" - it sounded to me like the laugh of a person who was temporarily deranged.¹⁰

It is to the Irish policy at the UN that prompted this extraordinary outburst, and would become linked with the presence of objectionable plays in the theatre festival programme in the letter from the Irish to the US hierarchy a few months later, that we now turn.

Ireland's Independent UN Policy

The ten year block on Irish entry into the UN was ended in 1955 by a superpower package deal which admitted about a dozen new members. One half of these had previously been kept out by Soviet, and the other half by Western, opposition. An Irish Permanent Mission to the United Nations (PMUN) was then set up in New York with Frederick Boland as Ambassador while a new UN section within Iveagh House was created under Conor Cruise O'Brien. Under the second Inter-Party government

Irish policy at first faithfully followed the lead given by the USA but when Fianna Fail returned to power in 1957 Frank Aiken initiated a new independent line. A manifestation of this change was the decision to vote in favour of discussion of China's representation at the General Assembly session that September. This representation was in the hands of the Formosa-based regime of Chiang Kai Shek. US policy, and that of its European allies (although many of them diplomatically recognized the Communist regime in Peking), was to oppose the discussion of the matter which a combination of Communist states and non-aligned ones such as India sought to promote. When US representatives learned of the Irish intention to break Western ranks, the help of Cardinal Spellman had been enlisted in an unsuccessful attempt to bring Ireland back into line (Skelly 1997: 92-101 and 114-124). Plainly Spellman was greatly angered by what had transpired but how widely were his feelings shared within the church and within Irish-America?

Boland is quoted (by Keogh 2005: 242) as stating 'many years later' that 'we brought down a ton of bricks' by voting in this way. At the time, however, Boland's letters consistently play down the significance of the hostile reaction from both US clergy and laity. Some three weeks after the vote was cast, and three days before Spellman's tirade on the occasion of the Lord Mayor of Dublin's visit, Boland wrote that:

Outside New York any strong feeling there ever was seems to be fading out. Irish-Americans of strong Catholic feeling occasionally talk to the consular officers about the matter when they meet them. But as often as not they are asking for information as much as making complaints. Boston hasn't had any letters about the matter for over a week; people have ceased to ring up the Consulate General here; there is no trouble at all in Washington because [Ambassador] John Hearne managed to persuade Bishop Hannon to "kill" Maurice Leahy's propaganda ... The thing would be dead were it not for the little man [i.e. Spellman] here.¹¹

When Boland visited Chicago in late November and saw Cardinal Stritch he reported that: 'I was with him over half an hour and although he chatted freely and asked me several questions about the U.N. he made no reference whatever to the China vote and gave no sign of being in any way critical about our attitude on U.N. issues'.¹² In the middle of December he wrote that 'here the thing is almost, if not quite completely, dead... there are still critics but they aren't bothered anymore'.¹³ In the middle of January 1958 he observed that 'it's difficult to talk about this business without giving an exaggerated impression of the extent to which our people here are bothered about it'.¹⁴ While some exiled Chinese bishops were supporting a campaign waged by Maurice Leahy's Oriel Society against the Irish policy stance¹⁵, Archbishop Cushing of Boston was (as will be discussed below) the only leading US church leader apart from Spellman to provide endorsement for this campaign.

With regard to Spellman himself, Boland wrote in the middle of November that 'in my view it is better for us to maintain an attitude of aloofness as regards Madison Avenue until we have some evidence that the irascible and rather rude attitude, evidenced when Jack Conway called with Lord Mayor of Dublin, has been modified... we are also being rather conservative about accepting invitations to other Catholic functions at which the Cardinal is to preside'.¹⁶ In the New Year, however, a number of figures with links to both the Cardinal's entourage and Irish diplomatic

representatives were actively seeking to end the rift before Saint Patrick's Day. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, another disgruntled ecclesiastic was making his feelings known.

The Theatre Festival Programme and Archbishop McQuaid

As noted above, Archbishop McQuaid had been away when the Lord Mayor had made his approach to Archbishop's House. On November 13 the returned Archbishop informed Father Tuohy:

I fear that the opinion expressed by you in regard to the choice of "Ulysses" by the Dublin Tostal is being regarded as an opinion of Archbishop's House because Father Martin recommended the Lord Mayor to consult you, without my knowledge. I would like you to take means to remove any such misunderstanding, for I shall feel obliged to take very definite action if either Ulysses or O'Casey's play be chosen by the Tostal. The "Rose Tattoo" ought to have been a lesson to the Tostal.¹⁷

It is not known what efforts Fr. Tuohy made after receiving the Archbishop's letter but it is clear that these failed to dent the prevalence of a perception that the church authorities had been consulted about, and had given clearance to, the plays. The Archbishop himself moved into action on December 28 with a letter that noted the Council's inclusion of the two plays in the theatre festival programme and withdrew permission for the Mass with which it had become customary to open the Tostal festival in Dublin.¹⁸ This action threw the Dublin Tostal Council into turmoil. According to a Department of External Affairs memorandum:

On 2nd January a special meeting of the Council was held, at which Bord Failte was represented by an observer. The Council decided, on the Lord Mayor's casting vote, to drop the two plays in deference to the Archbishop's wishes. It was decided, however, to suspend action on this decision because some members felt that the withdrawal of the plays, and the consequent publicity, might not in fact be in accordance with the Archbishop's wishes. It was not intended, at this stage, that there should be any publicity about the decision but unfortunately a member of the Council "leaked" the story to the press.¹⁹

The first stories appeared in print on 8 January.²⁰ On 6 January the Council's Deputy Chairman, Charles Brennan, had had two meetings at Archbishop's House. Notes of the meeting record that Brennan repeatedly stressed his own opposition to including the plays in the festival programme, revealed that there had already been a newspaper inquiry to Brendan Smith about programme changes, reported that the London-based writer adapting Ulysses was consulting a Fr. Agnellus Andrews as he went along and predicted that supervision by Smith of his script and presentation were likely to lead to O'Casey's refusal to proceed. Stressing that he was 'at your Grace's service in the matter':

Mr. Brennan said he had come to enquire, for the Council, if the letter of the Archbishop withdrawing permission for a Mass on the occasion of the Theatre Festival must be taken as implicit condemnation of the action of the Council in sponsoring the two plays, or whether it meant that the Archbishop did not consider it appropriate that a special Mass be celebrated for the occasion.

The soundness of his professed views notwithstanding, Brennan was told in response that 'the AB considers that he has sufficiently dealt with the situation in his letter of December 1957' and that 'the Archbishop instructed me to say in answer to any other questions that I had no comment to make'.²¹ According to the Department of External Affairs memorandum, 'Mr. Brennan, on the basis of this, formed the opinion that His Grace was not now asking the Council to drop the plays'. On January 9, the Dublin Tostal Council, having heard a report from Brennan, rescinded its previous decision and decided to proceed with the inclusion of the two plays. The 14 January decision of the Standing Committee of the Irish Hierarchy to write to its US counterpart responded to this stance. In addition 'at this stage a considerable agitation against the Festival Programme developed' as 'several sodalities urged their members to protest'.²² A significant split within Bord Failte also appeared.

On 20 January the Bishop of Killaloe, Joseph Rodgers, wrote to Archbishop McQuaid reporting a visit he had received from the Shannon-based Chairman of the board, Brendan O'Regan:

Your Grace will remember him as a student in Blackrock College. Mr. O'Regan is very disturbed over the proposal... the main cause of his anxiety is that Bord Failte has, as usual, given a grant-in-aid to the Dublin Tostal Council for dramatic and ancillary productions. In view of the very correct and laudable stance taken by Your Grace Mr. O'Regan is afraid that a controversy will arise and that Bord Failte will suffer as a result.

Asked by the bishop 'why Bord Failte had sanctioned a grant towards the production of the above-mentioned plays', O'Regan is quoted as stating that 'the Bord Failte proper is only a party-time body, with a full-time Executive in Dublin, and that it was the latter who really dealt with the matter'. The Bishop advised against the meeting O'Regan was seeking to secure with Archbishop McQuaid and, as an alternative, the two Clare men had devised a proposal whereby three questions were to be put to a panel of three experts:

1st are the proposed plays offensive to Catholics, or do they contravene Catholic doctrine or belittle Catholic morals?

2nd Are these plays likely to cause public controversy or even disturbance?

3rd What is their literary value? Are they "good theatre" in the real meaning of the term, and can they be regarded as truly representing Irish life and Irish cultural and social conditions?

If the panel answer 'no' to the last question and 'yes' to the two first questions Mr O'Regan would then ask that the grant be withdrawn, as it is the stated policy of the Board that all matters likely to cause public controversy be avoided.

For Archbishop McQuaid the essential point was that 'no matter what questions may be put to a panel of dramatic experts, the Holy Sacrifice may not be linked with Joyce or O'Casey'. Replying, Bishop Rogers affirmed that 'Your Grace's refusal to have the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass linked with Joyce or O'Casey is warmly commended

everywhere in Catholic circles' but also argued for the presentational utility of a negative expert panel verdict - 'fortified with this opinion Bord Failte could not be accused of having acted under any "ecclesiastical pressure" in withdrawing the grant'.²³ Although McQuaid had not encouraged the expert panel idea, and it is difficult to see how after weeks of press publicity on ecclesiastical opposition to the plays a negative appraisal by the expert panel could be widely seen as being independent of and unconnected to church pressure, O'Regan moved forward with the scheme reportedly giving 'a triple directive to Mr. O'Driscoll [Director-General of Bord Failte] to have the two plays examined by three experts and submit as report on whether they were in a way offensive to religion, to any section or to nationality'. There are contradictory accounts as regards the experts' verdict on the O'Casey play but all versions agree that proceeding with the Ulysses adaptation was favoured by a majority of those consulted.²⁴

In early February, some three weeks after the Standing Committee of the Irish Hierarchy had decided to solicit their US counterparts' aid in the matter, there was still a majority on the Tostal Council for retaining the plays. Although it was not generally known, O'Casey, as predicted a month earlier by Charles Brennan, had by then actually withdrawn his play, having been presented with a demand that the director assigned to it be given 'the necessary authority to make such alterations as he requires' (Hickey and Smith 1972: 134-151; Murray 2004: 386-404). Bloomsday continued to be part of the programme and its adapter remained willing to the end to make changes if he had to do so to satisfy the church authorities. The end came on 14 February when Bord Failte, even though it lacked the fig leaf of negative expert appraisal to cover its retreat, informed the Tostal Council that it was withdrawing its subsidy on the grounds that 'the play "Bloomsday" because of its offensive associations would involve the Tostal in considerable and harmful public controversy'.²⁵ By then another member of Bord Failte besides O'Regan had been given cause for grave concern in relation to the Theatre Festival programme. This was the Aer Lingus/Aerlinte Eireann²⁶ Chief Executive, J.F. Dempsey - a 'decent Irishman' still welcome at Cardinal Spellman's house in New York

Launching the Irish Transatlantic Air Service

When Fianna Fail lost office in 1948 well-advanced plans backed by Sean Lemass to launch an Irish transatlantic air service were, much to his chagrin, abandoned by the Inter-Party government (Share 1986). In October 1957 the project was revived, although the Department Finance wanted the matter left in abeyance. By December proposals were in place to start a service in the Spring of 1958.²⁷ When Dempsey and Aerlinte Chairman, John Leydon, returned from a promotional visit to New York, Leydon brought back a letter from Frederick Boland to Frank Aiken written on 9 February. This referred to:

The way he [Spellman] received Sean Leydon and Gerry Dempsey when he called on them last Sunday. He immediately tackled them about the trouble between John Charles and the Dublin Tostal Council. He was in a positive fume about it and mentioned that he had received an "official letter" about it from John Charles himself! When Sean Leydon said he thought the thing was largely due to a misunderstanding he said sharply "it was no misunderstanding - it was a mistake"; and after further muttering about the Tostal business he added "... and this coming on top of Mr. Aiken's vote on China!"²⁸

Boland's principal concern was with Spellman's disposition ahead of an 18 February luncheon at the Cardinal's house which had resulted from intermediaries' efforts to heal the rift between the Cardinal and Irish diplomats. Here the omens were not good - 'Sean Leydon got the same impression as Jack Conway that the little man has become a real pocket Hitler apt to go completely off the deep end if he is crossed or contradicted at all!' Leydon and Dempsey, on the other hand, can hardly have been other than seriously worried about the implications for their soon to be launched air service. Initial losses were generally accepted to be inevitable and the Department of Finance had argued that these could well persist in the longer term. Party political, as well as financial, capital had been invested in the venture and its failure could be expected to attract sustained Fine Gael criticism of Fianna Fail extravagance and misjudgement. Having gone to the USA to cultivate goodwill, the two men could hardly have been other than dismayed by Spellman's agitation and the manner in which it was being encouraged by Irish episcopal intervention. Although documentary evidence on the point is not available, it would be surprising if Dempsey, on his return, did not throw his weight behind the movement within Bord Failte initiated by O'Regan to get the offending plays out of the theatre festival programme.²⁹

Table Talk

On 18 February Boland and Conway lunched with the Cardinal, four other clerics and two of the lay intermediaries who had brought the two sides together. According to long account Boland subsequently sent to Aiken, after some initial small talk:

The Cardinal then began to talk about the difference that had arisen between the Archbishop of Dublin and the Dublin Tostal Council. He said he was to glad to read in that morning's paper that the Council had decided not to produce the play based on Joyce's Ulysses. He understood they had decided to drop the O'Casey play too. That made it easier for him to deal with a letter he had received from the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops; but what he could not understand was how the Dublin Tostal Council had ever decided to put on the plays at all.

Boland in reply defended the good faith, if not necessarily the good judgement, of the Dublin Tostal Council, pointing to its members' reliance on what they believed to be sound advice from two priests (one a Jesuit). Then:

The Cardinal said that he had spoken about the matter to Mr. Dempsey of Aer Lingus when he had called on him recently, and he was glad to see that the Council had decided to drop the two plays. (Mr. Conway and I both got the clear impression that the Cardinal believed that it was what he had said to Mr. Dempsey which caused the Council to drop the plays). That matter was disposed of but he would like us to hear the letter he had received from the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops about it.

The Cardinal's Secretary then read out almost the entire the letter, omitting only the part suggesting that US bishops express their views to Irish representatives. Boland, who recalled what he had heard of its contents with a remarkable degree of accuracy in his memorandum, commented that 'I cannot be absolutely sure of the actual terms used, but Mr. Conway and myself both construed the language as conveying a distinct, if guarded, suggestion that American Catholics should be discouraged from

visiting Ireland during the Tostal'. The Cardinal described as 'ridiculous' the idea that the contents of such a letter would remain confidential. Boland, however, commended the desire for confidentiality – when 'differences of view arose between the hierarchy and the public authorities... the one thing which always seemed to me extremely important [was] to avoid excessive and unnecessary publicity about them'.

After an anecdote about US soldiers serving in Korea introduced by Spellman 'apparently by way of light relief', discussion moved on to the China vote. Here Spellman reiterated that 'he regarded our vote on the China issue as a blunder which had dismayed Catholic opinion and our own friends here in the United States, and he felt that he personally had been badly treated in the matter':

Mr. Aiken had sat in the chair I was sitting; why had he not so much as mentioned to him what he intended to do on the China vote? Moreover, on the day of the vote, he has asked that Mr. Aiken should ring him back on the 'phone and he had never heard a word from him from that day to this?

Both Boland and Conway sought to convince the Cardinal that he had not been slighted by the Minister or his officials around the time of the vote or afterwards. They also strongly contested a wider charge made by one of the Auxiliary Bishops present that Irish officials and ministers went around making statements 'belittling Irish Americans and challenging their right to have any opinion on Irish affairs or Irish Government policy'. When Spellman then brought discussion back to the specific China vote and the negative reaction to it, Boland pointed out that there were differences between US and Irish (or more broadly European) views on the Chinese question. Some vocal US critics of the policy stance carried little weight in Ireland – here Judge Daniel Troy whose long record of IRA support put him at variance with both Ireland's governments and its bishops was instanced. The Cardinal did not seek to defend Judge Troy but shifted discussion back to the unacceptability of the China vote and the unwillingness to receive visits from members of the government that had cast it which he had stated to Conway in October. Boland responded by posing the question concretely in relation to De Valera. Here Spellman at first hesitated and then conceded that he would not snub the Taoiseach. Finally Boland drew attention to the Dail's endorsement of Aiken's policy by a two-to-one majority although the Cardinal purported to be unimpressed by this.

The lunch then finished and the Irish diplomats left. Overall, Boland's memorandum concluded that 'although the atmosphere throughout was slightly tense and strained, the conversation, though always frank and at moments even blunt, was at no time heated or acrimonious'.³⁰ A little over a month later Boland wrote to Department of External Affairs Secretary, Cornelius Cremin, that public controversy over the China vote 'appears now to be dead so far as New York is concerned' and that 'details of what passed at the lunch are by now pretty widely known here... the general assessment... is that we on our side spoke very frankly but that the Cardinal took what we said better than might have been expected'.³¹ After Boland accompanied Tanaiste Sean Lemass when he called on Spellman while in New York for the inauguration of the Irish transatlantic air service to that city, Boland cabled External Affairs: 'interview with Cardinal this morning April 30th was quite amicable with no reference whatever recent events'.³²

As regards the reaction of US church leaders other than Spellman to receipt of the hierarchy to hierarchy letter, Boland reported on March 22 that none of the US bishops with whom the Washington Ambassador and PMUN had been in contact since Cardinal Mooney had circulated it 'had made any allusion at all to the Tostal affair or the China vote'. On 21 July the Washington Ambassador sent an account of a lunch at the embassy attended by Monsignor George Higgins of the National Catholic Welfare Conference:

The N.C.W.C. is, as you know, under the direction of the United States Hierarchy. The ranking members of the staff of the Conference are daily in touch with one or another of the Hierarchy in connection with the Conference's extensive national and international activities. They know the views of the various bishops and archbishops intimately. In the course of the conversation at luncheon...Monsignor Higgins... said that most of the American bishops regarded the letter as an extraordinary document, unwise, and uncalled for.³³

Pilgrimage Tourism

As noted earlier, John Cooney's previous reference to this episode presents American Episcopal anger over the China vote as leading to the encouragement of a boycott of pilgrimages that inflicted significant damage on the Irish tourist industry. No evidence to indicate the pursuit of such a boycott has been found – nor indeed is there evidence of the widespread anger that might have prompted it. Here briefly the case of the US church leader most active in promoting pilgrimages to Ireland and, alongside Spellman, most evidently upset by the China vote – Richard Cushing, Archbishop of Boston – will be considered.

At the same July 1949 meeting where the Inter-Departmental Working Party on Dollar Earnings heard about plans for an annual drama festival, the Chairman of the Irish Tourist Board informed its members that a forthcoming Boston pilgrimage was 'being regarded as a test case by American Express'. Parties of several hundred pilgrims were led to Ireland by Archbishop Cushing in 1949 and 1953. Serious ill-health curtailed Cushing's own leadership role thereafter but sizeable Boston pilgrim parties continued to come in subsequent years. This high level of activity was not recorded in the case of other US dioceses.³⁴

With the Oriel Society protests against the Irish China vote just getting under way in October 1957, Cushing voiced his support:

The Chinese Communist regime has never conformed to the practices of civilized nations. It gives no indication that it will do so in the future. The encouragement given this diabolical regime by the Irish delegation at U.N. shocked and saddened me and all the clergy and the faithful of the Archdiocese of Boston.

Later in that month another message from the Archbishop was read to an Oriel Society meeting 'congratulating the Society on their alertness in contacting Cardinal D'Alton concerning the strange attitude of Ireland's UN delegation IN THROWING A BOUQUET TO RED CHINA'. Cushing repeated his condemnation at a Franciscan Third Order conference in Boston at the end of the month when he shared a platform with Maurice Leahy of the Oriel Society. On this occasion Leahy's claim that threats

had been made against him because of his criticism of the Irish government's action received substantial publicity. Before the end of the year acceptance of a gold medal awarded to him by the Oriel Society for his 'outstanding spiritual leadership in combating atheistic international communism' further identified the Archbishop with the Irish government's US critics.³⁵

Cushing's response contrasted with that of Spellman who made no public statements on the China vote issue. Nonetheless, with relations still strained after Spellman's outburst to Conway, Boland (with Aiken's approval) decided to take up a speaking invitation in Boston for the 1958 Saint Patrick's Day festivities. There, when he met the Archbishop after Mass, 'the general tone of the brief conversation was quite cordial and friendly'.³⁶ A more extended encounter took place in June when Joseph Shields, now based in Washington Embassy but formerly the Irish Consul in Boston, paid a call. Cordiality was again the order of the day and Cushing displayed a more nuanced approach in private than his public pronouncements might have suggested. Having listened to Shields present his government's viewpoint:

In a quiet voice he outlined in an objective way some of the arguments usually put forward for and against recognition of the present Communist regime in China. Finally he said that it was a very difficult problem indeed.

Disagreement with its government in relation to China had not jaundiced the Archbishop's benevolent attitude to Ireland and he told Shields:

That not half enough had been done by the Irish in the United States for Ireland ... he was dissatisfied at the little which had been done in the way of attempting to repay the immense debt which the Church in New England owed to Ireland and the Irish.³⁷

The launching of the Irish transatlantic air service provided a repayment opportunity and here Cushing was disposed to be helpful. When introduced in July by Boston Consul, Gerry Woods, to the Irish Air Lines representative, 'the Archbishop gave Mr. O'Dowd a very warm welcome and had a long talk with us over tea about the new venture. He promised his utmost support in very genuine terms'. With Cushing due to visit Ireland in August to be conferred with an honorary degree in Cork, Woods was worried about disaffection among Irish rather than American bishops:

There is one aspect of the Archbishop's visit which does cause me some anxiety, but it is of a rather delicate nature and I am not sure that it is appropriate for me to refer to it. It is the matter of Archbishop Cushing's long and close association with the Bishop of Cork with whom he will apparently be spending the greater part of his stay in Ireland. From a reading of Dr. Lucey's recent addresses, it does seem to be the case that the Bishop of Cork has acquired a thoroughly sour outlook on almost every public and governmental development in the country and I should not like to see Archbishop Cushing infected with a like ill disposition. From this point of view, the moment is not opportune at all for the visit to Cork and in this context anything that could be achieved at home towards helping the Archbishop to form a sound and balanced view of the situation would be most politic from our point of view and also from his own.³⁸

Back in the positive thinking USA, with the inclusion of a film unit in the Archbishop's entourage, the idea that the visit could be used to promote the new Irish air service and Irish tourism took shape. Following the Archbishop's return to Boston, Woods reported that:

The film of the Archbishop's visit, or rather part of it was shown over a commercial TV circuit yesterday morning. It came over quite well and I understand it had a very large viewing audience. At least there is a great deal of comment about it today. Earlier in the morning, over another commercial circuit, the Archbishop himself showed some stills and gave a short commentary on each scene. There is to be another showing of the film on Wednesday, before the evening news on the largest commercial circuit in this area and I understand this will be a very finished job. The studio people had not time to do editing for last Sunday morning. With all of this, you will agree, we have done very well out of the Archbishop's visit and Aer-Linte have certainly nothing to complain about publicity-wise, for their inaugural.³⁹

Quoted by Boland in support of a 'pocket Hitler' characterisation of Spellman in February, John Leydon had a more agreeable experience to report in October on his return to Ireland after the Aerlinte Inaugural Flight to Boston. There he had found Cushing – who made a speech at the opening of Aerlinte's Boston office - 'most affable and friendly... there was no reference whatever to China and no indication that there is any cloud on the horizon'.⁴⁰ In December Cushing was made a Cardinal. From Rome, the Irish Ambassador to the Holy See reported on a dinner in honour of the new American Cardinals he had attended. Both Spellman and Cushing were present: the other guests 'were mainly American clergy, with Irish names predominating'. Here the Ambassador 'heard very kindly things said about our representatives in the United States, and no mention was made to me of our policy in relation to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations or of any other controversial topics'.⁴¹ In April 1959 Aerlinte was the carrier used for a Boston handicapped children's pilgrimage to Lourdes whose itinerary included an Irish visit.⁴²

Conclusion

The hierarchy to hierarchy letter is dated 4 February 1958. That a letter dealing with the Tostal plays had crossed the Atlantic was known to Irish diplomats by 9 February, but they were then under the impression that it had been sent by one individual prelate (Archbishop McQuaid) to another (Cardinal Spellman). They became aware of the collective character of both the author and the recipient when most of the letter was read out at the 18 February lunch. Finally by 24 February the Washington Ambassador had obtained a physical copy of the letter and dispatched further copies to the Department in Dublin and to Boland in New York. Once officials and ministers knew, how did they respond?

On 8 March Boland was informed that 'the Minister wishes you to know that he takes a very serious view of the action of the Hierarchy'. This action was deemed objectionable on two counts. First, no approach had been by the hierarchy to the government before it set out on this 'circuitous route' to influence its policies. Second, the government had, in Aiken's view, no real responsibility in relation to the Tostal:

So serious a view does the Minister take of the letter that he has been considering having the Taoiseach approach the Cardinal. The whole affair is all the more difficult to comprehend, as the facts, as known to us (and we have been at pains to check them to the utmost), indicate that at least two priests had been consulted about the plays complained of and had expressed the view that they were unobjectionable, and also that some people who could not be even remotely accused of being indifferent to the views of the church likewise saw no objection.

In Dublin only Aiken and the Department Secretary, Cornelius Cremin, knew about the letter and 'the Minister does not wish that anyone else except yourself should hear about it from us or should be aware of his reaction to it'. In conveying the Minister's views, Cremin himself observed that 'there is in fact, as far as I can see, a complete absence of liaison between the Hierarchy and the Government which is, I feel, and I think the Minister also feels, unfortunate'.⁴³ This was a point that Boland addressed at length in his reply to Cremin:

I very strongly agree with you that the present lack of informal liaison between the Hierarchy and the Government is very unfortunate. It presents a constant risk of embarrassment and difficulty. As you know the liaison was always very close in the past. Joe Walsh was, as you know, on close personal terms with the Archbishop of Dublin and other members of the hierarchy and this enabled him to keep the Taoiseach constantly informed of their views and reactions. After Joe Walsh left, I carried on the same liaison with the Archbishop of Dublin. I took advantage of quite minor pretexts to go and see him from time to time and he in turn used to invite me fairly frequently to dine with him at Killiney. On a few occasions – e.g., in connection with the Public Health Bill of 1947 – I saw him at the Taoiseach's request and I usually found him anxious to be helpful in that kind of context. I know that the Archbishop of Dublin valued this informal political contact and has expressed regret to several people that it lapsed when I went to London.⁴⁴

The restoration of this liaison role was, Boland suggested, 'well worth thinking over'. Cremin himself might step into it, if the Minister agreed:

Perhaps we might discuss this when I am over in June. The matter is not wholly free from difficulty. Nothing, of course, could be done on our side which would encourage the Archbishop to think that he has a right to be consulted. For that reason, the contacts should not be limited to occasions on which there is something concrete to discuss. It is rather a question of establishing an easy informal social relationship which would provide the Archbishop with a channel through which he could make his views and reactions known to the Minister and to the Government in an entirely casual and unofficial way whenever there was anything that was causing particular concern to him and the rest of the Hierarchy. The liaison could, of course, be used, if desired, in the other direction also.⁴⁵

Whether this suggestion was taken any further or whether the approach by the Taoiseach to the Cardinal that Aiken had in mind was pursued is not clear. No evidence has been found that either took place but here further research that is beyond the scope of this paper would be required to draw any firm conclusions. In relation to the letter that prompted thinking along these lines we will conclude by looking briefly at how Irish UN policy and the Dublin Theatre Festival were affected by the 'belt of the crozier' it sought to have administered to them.

The UN policy embarked on by Aiken was maintained in spite of Irish episcopal disapproval of the vote in favour of discussing China's representation. Boland had early on formed the impression that this was not what the letter was really about in any case - 'the reference to your China vote, which was just a single sentence, was thrown in as a "sop" to smooth the way for the American hierarchy's acceptance of the suggestion made in the letter about the Tostal'.⁴⁶ It was not bishops but technocrats like Sean Lemass and T.K. Whitaker that changed Irish foreign policy positions with economic considerations displacing political ones as the driving force – during the 1960s 'EEC membership effectively became the foreign policy priority, and Irish activism at the UN slipped from the central focus' (Fitzgerald 2005: 84 - see also Williams 1979 and Keogh 2000).

A Department of External Affairs memorandum quoted earlier refers to how in January 1958 'a considerable agitation against the Festival Programme developed' as 'several sodalities urged their members to protest' against the Theatre Festival's programme. A trade union body also lent its assistance.⁴⁷ A similar campaign, with the same episcopal source of inspiration, was simultaneously being run with the aims of tightening the censorship applied to books and securing a reconstitution of the Censorship Board. This campaign the Minister for Justice, Oscar Traynor, and the Taoiseach stood firm against and eventually faced down (Whelan with Swift 2002:269-298)⁴⁸. Mobilising pressure across the Atlantic, in the form of a threatened tourist boycott kicking in just as an Irish transatlantic air service was being launched, proved a much more effective approach for the Irish hierarchy. The offending plays were gone almost before US bishops had time to register that they were there at all. Only Cardinal Spellman displayed any active interest in the issue but that, as it turned out, was more than sufficient to ensure that it got resolved in the manner in which the Irish bishops desired.

In the Spring of 1958 the Dublin theatre festival project appeared to be in dire straits. On its first outing in 1957 one of its most successful productions had been prosecuted. The following year the whole festival had to be abandoned because it was too late to substitute other plays for the Joyce and O'Casey ones that were dropped. In protest both Samuel Beckett and Sean O'Casey for a time refused to allow any of their works to be produced on the Irish stage (Whelan with Swift 2002: 115; Murray 2004: 404). Brendan Smith later recollected that 'it was an agonizing period to live through and to work through... I had been very uneasy for a few months in 1958 about the future of the Festival'. However he also observed that 'the public had its opinions about the manner in which the Festival had been jettisoned, and it is quite significant that from 1959 onwards we have had little or no trouble from minority nuisance groups trying in any way to impose censorship on the stage' (Hickey and Smith 1972: 150). Smith blamed the way in which the Festival was enmeshed in the Tostal – with its disparate activities and rival factions - for much of what transpired in relation to the 1958

programme.⁴⁹ The Spring timing of the Tostal was also wrong from a theatre business point of view - 'the theatre festival should be held in September as May is a "dead" month in which the creation of theatrical interest is very difficult... technically speaking, it is virtually impossible to secure Maytime interest on the part of any of the London or New York managements'⁵⁰. The collapse of the Dublin Tostal Council for a second time in the wake of the February 1958 debacle removed these structural and timing difficulties for future years and, as an independent entity, the Dublin Theatre Festival went on to establish itself as an enduring feature of the national cultural calendar. The Irish hierarchy had undoubtedly won the battle in 1958 but it would subsequently go on to lose the war.

NOTES

¹ For an earlier, less detailed but very suggestive, allusion see Williams (1979: 145)

² UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, copy enclosed with J. Hearne, Washington Ambassador to Secretary, Department of External Affairs 24/2/1958

³ National Archives of Ireland (NAI) Department of Foreign Affairs 305/57/114/1 Meetings of Working Party on Dollar Earnings Tourist Aspect, Minutes of Meeting No. 15, 24/6/1949 and Minutes of Meeting No. 19, 27/7/1949

⁴ NAI Department of Tourism and Transport (DTT) TTA 12/5, 1 Future of An Tostal 2 Commencement date in 1954 and subsequent years, see "memorandum recently approved by my board representing their current thinking on Tostal" enclosed with T.J. O'Driscoll, Bord Failte to J. Connor, Assistant Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce 30/6/1958

⁵ NAI DFA 415/267/8 An Tostal 1957 International Theatre Festival Dublin, Minutes by Sheila Murphy and John A. Belton 22/10/1956 and 23/10/1956

⁶ Ibid., C. Cremin, London Ambassador to Secretary, Department of External Affairs 28/6/1957

⁷ NAI DFA 415/267/9 An Tostal – 1958 Dublin, undated promotional brochure

⁸ NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, Memorandum on the circumstances leading to the postponement of the Dublin Theatre Festival, 1958

⁹ Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", 32 Re. Mansion House Phone and An Tostal 11/10/1957 and 38 Fr. Patrick Tuohy (84 St. Stephen's Green) to Archbishop McQuaid 14/11/1957

¹⁰ UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, J. Conway, Consul General, New York to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 22/10/1957

¹¹ UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, F. Boland, Permanent Mission to the United Nations to F. Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, 17/10/1957

¹² UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, P104/5899, F. Boland to F. Aiken 1/12/1957

¹³ UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, P104/7677, F. Boland to F. Aiken 15/12/1957

¹⁴ UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, P104/7678, F. Boland to F. Aiken 13/1/1958

¹⁵ This campaign is not considered in detail here. It will be discussed in a future paper.

¹⁶ UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, P104/7673, F. Boland to F. Aiken 15/11/1957

¹⁷ Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", 37 Archbishop McQuaid to Fr. Patrick Tuohy 13/11/1957

¹⁸ 40 Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", copy Secretary, Archbishop's House to T.A. Boyle, secretary, Dublin Tostal Council 28/12/1957

¹⁹ NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, Memorandum on the circumstances leading to the postponement of the Dublin Theatre Festival, 1958, 3/3/1958

²⁰ NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, Memorandum on the Dublin Theatre Festival Controversy Compiled from Press Reports, undated

²¹ Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", 29 and 29a note of meeting between Charles Brennan and Fr. O'Regan, 6/1/1958 10.15 a.m.: 30 note of meeting between Charles Brennan and Fr. O'Regan, 6/1/1958 2.25 p.m.

²² NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, Memorandum on the circumstances leading to the postponement of the Dublin Theatre Festival, 1958, 3/3/1958

²³ Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", 59 Bishop J. Rodgers, Ennis to Archbishop J.C. McQuaid 20/1/1958; 61 copy J.C. McQuaid to J. Rodgers 21/1/1958

²⁴ These accounts are in Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", 70 Note unknown author, 5/2/1958 and NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, Memorandum on the circumstances leading to the postponement of the Dublin Theatre Festival, 1958, 3/3/1958

²⁵ NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, copy of T.J. O'Driscoll, Bord Failte to Secretary, Dublin Tostal Council, 14/2/1958

²⁶ Aerlinte Eireann was a sister company of Aer Lingus in which all shares were held by Aer Rianta. Aer Rianta was also the major shareholder in Aer Lingus but a minority shareholding was held by British airlines. The rationale for the sister companies arrangement appears to have been the potential conflict of interest of the British interests involved in Aer Lingus in relation to Irish transatlantic routes.

²⁷ See NAI DFA 321/62 Transatlantic Service by Aerlinte Teo.

²⁸ UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, P104/7680, F.Boland to F. Aiken 9/2/1958

²⁹ The expert panel idea having misfired, Brendan O'Regan pursued his original intention and wrote to Archbishop McQuaid seeking a meeting. The Meeting took place on Thursday 13 February 1958, the day before the letter withdrawing the Bord Failte subvention was issued - Dublin Diocesan Archives, McQuaid Papers, AB/8/6/XXV, File Dublin Tostal Plays Ulysses and O'Casey's "Drums of Father Ned", 72 B. O'Regan to J.C. McQuaid, 10/2/1958, handwritten note on letter

³⁰ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, Memorandum initialled F.H.B., 19/2/58, enclosed with F. Boland to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 21/2/1958. Later, after he had acquired a copy of the letter Boland commented that 'I am not surprised that Monsignor Broderick - presumably on the Cardinal's instructions - omitted the part about the Irish representatives when he read the letter out to the company at the lunch on the 18th February', Ibid. F. Boland to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 22/3/1958

³¹ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, F. Boland to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 22/3/1958

³² NAI DFA PS 5/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, Telegram Uneireann to Estero, 1/5/1958

³³ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, copy J. Hearne, Washington Ambassador to J.A. Belton Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 21/7/1958

³⁴ See NAI Department of the Taoiseach (DT) S 14,602, Most Rev. Dr. R. Cushing Archbishop of Boston (i) pilgrimage to Ireland 1949, 1953, 1958 (ii) Conferring of Honorary Degree by N.U.I. at U.C.C., Aug., 1958

³⁵ NAI DFA 417/156 Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, see clippings “United Nations Irish Attitude on Red China Brings Protest”, Irish Independent 3/10/1957: “Dr. Bella Dodds says: Communists in New Drive to Confuse and Divide Us”, Catholic News 19/10/1957: “Franciscan congress speaker cites threats”, “3rd Order Raps Irish Vote on Chinese Reds”, “Dr. Maurice Leahy Familiar Figure at U.S. Universities”, Boston Sunday Herald 27/10/1957: “Boston Prelate Gets Gold Medal”, Brooklyn Tablet 21/12/57

³⁶ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, F. Boland, PMUN to C. Cremin, Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 22/3/1958

³⁷ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, copy memorandum from J. Shields to Ambassador, 18/6/1958

³⁸ NAI DFA 301/70/3 1. Visit to Ireland 1958 2. Conferring of an Honorary Degree by the N.U.I. on Archbishop Cushing of Boston – 1958 3. Retirement 1970, G. Woods, Boston Consulate to J. Hearne, Washington Embassy 15/7/1958. Ambassador Hearne, referring to Woods’ anxiety, suggested to the Department of External Affairs that Cushing might be the guest of President O’Kelly on the night he was to spend in Dublin. The Archbishop was in fact invited to dine with Aiken and other members of government on this night, an invitation he accepted. Hearne had a meeting with Cushing in September after the Boston Aerlinte inaugural flight ceremonies where ‘at the end of our conversation the Archbishop referred again (as he had done so often during the week) to his recent visit to Ireland and to wonderful reception you [Aiken] gave him. I am sure that it was that visit and the honour paid to him by the government which made him so well disposed towards the airline and decided him to take no action on the telegram which he received from New York on Wednesday’. This telegram appears to have been from the Oriel Society and probably referred to the upcoming UN General Assembly session where discussion on China’s representation would again be raised. On this point Hearne reported that ‘the Archbishop smiled and said; “I’ll keep out of it. It’s none of my business”’, UCD Archives, Aiken Papers, P104/7683 memorandum to Aiken. This is undated and unsigned. The collection finding aid attributes its authorship to Boland: internal evidence suggests that it was Hearne.

³⁹ Ibid. G. Woods, Boston Consulate to T. Woods, Department of External Affairs 8/9/1958: NAI DT S 14,602, Most Rev. Dr. R. Cushing Archbishop of Boston (i) pilgrimage to Ireland 1949, 1953, 1958 (ii) Conferring of Honorary Degree by N.U.I. at U.C.C., Aug., 1958, J. Shields, Washington Embassy to Secretary, Department of External Affairs 11/8/1958

⁴⁰ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62 copy John Leydon, National Bank to Secretary, Department of External Affairs 14/10/1958

⁴¹ NAI DFA 417/156/2 The Question of China at the 13th Session of the U.N., L. McCauley, Ambassador to Holy See to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 17/12/1958

⁴² See NAI DT S 14,602, Most Rev. Dr. R. Cushing Archbishop of Boston (i) pilgrimage to Ireland 1949, 1953, 1958 (ii) Conferring of Honorary Degree by N.U.I. at U.C.C., Aug., 1958 for clippings

⁴³ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, C. Cremin, Secretary, Department of External Affairs to F. Boland, PMUN, 8/3/1958

⁴⁴ Boland moved to London in 1950, the year before the Mother and Child Scheme crisis occurred. Might events then have taken a different course if the 'informal political contact' he had been facilitating was still in operation?

⁴⁵ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, F. Boland, PMUN to C. Cremin, Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 22/3/1958

⁴⁶ NAI DFA PS 35/1 (A), Personal Correspondence with F.H. Boland 1950-62, F. Boland, PMUN to F. Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, 21/2/1958

⁴⁷ NAI DFA P304 Tostal Theatre Festival 1958, Memorandum on the circumstances leading to the postponement of the Dublin Theatre Festival, 1958, 3/3/1958

⁴⁸ 'The change in the censorship after 1957 was not revolutionary; the machinery of censorship was maintained and used to the full; but the attitude of mind of the Board seemed to be quite new. None of the members shared Professor Magennis's view of the Board as a bulwark protecting the minds of Irish men and women from the evil influences of materialism emanating from post-Christian England and America. Rather, one could say that they regarded their task in the same way as a British or French board would have regarded it: as one of making it difficult for the average person to read books which were pornographic and had no literary merit.' (Adams 1968: 122)

⁴⁹ The Preface to Hickey and Smith (1972: 10) states that 'we commenced to research the book early in 1969 and during the following two years interviewed the chief persons in this history'. Archbishop McQuaid, who retired early in 1972, was thus almost certainly still in office at the time of Smith's interview. Had Smith had the opportunity to read the material the McQuaid papers contain, he might have been less hard on the Dublin Tostal Council and less inclined to absolve the Archbishop of responsibility.

⁵⁰ See NAI DTT TTA 12/5, 1 Future of An Tostal 2 Commencement date in 1954 and subsequent years, "An Tostal (1953-1958)" report prepared for Board Failte meeting 29/ 5/1958

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