

Irish Government
Policy and Public
Opinion towards
German-Speaking
Refugees, 1933-1943

Irish Government Policy and Public Opinion towards German-Speaking Refugees, 1933-1943

By

Siobhán O'Connor

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Irish Government Policy and Public Opinion towards German-Speaking
Refugees, 1933-1943

By Siobhán O'Connor

This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2017 by Siobhán O'Connor

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without
the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-5193-0

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5193-0

Dedicated to
Joan O'Connor (née Doyle)
1942-2001

Cornelia Doyle (née O'Shea)
1914-2009

Patrick O'Connor
1933-2011

LingaLing and Kgabo
Bígí bróduil asam!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables and Illustrated Material.....	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
List of Abbreviations	xv
Chapter One.....	1
Introduction and Context	
Chapter Two	17
No Island is an Island! Ireland’s Involvement in the International Reaction to the Refugees	
The League of Nations Reacts to German-speaking Refugees	20
Evian Conference.....	28
The Relationship between Ireland and Britain in Relation to Policy Development.	34
The Relationship between Ireland and Continental Europe in Relation to Policy Development	43
Case Study of the International Community in Action as Depicted in the Media: The Incident of the St Louis.	49
Chapter Three	55
“Die Ahnungslosigkeit der Glücklichen” The Creation and Development of Policy Affecting Refugees 1933-1945	
Chapter Four.....	85
Too Many Cooks...! The Implementation of Policy within Government Departments and Their Agencies	
The Role of the Department of External Affairs.....	85
The Role of the Department of Justice.....	101
The Role of the Department of Industry and Commerce	114
The Role of G2, a Section of the Department of Defence	119

Chapter Five	125
First Port of Call! The Implementation of Policy in the Irish Legations Abroad	
Berlin Legation	127
Geneva Office, Representative to the League of Nations	134
The Irish High Commission, London	135
The Irish Legation in Madrid	139
The Irish Consulate in New York	140
The Irish Legation in Paris	141
The Irish Legation in Rome	144
 Chapter Six	 149
Who Wanted Them? Some Individuals, Institutions and Committees Assist Refugees	
The Work of Individuals	149
The Work of Educational Institutions	155
The Work of Religious Groups	157
The Church of Ireland Jews Society Committee	158
The Society of St Vincent de Paul	162
The Religious Society of Friends (The Quakers)	164
The Jewish Community in Ireland	165
Irish Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees (ICCR)	167
 Chapter Seven	 183
Gradual Impact: Irish Reaction to Germany and German-speaking Refugees	
Opinion Expressed in Ireland Against the German Regime	185
Opinion Expressed in Ireland in Support of the German Regime	196
War Hysteria	211
Irish People React to the Presence of Refugees	213
 Chapter Eight	 225
Who Were the Refugees?-Statistics and Analysis	
Religious Background of Applicants for Visas to Ireland	226
Who Are They?: The Refugees in 1943	231
Who Are They?: The New Irish in 1947	234

Chapter Nine.....	257
Céad Míle Fáilte?	
Post-war Refugees	268
German-speaking Exiles versus Hungarian Refugees: A Lesson Learned?.....	271
Appendix	275
Parliamentary Question Related to Naturalisation	
Bibliography	285
Select Index of Names	307

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL

- Fig. 1-1 Advertisement from the *Meath Chronicle* 11 June 1938.
- Fig: 5-1 Photograph of some of the diplomats and civil servants discussed.
- Fig. 5-2 Photograph of the Irish High Commissioner's Office in London from the *Irish Independent* 14 September 1939.
- Fig. 6-1 Table of some of the private individuals who put their names forward as referees for refugees attempting to access Ireland.
- Fig. 7-1 Table showing War Paraphernalia Sightings
- Fig. 7-2 Photograph "Exiled From Germany" *Irish Times* 16 January 1939.
- Fig. 7-3 Photograph Group of Ardmore Refugees *Irish Times* 16 January 1939
- Fig. 8-1 Chart showing breakdown of applicants by success rate.
- Fig. 8-2 Chart showing breakdown of applicants by religion or categorisation.
- Fig. 8-3 Chart showing breakdown of success rate by religion or categorisation.
- Fig. 8-4 Chart showing the distribution of 1943 refugees based on county of residence.
- Fig: 8-5 Chart showing distribution of 1943 Refugees based on year of arrival in Ireland.
- Fig. 8-6 Chart showing distribution of refugees based on arrival month in 1939.
- Fig: 8-7 Chart showing country of origin of people who naturalised.
- Fig.8-8 Chart showing the top 10 countries of origin of naturalised citizens.
- Fig.8-9 Chart showing the occupation of naturalised German-speaking citizens.
- Fig. 8-10 Table showing people who naturalised as Irish Citizens.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have been written without the support of a large number of people and organisations. I wish to extend my thanks to the Centre for Irish-German Studies, University of Limerick and in particular Dr Gisela Holfter for her guidance and support.

I would initially like to thank the staff, particularly John Delaney, Brendan Martin & Ken Martin in the National Archives of Ireland. I also very much appreciated the help I received from Miriam Tiernan, former archivist for the Department of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore my thanks to all the staff at the National Library of Ireland, Seamus Helferty and Niamh Scannell in the Archives Department in UCD, Irene Stevenson at the Irish Times, Josh Hilliard at the Irish Independent, John Donohoe at the Meath Chronicle, Alan Kinsella at Irish Election Literature, Jane Maxwell in the Manuscripts Department in TCD, The Religious Society of Friends Archives, particularly Mary Shackleton and Betty Pearson, David C. Sheehy at the Dublin Diocesan Archive, Revd. Aidan O'Boyle at The Irish Episcopal Conference, Dr Susan Hood at the Representative Church Body Library, Edel Cuadra at the Society of St Vincent de Paul Archive, the Irish Jewish Museum, the Garda Museum, the Military Archives, Jacqui Hayes in Limerick City Archive, Gerard Gillen & Andrew Sliney at NUI Maynooth, Adrian Oughton at Wilson's Hospital School, Mullingar, Lesley Whiteside at the King's Hospital, Ronan Kelly at RTE, Jim Linehan at the Central Statistics Office, Cork, Mary Cockerill, Southampton University Archives and the Library Service in UL.

I am grateful to those who gave their time and memories to me, Ann Denard, David Finnamore, Mary Gallagher, David & Heather Jones, Margaret Leamond, Robert Lewis Cosby, Berry O'Neill, Adrian Oughton, Monica Schefold, Raphael Siev and Leslie Whiteside.

The kindness of Prof John Horgan, Dr Michael Kennedy, Prof Dermot Keogh, Prof Joseph J. Lee, Dr Mark Maguire, Dr Mervyn O'Driscoll, Dr Joachim Fischer, Prof. Hamish Ritchie, Dr Deirdre McMahan and Hugh Oram in offering their professional guidance and advice is much appreciated. I wish to extend my gratitude to Brock, Ciarán, Aisling & my O'Connor siblings for their support.

With thanks to all at Cambridge Scholars Publishing Limited, especially Victoria, Sophie, Amanda and Courtney.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DDA	Dublin Diocesan Archive
DEA	Department of External Affairs
DI&C	Department of Industry and Commerce
DJ	Department of Justice
DT	Department of Taoiseach
ICCR	Irish Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees
LCCA	Limerick City Council Archive
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NUI	National University of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
RCB	Representative Church Body
RSFA	Religious Society of Friends Archive
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
TD	Teachta Dála, Member of Irish Parliament
UCC	University College Cork
UCD	University College Dublin
UCG	University College Galway

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

Ireland is a country that has gone through many changes in the last thirty years. One of those changes is that it is perceived as a country of exile by those fleeing persecution around the world. In the decades between the 1940s and 2010s migration around Europe had been managed and formalised. But these years are bookended by a massive and unexpected movement, in the 1930s those fleeing National Socialism and in the 2010s, particularly since 2014, is the situation of those fleeing Syria amongst other countries and making their way to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea to Greece and Italy. Many horrific images appeared in the media, particularly in September 2015, which prompted governments in their need to be seen to address that crisis. What is very interesting is how the responses of the Irish government and governments across Europe appear to echo the crisis of the 1930s in Europe. It was as if the framework was developed in the 1930s and it was reactivated in 2015 as the required response. The response to the large scale movement of people in 2015 was the calling of an Emergency EU meeting in Brussels to tackle the crisis. This action is reminiscent of the call in 1938 for a meeting of governments in Evian to discuss the German situation. The results of both meetings were remarkably similar. There was the declaration of many states of an intention to close or limit border crossings and the pronouncements of national government officials indicating what their response would be to deal with the crisis. Ireland's delegation returned from both meetings, although more than 80 years apart, responding in a similar fashion. In both cases, initially sympathy was given along with regret that due to Ireland's economic situation there was limits to what Ireland could offer. Due to growing public pressure in support of the refugees, on both occasions, a number was agreed upon and help offered to those people. In both eras, over time, that limited number was increased slightly and once those people arrived they were left to the philanthropic or community and voluntary sector in the most part and were free to get on with their lives with limited oversight by state agencies.

This book tells the story of the first cohort of people affected by the original crisis. Immigration into Ireland was not a new phenomenon by 1933. Cormac Ó Gráda's¹ research tracks the movement of "Litvak" Jews to Ireland prior to then. He showed such migration was as a result of forced flight from pogroms and discriminatory laws in earlier countries of migration but also where people chose to follow their townspeople or families specifically to Ireland for economic advancement. There was a tradition in certain areas that Ireland was a chosen place of migration. Dermot Keogh² and Ray Rivlin³ discuss the movement of people, specifically Jewish, from other European countries to Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, while "German Jews in Victorian Britain and Ireland"⁴ gives evidence of migration into Ireland from Europe. Although this last mentioned source focuses more on Northern Ireland, there is reference to other areas of the island as well, notably Isaac Isaacs, a well-known dulcimer player and Lewis Wormser Harris, the first Jew to emerge in Irish public life, both of whom lived in Dublin.⁵

Jewish people were not alone at the immigration officers' desks. The building of the Hydro-electric power station at Ardnacrusha⁶ by the German company Siemens-Schuckert shows that there were many opportunities in Ireland for skilled labour, craftsmen, and technical experts if they were willing to leave their country of origin, even if only on a temporary basis, and come to Ireland. Italian Terrazzo workers also found a way for Ireland to benefit from their skills and fill a skills void.⁷

How these early twentieth century migrants to Ireland were treated once they arrived and established themselves is beyond the scope of this

¹ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

² Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002).

³ Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland: A Social History of Jews in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2003).

⁴ "German Jews in Victorian Britain and Ireland" MS174 (AJ254) a/4 in the Parkes Archives of Southampton University is a collection of documents relating to various families and businesses in Ireland.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ This was a large capital investment and ambitious engineering project undertaken by the Irish Free State to modernise the country during the 1920s. It was collaboration by W.T. Cosgrave's government and German company Siemens. For further information see Andy Bielenberg, *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State* (Dublin: Lilliput, 2002).

⁷ NAI DEA 1/220 Michael Rynne, Department of External Affairs to the Secretary, Department of Justice, 7 February 1936.

work except perhaps it can help to shed some light onto the outlook of the Irish population from 1933. With regard to the Jewish settlers, anti-Semitism was a strong force in turn of the century Ireland and was not something that was kept hidden. Many of the earlier writings of Arthur Griffith,⁸ a prominent and respected Irish politician, in the *United Irishman* newspaper highlight how publicly such views were aired. The people living with the new settlers also expressed their opinion, or their following of others' opinions, in very public ways. Keogh elaborates in detail the various anti-Semitic outbreaks throughout the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries focusing in particular on the so-called Limerick "pogrom" of 1904, a boycott of Jewish business based on the guidance and preaching of the Catholic Church in Limerick.⁹ Manus O'Riordan writes of similar incidents that took place in 1914 such as: "Jewish citizens were rounded up in Mullingar, Thurles and Fermoy as suspected German spies".¹⁰ He goes into greater detail on a so-called "Dublin Pogrom" in the same year. In this incident Irish people were said to be motivated by political guidance based on "John Redmond's and Tom Kettle's call to arms".¹¹ Attacks were carried out on the business premises and living quarters belonging to Germans or those of German extraction in Dublin city centre.¹² There were many fears about newcomers expressed in the number of grievances and violent incidents that took place around the Ardnacrusha scheme development, the electrification scheme involving the Irish government and German company Siemens-Schuckert.¹³ There was at least one fatality and many stories of exploitation of migrant workers. There were also objections made to the government against the presence of the Italian Terrazzo workers who came to Ireland.¹⁴ But such

⁸ He published many anti-Semitic articles in the *United Irishman* newspaper, the instrument of early Sinn Féin see <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2003-4/ireland.htm> and http://p-www.iwate-pu.ac.jp/~acro-ito/Joyce_pics2005/Joyce2005kLIM/imageidx.html accessed 5 September 2007.

⁹ Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, 19-57.

¹⁰ Manus O'Riordan, "Connolly's Fight Against Anti-Semitism and Anti-German Racism" presented at The Dr. Douglas Hyde Conference at Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, Saturday 21 July 2001 on <http://www.geocities.com/irishafa/history.html> accessed 13 April 2005.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ For further details about this fascinating story see Michael McCarthy, *High Tensions: Life on the Shannon Scheme* (Dublin: Lilliput, 2004).

¹⁴ National Archives of Ireland (hereafter NAI) Department of External Affairs (hereafter DEA) 1/220 Michael Rynne, Department of External Affairs to the Secretary, Department of Justice, 7 February 1936.

incidents focussed on any non-indigenous person who came to the locality, both foreign and internal migrants. Strangers in the midst were looked on with suspicion. The intriguing story about the Rath Chairm Gaeltacht whereby 27 Irish-speaking families from Connemara were resettled in Co. Meath and given farms and houses by the Land Commission there highlighted this distrust.¹⁵ The fear of increased numbers became a political and election issue in the area which encouraged newspaper adverts by political parties advocating for “No More Migrants”.

The Country Wants a Change

MEATH WANTS NO MORE MIGRANTS !!

Vote 1, 2, 3, in order of your Choice for

GILES

SWEENEY

FAGAN

THE FINE GAEL CANDIDATES.

Send your Subscription
NOW
to F. W. MOORHEAD,
Solicitor, Trim,
or to any of the Candidates.

Published by Fred W. Moorhead, LL.B., Solicitor, Trim, Election Agent for the Candidates.

Fig. 1-1 *Meath Chronicle* 11 June 1938.¹⁶

The migrants in this instance were people from Co. Mayo in the West of Ireland. They were foreign enough based on their language, Irish, and their different customs to be considered a threat. These samples of the actions of the local communities in Clare and Meath highlight the keen parochial attitudes of Irish life both before and during the time being discussed.

¹⁵ See Barry Sheppard, (2015) “Ráthcairn: Land and Language Reform in the Irish Free State” on www.theirishstory.com accessed May 2016 for more on this interesting tale.

¹⁶ Reproduced with the kind permission of *The Meath Chronicle*. Reference with thanks to @electionlit on www.twitter.com.

Whether an individual was from the next town, county, country or continent was not relevant, it was because they were not from the immediate area, that distrust and enmity were what they encountered.

Irish people were also migrants and were travelling abroad for employment or for personal ambition throughout the nineteenth century. They were often following the advancement of the British Empire.¹⁷ Working for the British army, for the British administration, or against them,¹⁸ or in the religious proselytising missions was an outlet for those with an adventurous spirit or because of economic necessity to leave the confines of agricultural Ireland. Although one of the largest migration routes was to Britain many Irish people went to Africa, America and continental Europe. Some of these travellers subsequently returned with non-Irish spouses bringing an international tinge to the parochial attitudes of their places of birth.

Throughout this book the attitudes of government ministers, diplomats, the civil servants and the general public are examined. These attitudes evolved in the society where the incidents like those in Rath Chairn and Ardnacrusha developed. They evolved at a time of the Irish links to the British Empire. Their perceptions and reactions to the migrants to Ireland are the object of that examination.

Between 1933-1939 the United Kingdom received some 80,000 to 90,000 refugees from countries under Nazi rule. Some 20,000 to 30,000 of these re-emigrated before the outbreak of the war. [...] Incidentally, few of them sought refuge in the UK immediately, preferring places such as Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Switzerland, or the Scandinavian countries whose borders are contiguous with Germany.¹⁹

While Britain may not have been a first preference country of exile for refugees likewise Ireland would not have been the destination of choice for many. It made sense that people, when forced to emigrate, would try to stay close to their own country of origin or go to a country that shared a language or a similar cultural base or both to their own. It would only be more desperate straits that would force people to move large distances to alien concepts and traditions. Hence the fact that between a quarter and a third of those who did land in Britain further emigrated would perhaps

¹⁷ Keith Jeffery (ed.), *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

¹⁸ Anthony J. Jordan (ed.), *Boer War to Easter Rising: The Writing of John MacBride* (Dublin: Westport Books, 2006).

¹⁹ Yvonne Kapp & Margaret Mynatt, *British Policy and the Refugees 1933-1941* (London: Frank Cass, 1997). 13.

imply that the refugees used Britain as a stop gap to a preferred location, either the United States where there were large ethnic communities or, in the case of some Jews, to Palestine where the Zionists were laying the foundations for the future Jewish State. This book shows that Ireland was also seen as a transitory point to the preferred location. Many applicants, with other intended destinations in mind, needed a place to stay until their quota number, in the case of the United States, or their visa was issued. This requirement for further migration was integrated into official Irish government policy in the late 1930s.

Some did choose Ireland. Due to the increasing industrialisation of Ireland there was a large number of companies requiring qualified people from abroad to work while they were also theoretically training the indigenous population at the same time. Work permits for foreign workers were being issued to big companies such as Siemens-Schuckert (Ireland) Ltd. based in Dublin, Roscrea Meat products in Tipperary, Les Modes Modernes in Galway, Sunbeam Wolsey in Cork and Irish Steel in Dublin. Permits were also being issued to smaller companies who looked for foreign staff with specialist skills, private individuals who required domestic workers particularly governesses with a foreign language and schools looking for foreign language teachers. It was beneficial for refugees to be able to fill one of these positions because once the work permit was issued the visa could follow, though not automatically. It would depend on the urgency of the role. Of those that were successful many applied for continual renewals for residency rather than return to German territories. Hence there was both a history of immigration into Ireland as well as established routes to get there and reasons to come. Some arrived in the country by chance or accident others by intent.

This book focuses on the Irish state as an entity and an independent legislature that was determined to legislate for the consequences of this immigration, particularly as these numbers rose in the ten years under examination here. While circumstances changed on continental Europe, this had an extreme effect on Irish government policy developments, which are still in place today. This book begins by looking at the policy and the decision makers and concludes by examining the indigenous populations and their understanding. How these two distinct issues link is where the policy has an effect on the Irish population and it is following this thread that this study journeys. On this basis the chapters that follow are thematic though within each chapter there is a chronological, narrative structure. It is important to see the shift from legislation being created in order to limit access to Ireland becoming an issue with which Irish people have to become involved.

By doing this the book examines the development of Ireland's migration policy using the story of Irish government attitudes whilst touching on Irish public opinion towards the first large cohort of refugees who sought safety in Ireland after Ireland became an independent legislature in the 1920s. The German-speaking refugees were that first wave of people seeking assistance from Ireland in its capacity as a self-governing country. This book is based on research for the *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland Project*²⁰ which filled a void in international Exile Studies, the Irish perspective. As Gisela Holfter pointed out, the project "add[ed] another much needed dimension to discussions on immigration"²¹ domestically while the necessary inclusion of Ireland in international Exile Studies is required in order to give a more complete picture of events as they unfolded at this time. This project is particularly relevant in a contemporary sense as the Irish State is currently coming to grips with the concept of multi-culturalism created by a large immigration movement into a previously predominantly emigration culture.

Chapter 2 works from the stand point that since the policies of Ireland should not be viewed in isolation it is worthwhile to begin with a review of international policy and its impact on Irish policy. The chapter examines the immigration policy of European states and the work of the League of Nations. There were many differences in the legislation that was created by the states which were determined by economic interdependencies and geographic proximity to Germany, the hub of the refugee movement, since each state is autonomous. What is also interesting is the number of similarities across Europe in some elements of policy development. At times it appears uniform or at least based on similar principles despite the autonomy of the individual governments. Because of the strong economic and cultural links between Ireland and Britain, a contrast and comparison between these two countries is treated separately within this second chapter. As its nearest neighbour and in its tenuous state Ireland depended on the stronger, Britain, to respect it as a new jurisdiction with a form of independence. The many commonalities between the two countries could be drawn upon in the development of policy but some of the differences were notable as well.

Within the book, using a retrospective vantage point, there is a focus on the dual themes of Irish government policy and its effect on both the

²⁰ This original research for this book is part of a project that was supported by IRCHSS. It is led by Dr Gisela Holfter at the University of Limerick, the other contributors have included Dr Hermann Rasche, Dr Horst Dickel and Birte Schulz.

²¹ Gisela Holfter, *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2006), 1.

refugees and the indigenous population. Chapter 3 highlights how at the time there was no distinction between a refugee and an economic or social migrant in Irish policy. For example one piece of legislation, Order No. 108, stated that an *alien* had to be able to support himself and if intending to work, had to procure a work permit from the Department of Industry and Commerce.²² For those designated “Jewish” or *non-Aryan* by the German government the problem of attempting to leave Germany was that they were not permitted to take valuables or money out of Germany and therefore often could not meet the first criterion. If they were fortunate enough to receive a work permit under Irish practice they could only take it up if they were also granted an Irish visa. To get a visa for the majority of cases meant that the individual was not debarred from re-entering their country of origin. In the cases of the German designated *non-Aryans* or Jewish people, re-entering German territories was not a safe option. This too prevented those most at risk from gaining access to Ireland. This small example shows how the legislation was being created in a protectionist and reactionary way, as we will see very much along the same lines as the rest of Europe. The needs of those immediately affected by the legislation were not considered nor were any peripheral consequences. This chapter highlights how through the evolution of policy during the period it became increasingly difficult to enter Ireland as a non-Irish national regardless of your background, your means or your circumstances.

The *Aliens Act, 1935* was the legislation created to deal with immigration of both refugees and migrants coming to Ireland and is still the foundation upon which current legislation in Ireland is based today. This early Irish legislation has not been repealed; instead it has been added to and built upon until it evolved into the current myriad of legislation that exists in twenty-first century Ireland.²³ The historical understandings put into the various acts and amendments throughout 1933-1945 are reflected in the contemporary legislation. The policies adopted by the government departments in the 1930s are still evident within the culture of these departments, notably the Department of External (Foreign) Affairs and the Department of Justice.

Chapter 4 looks at how these policies were implemented. Four separate government departments were responsible for *aliens* in Ireland and each of them had very diverse interpretations of the legislation based on their own

²² *Aliens Order, 1935* Dublin: 1935.

²³ Although it had been years in development, the previously titled Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2010 and its new incarnation, the International Protection Bill, 2015 and later the International Protection Act 2015 only came into effect on the 31 December 2016.

ethos and remit. For example, for the Department of Industry and Commerce, if an *alien* could fill a professional or skills gap or if they could establish an industry providing local employment, the remit of that department was satisfied and hence the department would endorse that visa application. However, if potential immigrants were going to add to an already saturated sector, e.g. dentistry, the application faced rejection by department officials. On the other hand, the Department of External Affairs was trying to impress the International Community particularly the League of Nations by agreeing to help while at the same time not to offend the German State, a potential economic partner. Since its focus was the elevation of the status of Ireland, if any refugees had to be permitted, highly respected individuals were targeted such as Nobel Prize-winning Austrian physicist, Erwin Schrödinger. Further additions to the complexity of the issue were the ideologies of the Department of Defence and the Department of Justice whose concerns for national security and civil peace complicated the matter. Each department had its own requirements and expectations of how *aliens* policy should and would be implemented. Each was in positions of power to influence it.

In the legislation over the decades from the 1930s the term *alien* has been changed to, on differing occasions, non-national, non-Irish national, foreign national, asylum seeker, refugee, migrant, economic migrant, undocumented worker, illegal immigrant and immigrant amongst many others. The definition of *alien* in the 1930s included all these degrees of immigrant status and bias that each of these labels has toward the particular person upon whom it is ascribed. The legislation discussed in this research represents the first opportunity an independent Irish government and civil service had to create and implement such a policy, and how it was formulated has repercussions today. Chapter 5 narrows the focus of the previous chapter by looking closely at an arm of one of the above mentioned departments, that of External Affairs. To highlight the arbitrary nature of the legislation in practice this chapter examines the roles of the High Commissions and Legations in the various states from where applications were made. Although each government department above and each consulate evaluated in this chapter were working from the same policy documents, the consulates in a microcosmic way show how differently the pieces of policy could be interpreted. The semi-autonomous position held by the consulates gave them a higher level of individual discretion than their colleagues in Dublin and this chapter examines how this autonomy was used by the ministers abroad in relation to refugee applications.

The legislation aimed at people categorised as *aliens* also affected the population already living in Ireland. In general, governments engage with the electorate in order to ensure what they are doing is acceptable to them but also that it is in keeping with the mind-set of those they claim to represent. Once so-called *aliens* were allowed entry into Ireland in the capacity of refugee or temporary or permanent resident, their presence altered the surroundings in which they lived. They impacted on the lives of the indigenous population by their very existence; they brought new customs and new perspectives with them. For example Monica Schefold, a young German child whose family fled to Ireland remembers “our birthday parties never came up to scratch and were different”.²⁴ The memory of her childhood friend Ann Gallagher was, “those fabulous parties at your house – all that cake, your mother dressed up as a magician, and we were all allowed to play on your father’s violin—it was the highlight”.²⁵ This exposure by the young Irish girl to German culture through the child’s birthday party remained with her throughout her life. The recently arrived migrant felt her difference. Both were impacted on and changed by their interactions with each other which was facilitated through the migration of the German-speaking family.

Chapter 6 continues with this theme with an in-depth analysis of some public opinion towards Jews in general and German-speaking exiles in particular. This chapter examines the philanthropic individuals, institutions and agencies that attempted to offer escape routes to Ireland. These people advocated on behalf of relatives, friends, colleagues and strangers much to the annoyance of the various government departments. As a result of their campaigning an official committee was set up and the concept of refugee as distinct from migrant became used in a limited way. The evolution of this committee is discussed in this chapter along with its activities.

Chapter 7 in this book evaluates how the policy and the evolving international situation impacted on the Irish public. One such impact was that in the 1930s the notion that the wife of an *alien* is an *alien*, was being reassessed. This was a stringent belief in Irish diplomatic circles from as early as 1920s and throughout the period being discussed yet was being diluted in legislation. Likewise, this chapter explores the impact of the policies on the child of an *alien* and the effect the legislation might have on the family unit. To this end I have found examples where Irish women became trapped in war-time Germany, potentially under threat because

²⁴ Monica Schefold, “Childhood Memories in Ireland from 1939-1956” in, Gisela Holfter *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945* (Amsterdam/ New York: Rodopi, 2006), 249-264.

²⁵ Ibid.

they married a husband who was then considered a so-called *non-Aryan* or *persona non-grata* to the German State. This chapter also looks at expressed Irish public opinion toward the Allies, the Axis, neutrality, the war and Fascism. By doing this a general sense of the viewpoint of the Irish public can be established while also deriving an impression of how that could change when an individual was inadvertently affected more immediately by a policy that was created without them in mind.

Chapter 8 examines who came to Ireland and collates some of the statistical information about the refugees in Ireland and analyses what these figures indicate; what refugees came, how they came and what they did when they settled in Ireland. This illustrated some of the effect the new arrivals had on their host society. Sometimes this effect and the impact of the legislation on the broader community was implicit whilst other times it was explicit. This was evident in a multitude of scenarios elaborated on in this book such as xenophobes having to tolerate (or not) an alien living near them; an Irish person choosing a non-Irish spouse; a non-Irish relative attempting to enter Ireland; or an Irish person attempting to leave the State. Each of these scenarios could determine personal opinion and have it voiced in a public capacity that could impact on legislation in the future.

The book culminates in the final chapter which gives insights into the legacy of the policy created in the 1930s to deal with the German-speaking exiles and the consequences that policy has for subsequent migration generally and refugee legislation particularly. By considering examples of cohorts of refugees who arrived subsequently there is evidence of the new policy being retried. Latterly we return to the earlier comparative of the 1930s, and the foundations that were laid then for now, the 2015/2017 so-called “migrant crisis”.

This book is a part of the disciplinary framework Exile Studies. Exile Studies is a multidisciplinary evaluation of the causes and consequences of the movement of German-speaking exiles out of the expanding German territories and across the world. Exile Studies requires an evaluation of host country policy, consideration of specific refugee groups such as high profile literary figures or academics or groupings of refugees based on commonalities between them. This is a point expounded by Ritchie in his overview of “Refugees from Nazism”.²⁶ He maintained the importance of understanding the exile experience from the perspective of the varying groupings of the exiles and the related level of success they achieved both in how they were received by the host nation and how they fared within

²⁶ J. M. Ritchie, *German Exiles: British Perspectives* (New York, Washington D.C., et al: Peter Lang, 1997), 8-29.

it.²⁷ Benz elaborated by saying that “research into exile during the Third Reich began with the memoirs of the émigrés themselves”.²⁸ Interest around such themes was roused relatively soon in the post-war era. One such publication was in 1959 by Lord Beveridge who was instrumental in helping many academics to escape persecution in Nazi Germany.²⁹ In the 1960s and 1970s further research on the exiled scholars was published by academics such as Herbert Marcuse, Walter Adams and Horst Widmann³⁰ amongst others. Researchers were also becoming aware of and focussing studies on prominent literary figures, such as Thomas Mann³¹ and Bertolt Brecht³² as well as Wilhelm Sternfeld³³ and Karl Otten.³⁴ The evolution of Exile Studies also turned to the “exile of the ordinary people”³⁵ by creating overviews and handbooks.³⁶ As Stephan stated, “the achievements of Exile Studies in the past four decades thus have proved considerable in both quantity and quality”.³⁷ This book focuses particularly on the experiences of ordinary people in exile and the effect Irish policy had on them. This book also examines the impact of the exiles on their host community in

²⁷ Ibid., 9.

²⁸ Wolfgang Benz, “Exile Studies: Development and Trends” in *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945* ed. Holfter, 21.

²⁹ Lord Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), cf. Holfter, “An Introduction and Overview” in *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945*, ed. Holfter 1-19.

³⁰ Herbert Marcuse, “Der Einfluß der deutschen Emigration auf das amerikanische Geistesleben; Philosophie und Soziologie” in *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 10 (1965), 27-33; Walter Adams, “The Refugee Scholars of the 1930s” in *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 39, issue 1, January 1968; Horst Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe. Die deutschsprachige akademische Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933. Mit einer Bio-Bibliographie der emigrierten Hochschullehrer im Anhang*, (Bern/ Frankfurt am M., Peter Lang, 1973), cf. Holfter, *German Speaking Exiles* “An Introduction and Overview”, 13-14.

³¹ Richard Winston and Clara Winston, *Letters of Thomas Mann, 1889-1955. Selected and Translated from the German* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1971).

³² John Fuegi, *Bertolt Brecht: Chaos, According to Plan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

³³ Ritchie, *German Exiles: British Perspectives*, 30-46.

³⁴ Ibid., 71-95.

³⁵ Benz, “Exile Studies: Development and Trends” in *German-Speaking Exiles*, ed. Holfter, 21.

³⁶ Ibid., 23. Benz cites the examples of Werner Röder and Herbert A. Strauss (eds), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*, 3 vols. (Munich, New York et al: Gale Research Company, 1980-1983), 34.

³⁷ Alexander Stephan, *Exile and Otherness: New Approaches to the Experience of the Nazi Refugees* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 9.

terms of legislation and the impact of the legislation on both communities. The many individual exile experiences sourced through interviews and memoirs are employed here to show what moulded Irish government policy toward them and Irish thoughts around them as evidenced in the actions of the Irish population and the legislation passed by government.

In order to show what place this research has in the field of Exile Studies, consideration needs to be given to the key texts and research in the area. Ireland in Exile Studies is noted by its absence. Until relatively recently no research had been published. Gisela Holfter's edited volume *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945*,³⁸ is the first publication dedicated solely to this. Her volume was the first step to placing Ireland in international Exile Studies. Within it an overview of Exile Studies in context and the historical background are discussed. Also pertinent to this book are the informative individual portraits and the personal accounts of the exiles themselves that are included in the volume which give life to the legislation and policy.

As well as being placed in Exile Studies this book is an historical account. "Historiography in the English speaking world, in contrast to the more overtly theoretical French, Italian and German traditions, tends to emphasise the empirical dimensions of history".³⁹ With an empirical approach in a search for particularities and what is unique to Ireland, if anything, comparisons and contrasts are made between the actions of various European states in order to see what methods were being followed and how Ireland was influenced. At the time Ireland was a member of the League of Nations and was attempting to establish relationships beyond Britain through the opening of consulates in many European states. To this end it is relevant to examine the actions of these states and what similarities or differences can be seen between them and Ireland. The actions and reactions of these states and Ireland highlight the influence of external forces on Irish policy decision-making. Publications such as Michael Marrus' *The Unwanted*⁴⁰ and Caestecker and Moore's *Refugees from Nazi German and the Liberal European States*,⁴¹ help to show where Ireland may fit into the context of European policy. These two texts give an overview of world reaction to the events surrounding the movement of German-speaking exiles. When evaluating the development of Ireland's

³⁸ Holfter, *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933-1945*.

³⁹ Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2006), 56.

⁴⁰ Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees from the First World War Through the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

⁴¹ Frank M Caestecker & Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).

policy for this book Caestecker & Moore's evaluation of the actions of other European countries was considered. The issue they highlight of external factors relating to proximity to country of flight was not relevant to Ireland. Nonetheless the issue they raise of the concern for the economic relationship between the country of exile, in this case Ireland, and Germany as well as Ireland's domestic concerns of self-interest were reflected in the thought processes of policy developers in Ireland as much as the highlighted self-interest of the other European states in relation to Germany were factors in the policy development elsewhere. Marrus on the other hand views the actions of national governments from the perspective of the refugees seeking to gain admittance to the more liberal states. He illustrated the difficulties that arose particularly as time went on and as the German regime became harsher toward them, as he calls them, "unwanted" categories of people. Once more, notable in its absence in these works is an in-depth evaluation of Ireland though it is briefly referenced in Marrus' work. This book is addressing this deficit by making visible Ireland's role within the comparative framework

As a historical study, one significant difficulty was settling upon suitable terminology to describe the predicament of the people from continental Europe while also taking into account their identities in their country of refuge. There are limitations to the words exile and refugee. I refer to all German-speaking people who came to Ireland to flee National Socialist policy as "refugees". I do not differentiate between practising Jews or those who were designated "Jew", "Mischling" or "non-Aryan" by the Nazi regime. I also include under the term refugee those who succeeded in acquiring work permits and used them as a means to leave German territory, rather than only considering those labelled by the Irish establishment as refugee. I also include Irishwomen who married German men and hence lost their own citizenship as well as the children of these German-Irish unions. I do this because current terminology such as asylum seeker, subsidiary protection and leave to remain have specific definitions in various documents from the United Nations since the 1950s and Ireland's legislation and policy since then. These were not suitable labels to ascribe as the concepts and definitions clashed in too many ways. In the 1930s the term *alien* was used to describe all non-Irish people living in Ireland affected by Irish legislation. The term refugee was applied to a person (undesirable or otherwise) who wished to leave their country of origin for various reasons and was not considered useful to Irish society. However, the same person could be described as both and the former was not always in the negative especially if a use might be found for them. In this work both terms, refugee and *alien*, are used to describe the German-