

# The Irish World, FDR and the Great Depression

BY BRIAN HANLEY

In March 1934, reflecting on Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first year in office the New York based *Irish World* expressed the hope that "this good man will be spared for many years to come to serve his people and to lead them back to the principles of real Americanism."<sup>1</sup> This reflected the extremely supportive tone of the paper's coverage of the first year of the New Deal. As far as the *Irish World* was concerned America during 1933 had seen a "complete revolution" led by a man who "felt the needs of the country and of the people."<sup>2</sup>

Yet within two years the paper would express bitter disillusionment with FDR, who had become "an entirely different individual to the President who entered the White House in 1933." Roosevelt was now a "friend of the money lords" and "an ally of the financier and of big business."<sup>3</sup> By 1939 the *Irish World* was even denouncing FDR as both a "Marxist" and an agent of British Imperialism, intent on dragging the United States into a European war.<sup>4</sup> This shift in attitude was emblematic of a wider disenchantment among a section of Irish America with Roosevelt and his policies. This article will seek to explain this transformation in attitudes by examining the politics of the *Irish World* newspaper both prior to and during the Great Depression and the worldview that it promoted.

## FROM 1870 TO THE 1930S

*The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator* was just one of four weekly newspapers serving the Irish community in New York during the 1930s. As well as the *Irish World*, there was also



the *Gaelic American*, the *Advocate*, and the *Irish Echo*. However, the *World* had the longest history of the four papers having been founded in 1870. Under its founder and first editor, Patrick Ford, it had played a key role in mobilizing support in America for the Land League and in espousing a range of progressive causes, including support for labor organization and women's rights.<sup>5</sup> Although the paper had been initially supportive of the Irish Home Rule Party in its quest for self-

government, after the beginning of the First World War it swung behind the cause of militant republicanism.<sup>6</sup> *The World* opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 and supported the anti-Treaty IRA during the Irish Civil War, a position that led to a bitter dispute with the pro-Treaty *Gaelic American*. During this dispute the *Irish World* even accused veteran Fenian John Devoy, the editor of the *Gaelic American*, of "felon setting" and colluding in the Free State's execution of IRA leaders.<sup>7</sup>

After 1923 the paper remained staunchly supportive of Eamon de Valera, firstly as *Sinn Fein* leader and then as President of *Fianna Fail*. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s it gave weekly publicity to the activities of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic (AARIR) which supported *Fianna Fail*, while also giving regular coverage to the IRA's American support organization, *Clan na Gael*. This coverage and the paper's bitter hostility to the government of the "traitor" William Cosgrave led to the *Irish World* being banned in the Irish Free State between November 1931 and

### Illustration:

1933. Harold H. Sims, 20, a cadet in the CCC, pictured holding his painted portrait of FDR with "A New Deal" printed on a banner beneath FDR's profile. Because of supply shortages, the painting was made on the canvas from an old army cot. The painting was sent as a gift to the President by camp officers.

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**Illustration:**  
The plans and policies of Franklin Roosevelt were strongly supported by the *Irish World* during the early years of his first administration. By early 1935 the paper had become much more critical toward them. Courtesy of The Library of Congress.

March 1932. The paper was also banned in Northern Ireland.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, following his election in March 1932 as President of the Free State, de Valera personally thanked the *Irish World* for its support, saying that it had “never failed” the republican cause in Ireland. The paper was also thanked for its “magnificent stand” by the IRA leadership.<sup>9</sup> By any standards the *Irish World* had impeccable Irish republican credentials.

However, at least as attractive to its readers as its political tone was the extensive coverage that the *World* gave to Irish affairs. The paper’s front-page headline and several of its editorial columns usually concerned events in Ireland. There were weekly county by county round ups of domestic Irish news as well as an Irish history page. The *World* heavily promoted Irish dances, social events and the activities of the various county associations in New York. It also carried regular reports on Gaelic football and hurling in the New York area as well as the region’s immigrant soccer scene.<sup>10</sup> Hence, the paper appealed strongly to an immigrant audience, eager for both news from home and the goings on among the Irish in New York.

The extent to which the *Irish World* provided sympathetic coverage of labor issues was notable. The paper was proud that it had

“championed the workers’ cause” from its very “first issue.” It reminded its readers that it had defended the Molly Maguires and the Knights of Labor during the 1870s when many others had denounced them.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the years of the Depression it reported sympathetically on strikes throughout America. The struggles of mill workers in Allentown, Pennsylvania, miners in Illinois and Longshoremen in San Francisco all featured in its pages.<sup>12</sup> The *Irish World* also strongly supported the efforts of the newly formed Transport Workers Union to organize among the New York transit workforce, unlike some of its rivals among the Irish press.<sup>13</sup> While hostile to communism the *Irish World* did not allow this hostility to overwhelm its opposition to economic inequality. The *World* argued that communism was growing because of genuine misery and deprivation and that radical reform was needed to alleviate this situation. The “real cause” of the Depression lay in the “greed and selfishness” of the “bosses themselves.”<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the paper had no difficulty backing the “heroes” of the “Bonus Army” when they marched on Washington during 1932, or supporting the radical Upton Sinclair’s bid for governor of California in 1934.<sup>15</sup> Indeed the “shame” which the paper expressed at the use of troops to disperse the “half-starved veterans” of the Bonus Army was a factor in its support for the “uprising” against Hoover in November 1932.<sup>16</sup> That month it urged its readers to rid themselves of the “worst administration” in U.S. history.<sup>17</sup> It had already argued that the re-election of Hoover would mean disaster for the “farmers, the veterans (and) the people” as his Republican Party had come to represent only the “Bankers” and the “Bigots.”<sup>18</sup>

#### GREETING ROOSEVELT’S VICTORY

It was hardly surprising then that Roosevelt’s victory was greeted enthusiastically by the *World*. FDR’s inaugural speech was said to have electrified the nation as he “flayed” the “money changers.”<sup>19</sup> Having fought for years against the “rule of the bankers, the financiers” and “money-changers” itself, the paper was delighted that the President was now dedicated to the same struggle. The *World* believed that Roosevelt possessed the “patriotism, the courage and...simple

Christian spirit” needed to see that fight through.<sup>20</sup> “At last,” the paper declared, we “have an American in the White House.”<sup>21</sup>

Throughout 1933 Roosevelt was lauded for ending Prohibition, “stripping” the banks of their power, cutting drastically into the “morass of waste and extravagance” and introducing unemployment and farm relief. The paper proudly displayed the Blue Eagle, the symbol of the National Recovery Association in every edition.<sup>22</sup> “For the first time in many years,” the *World* stated, America had a President whose “first thoughts are for the Republic and the citizens of the Republic.”<sup>23</sup> The paper also urged every “patriotic American” to “work and pray” for the success of the New Deal, under which child labor and sweat shop wages had been eliminated and the average wage increased.<sup>24</sup>

Yet by 1935 the praise that had been heaped on Roosevelt was increasingly replaced by worry about the President’s behavior. “The people,” the *World* editorialized, “want the Roosevelt of 1932; not the Roosevelt of 1935.”<sup>25</sup> Now it was felt that FDR had “become a friend of the money lords,” an “entirely different” individual to the one who had entered the White House in 1933.<sup>26</sup> While it was not “too late” for FDR to “keep faith with the people,” to do so he was urged to rid himself of ninety percent of his advisors and cease “intriguing” to push the U.S. into the World Court. Roosevelt’s failed attempt to secure approval of a treaty affiliating the U.S. to the World Court was the focus for initial disillusionment. But the paper complained of FDR’s failure to solve economic problems as well. Despite the New Deal, the “forgotten man” was still “sunk to his neck in oblivion” and the unemployed and labor stood in a “worse position than before.” While the *Irish World* condemned “die-hard Toryism” and the power of the “money changers” it also opposed “red radicalism,” signs of which it increasingly claimed to see in the Roosevelt administration.<sup>27</sup> But the World Court issue hit a nerve precisely because opposition to the court and the League of Nations were key issues for the *Irish World*.

#### PERCEPTION OF BRITISH INFLUENCE

On these issues, the *Irish World* echoed many themes that were shared by a broader Irish



**Illustration:** Eamon deValera expressed his gratitude to the *Irish World*, citing its constant support for republicanism in Ireland. Courtesy of The Library of Congress.

American constituency. The paper was intensely hostile to what it perceived as undue British influence in the United States and extremely defensive about what it saw as anti-Irish discrimination. Right throughout the 1920s, efforts to promote U.S. entry into the World Court and the League of Nations were opposed as attempts to undermine American independence. The League of Nations, the *Irish World* believed, was established to safeguard the British Empire. Any American involvement would drag the U.S. into Britain’s wars. Thus the League and World Court were the “most threatening conspiracy” that the US had faced since the breakaway of the Confederacy.<sup>28</sup> The *World* considered that Britain plotted to weaken America’s Navy in order to leave it in control of the seas. When the world powers met in London to discuss placing limits on naval power, the paper was aghast. The *Irish World* declared that the “real object” of the talks was to “cripple our first line” and the paper appealed to its readers to mobilize against ratification of the treaty.<sup>29</sup> Roosevelt’s willingness to affiliate to the World Court was seen by the *Irish World* as part of this wider British influenced anti-Irish conspiracy.

The *World* argued that America was ruled by an “invisible government” controlled by an

Anglophile elite that was determined to reintegrate the U.S. into the British Empire.<sup>30</sup> Having fooled America into sacrificing thousands of lives in the “huge blunder” of the First World War, Britain now robbed the U.S. by its refusal to pay its war debts. The “Anglophiles” saw it as America’s “supreme duty” to rescue England whenever she was “exposed to serious danger”



**Illustration:**  
Father Charles Coughlin was a strong supporter for FDR early in his administration, and is considered the source of the slogan “Roosevelt or Ruin.” After 1934, however, he became a strong critic of the President.

but then “John Bull” refused to pay for the cost of this rescue.<sup>31</sup> Even more outrageously these “aristocratic pan handlers” branded the U.S. as “Shylock” for demanding its loans be repaid.<sup>32</sup> The *Irish World* also opposed U.S. military intervention abroad, whether in the Philippines, Haiti or Nicaragua, considering that this emulated British imperialism.<sup>33</sup> It believed that the U.S. had “no right to be interfering in the affairs of a free country” and felt that American soldiers who died abroad were “sacrificed for greed.”<sup>34</sup> Crucially, it felt that British influence would involve the U.S. in even more foreign wars.

Even the Rhodes and Carnegie scholarships were seen as plots to undermine American independence by taking the “flower of American youth” to England and sending them home as “Anglomaniacs.” Virtually every issue of the *Irish World* carried some reference to the dangers of these scholarships and the role they were playing in the “denationalizing (of) young America.”<sup>35</sup> It was also believed that there was a plot to replace histories of the American Revolution with “Anglicized” accounts that stressed the ethnic and

fraternal links between Britain and America, thereby “poisoning the wells of American patriotism.”<sup>36</sup> This was being accomplished because “perverid proponents of Anglo-Saxonism” dominated American education.<sup>37</sup> Most of America’s financial elite was seen as irredeemably tied to British interests, playing a key part in having kept the US in “money serfdom” for decades after independence. One reason for the *World’s* pro labor stance was that it believed the American working class was composed “largely of people without Anglo-Saxon blood.”<sup>38</sup>

**ON IRISH CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHARACTER**  
Allied to this sense of defensiveness was the belief that Irish contribution to American history was ignored or deliberately glossed over. The *Irish World* continually stressed the role the Irish had played in the Revolutionary War. “Irish brain and brawn, Irish moral worth and spiritual keenness” had played a major part in the Revolution, and Irish names ranked “thick on the roll of honour of American patriotism.” Yet when Ireland had needed American support during its independence struggle, “Uncle Sam was conveniently looking the other way.”<sup>39</sup> In the U.S. itself, Irish Catholic sacrifice was overlooked in favour of pioneers of English or “Scotch-Irish origin.”<sup>40</sup> The paper waged a long campaign for a national “Barry Day” to commemorate the Irish Naval hero.<sup>41</sup> The *World* felt the U.S establishment was quick to celebrate the exploits of other heroes such as John Paul Jones over those of Barry.<sup>42</sup>

This defensiveness was also expressed in the way in which the *Irish World* reacted to perceived slights on the Irish character. Every March the *Irish World* warned its readers to beware of the “vile caricatures” promoted around the St. Patrick’s Day period.<sup>43</sup> These included the “green pigs and guerrillas” supposedly depicting the Irish featured on greeting cards and in store windows.<sup>44</sup> The *World* was extremely proud of the role it had played in campaigns against motion pictures such as *The Callaghans and the Murphys*, which it claimed presented “drunken, vulgar and indecent” images of the Irish.<sup>45</sup> The paper believed that these images, whether on stage, screen or in print, had their root in the hatred and fear the English felt for the Irish, “because

they knew the Irish were superior to them in every way."<sup>46</sup> They were promoted in America by pro-British interests who themselves feared the Irish and denigrated their contribution to American society. Many of these concerns were shared by the two main Irish republican organizations, the AARIR and the *Clan na Gael*, as well as by the other Irish newspapers.<sup>47</sup>

The reputation of both individual Irish American politicians such as Mayor James Walker, or institutions associated with the Irish, such as Tammany Hall, were defended vigorously against charges of corruption. The *World* was extremely proud that Walker, the "son of an Irish emigrant," had become the mayor of the "greatest city of the world," and it refused to consider that anything might have been wrong with his administration.<sup>48</sup> When Walker faced charges of corruption during 1931 the paper resolutely defended him.<sup>49</sup> The *Irish World* contended that those who criticised Tammany were in the main "barbarous bigots" opposed to everything "Catholic and Irish." Tammany itself, on the other hand, was made up largely of "ordinary, simple hard working people."<sup>50</sup>

There was an obvious reason for this sensitivity of course. During the crisis over U.S. intervention during the First World War, the *Irish World* had been accused of promoting disloyalty and barred from the U.S. mails.<sup>51</sup> The 1920s had seen an intense nativist mood across American politics and society. Restrictive immigration laws, that in the *Irish World's* view were motivated by a "No Irish need apply" mentality were introduced in 1922 and 1924.<sup>52</sup> The Ku Klux Klan, the "most vicious and criminal organization...in American history," grew to perhaps five million strong.<sup>53</sup> Prohibition, which the paper saw as "a damnable, lying deception" and an expression of rank hypocrisy on the part of the American establishment was in force throughout the decade. The *World* contended that, while ordinary people were sent to jail for "possession of a pint of liquor," judges and politicians "drank of the best."<sup>54</sup> Finally, the "campaign of slander" waged against Al Smith during the Presidential campaign of 1928 was seen as clear evidence that a substantial section of U.S. society strongly resented Irish Catholics. The *Irish World* was certain that powerful forces in American society per-

mitted the unleashing of torrents of "bigotry and fanaticism" towards Al Smith.<sup>55</sup> The paper's mistake was to assume that this hostility was the result of British influence, part of a wider plan for the "Anglization" of the U.S., rather than the result of native American bigotry.<sup>56</sup>

#### AND EXPLICITLY CATHOLIC

It was also significant that the paper saw itself as not only Irish but explicitly Catholic as well. From its "first issue," the paper claimed, the "enemies of the Church...have been the enemies of the Irish World."<sup>57</sup> The persecution of Catholics, firstly in Mexico and later in Spain, was also a bone of contention for the *Irish World*, which claimed that Roosevelt ignored this religious repression. This persecution became a particularly potent issue when attention began to be focussed on the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany. Under the headline "chickens come home to roost" the *Irish World* concluded that their previous failure to support the Irish against persecution meant that those Jews calling for a boycott of the Berlin Olympics were in a weak position.<sup>58</sup> The underlying unease among the New York Irish about their perceived displacement was reflected in articles bemoaning the publicity given to reports of Jewish persecution in Europe compared to the lack of attention given the persecution of Catholics.<sup>59</sup> The paper claimed Roosevelt merely "smiled" when asked to protest to the Mexican government but that he spoke out forcefully on behalf of European Jews.<sup>60</sup> FDR's perceived lack of concern was linked to the "war on Catholic schools" that the *Irish World* believed was being waged in New York. Democratic governor Herbert Lehman had vetoed legislation endorsed by the Catholic Church to provide public transportation for parochial school children, a move that the *World* interpreted as anti-Catholic.<sup>61</sup> Indeed the paper even suggested that New York Governor Herbert Lehman could become the "Calles" (the Mexican President) of Albany, and Roosevelt the "Stalin" of the White House.<sup>62</sup> After July 1936 the treatment of Catholics in Republican Spain became a further topic of concern.<sup>63</sup>

This unfocussed radicalism explains the ease with which the paper found the ideas of Father Charles Coughlin attractive. It is often forgotten

that Coughlin was an early and enthusiastic supporter of Roosevelt.<sup>64</sup> For Coughlin the New Deal was “Christ’s Deal” and he famously warned that unless America chose Roosevelt it faced “ruin.”<sup>65</sup> Even those on the left of the Irish community found Coughlin an attractive figure during the early years of the Depression.<sup>66</sup> The *Irish World* was urging its readers to listen to “the most fearless voice that is heard on air today” as early as 1932.<sup>67</sup> Coughlin’s opposition to the World Court and the League of Nations, which he believed was a “tool of England,” his hostility to communism and his criticism of big business all tallied with the main themes promoted by the *Irish World*. After Coughlin launched his National Union of Social Justice, the *Irish World* gave extensive coverage to the activities of the organization across New York.<sup>68</sup>

#### NO IRISH NEED APPLY

A belief that “our race is being deliberately discriminated against” increasingly dominated the *Irish World’s* coverage of issues like the distribution of relief to the unemployed. While “other nationalities” were considered to be receiving “prompt and proper recognition,” it was asserted that “No Irish Need Apply” had been revived.<sup>69</sup> Indeed honest Irish people lost out while “thousands of aliens, some of them too lazy to work if work were offered to them” benefited from the influence of communists at the Employment Relief Bureau.<sup>70</sup> Ultimately Roosevelt was responsible for “placing in responsible positions” people who “might be acceptable in Soviet Russia but are anathema in the United States.”<sup>71</sup> By the late 1930s anti-communism occupied a much more central place in the *Irish World’s* attitude than had hitherto been the case. Delight was expressed at the victory of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War over the “atheistic Red movement...conceived in the pest-houses of Godless Russia.”<sup>72</sup>

For a brief period during 1936 the *Irish World* considered that FDR had returned to his policies of 1932. Roosevelt had again attacked the “special interests and big barons of business” in his state of the Union address. He had also sworn to prevent America becoming embroiled in “Europe’s troubles.” Interestingly, Father Coughlin also praised FDR on this occasion.<sup>73</sup>

However, the threat of U.S. entry into the European war ended any lingering affection for Roosevelt in the pages of the *Irish World*. The paper’s campaign against U.S. intervention saw it adopt a nastier tone, hitherto the preserve of its rival the *Gaelic American*. FDR was accused of “Un-American heresy” and his government described as “Anglophile puppets.”<sup>74</sup> “Ma Roosevelt and her Marxist husband” were accused of dragging the U.S. into war at Britain’s behest.<sup>75</sup> In thinly coded language Roosevelt’s wealthy ally Bernard Baruch was described as the “Pharisee of finance” and an “Iscariot member of the international bankers.”<sup>76</sup> The political figures now promoted by the *Irish World* were isolationists like Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina and Senator Pat McCarron of Nevada. Reynolds drew editorial praise when he criticised the “ungrateful people of the so-called democracies that owe us billions from the last war” and swore never to vote for intervention abroad.<sup>77</sup> The paper continued to give very favourable coverage to Fr.Coughlin, even as he grew more outspokenly pro-Fascist, as when he told a Brooklyn audience that it was more important to keep the world “safe for Christianity” than for “the modern type of democracy which has been inflicted on us.”<sup>78</sup> By 1939 the *Irish World’s* main preoccupation was its campaign against possible U.S. entry into the European war, the reasons for which it believed were “mainly concocted in the White House.”<sup>79</sup> The *Irish World’s* anti-war agitation would continue until Pearl Harbour.<sup>80</sup>

The impact of the Great Depression had made radical economic reform attractive to many Irish Americans, particularly when it seemed to target economic elites who were associated with pro-British interests. But this section of Irish America remained extremely wary of association with socialism while also very defensive about the position of Irish Catholics in America more generally. An obsession with the belief that British influence was rampant at the highest level of American society, hostility to U.S. involvement abroad, and a feeling that the Irish were deliberately marginalized helped lead to a break with Roosevelt and his policies. Furthermore, the conspiratorial worldview encouraged by publications such as the *Irish World* made the Irish susceptible to the demagoguery of those like Father

Coughlin who placed the blame for their ills on other minorities. The paper's paranoia and defensiveness overwhelmed its more generous and progressive tradition at a time when Irish America was in need of precisely that influence.

## Notes

- 1 *The Irish World, and American Industrial Liberator (Irish World)*, 10 March 1934.
- 2 *Irish World*, 25 March 1933.
- 3 *Irish World*, 1 June 1935.
- 4 *Irish World*, 15 July 1939.
- 5 Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish—A History*, 174–75.
- 6 FM Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question, 1910–23*, 37–38.
- 7 *Irish World*, 6 October 1923. For its part the *Gaelic American* described the *World* as the “most outrageous and despicable liar that ever disgraced Irish-American journalism.” *Gaelic American*, 27 October 1923. Ironically both papers would merge in 1951.
- 8 *Irish World*, 14 November 1931 & 24 January 1931.
- 9 *Irish World*, 16 January & 5 March 1932.
- 10 See any edition for GAA news; see edition of 6 May 1939 for reports on soccer teams Cork Celtics, Belfast United, Kearney Irish Americans and St. Mary's Celtics, whose opposition included Brooklyn Germans, Prague and Hatikvoh.
- 11 *Irish World*, 14 October 1933. Indeed the paper had almost been a lone voice among the Irish community in its defence of the Molly Maguires. See Kevin Kenny, “Diaspora and comparison: the global Irish as a case study” in *Journal of American History*, Vol. 90, No.1, June 2003.
- 12 *Irish World*, 10 September 1932, 27 May 1933, 2 June 1934.
- 13 *Irish World*, 7 September 1935. See *The Irish Echo*, 19 January 1935 for opposition to TWU.
- 14 *Irish World*, 3 October 1931.
- 15 *Irish World*, 6 August 1932.
- 16 *Ibid* & 24 September 1932.
- 17 *Ibid*.
- 18 *Irish World*, 25 June 1932.
- 19 *Irish World*, 11 March 1933.
- 20 *Irish World*, 18 March 1933.
- 21 *Irish World*, 25 March 1933.
- 22 *Irish World*, 25 March, 26 August 1933.
- 23 *Irish World*, 30 December 1933.
- 24 *Irish World*, 22 September 1934 & 2 March 1935.
- 25 *Irish World*, 16 March 1935.
- 26 *Irish World*, 1 June 1935.
- 27 *Irish World*, 16 March 1935. See David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear—the American People in Depression and War*, 232–234 for discussion of this issue.
- 28 *Irish World*, 14 April 1923.
- 29 *Irish World*, 31 May 1930.
- 30 *Irish World*, 7 April 1923.
- 31 *Irish World*, 10 February 1923.
- 32 *Irish World*, 3 February 1923.
- 33 *Irish World*, 16 February 1924 & 15 May 1936.
- 34 *Irish World*, 17 January 1931.
- 35 *Irish World*, 19 May 1923.
- 36 *Irish World*, 28 April 1923.
- 37 *Irish World*, 19 October 1929.
- 38 *Irish World*, 13 January 1923.
- 39 *Irish World*, 25 October 1930 & 3 January 1931.
- 40 *Ibid*, 25 October 1930. The *World* considered that the existence of the “Scotch-Irish” was a “myth.”
- 41 *Irish World*, 19 September 1931.
- 42 *Irish World*, 23 May 1936.
- 43 *Irish World*, 22 March 1924.
- 44 *Irish World*, 16 January 1932.
- 45 *Irish World*, 23 April 1932.
- 46 *Irish World*, 2 March 1940.
- 47 See *Irish World*, 5 November 1927 for reports of protests at “anti-Irish” motion pictures involving the AARIR and several other Irish organisations. See also *Gaelic American*, 3 September 1927.

- 48 *Irish World*, 16 November 1929. See Chris McNickle, *To Be Mayor of New York: Ethnic Politics in the City*, 32–33 for Walker.
- 49 *Irish World*, 2 & 9 May 1931.
- 50 *Irish World*, 25 February 1928.
- 51 Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question*, 103.
- 52 *Irish World*, 31 March 1928. For a wider discussion of immigration restriction see Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible—Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century*, 103–109.
- 53 *Irish World*, 3 May 1928.
- 54 *Irish World*, 15 November 1930.
- 55 *Irish World*, 5 September 1928 & 9 May 1931.
- 56 *Irish World*, 22 June 1929.
- 57 *The Irish World and the American Industrial Liberator*, 12 September 1931. In fact the *Irish World*, had often clashed with the Catholic Church in its early years. Kenny, *American Irish*, 179.
- 58 *Irish World*, 7 September 1935.
- 59 See Ronald H. Bayor, *Neighbors in Conflict—the Irish, Germans, Jews and Italians of New York City, 1929–1941*, for an examination of the conflicts partially resulting from this sense of displacement.
- 60 *Irish World*, 18 May 1935.
- 61 *Irish World and Industrial Liberator*, 25 May 1935. See also Bayor, *Neighbors*, 46.
- 62 *Irish World*, 18 May 1935.
- 63 *Irish World*, 22 May 1937.
- 64 Donald R Warren, *Radio Priest: Fr. Charles Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio*, 40–45.
- 65 *Irish World*, 9 December 1933.
- 66 See for example the comments by Kathleen Crowley of Dorchester, Mass, to Irish feminist Hannah Sheehy Skeffington during 1934, when Coughlin publicly defied the Cardinal of Boston. Crowley to Sheehy Skeffington, 14 December 1934, Sheehy Skeffington Papers, National Library of Ireland, Ms, 33,607 (7).
- 67 *Irish World*, 31 December 1932.
- 68 See for example *Irish World*, 25 April, 2 May & 13 June 1936.
- 69 *Irish World*, 13 & 20 March 1937.
- 70 *Irish World*, 4 May 1935.
- 71 *Irish World*, 20 May 1939.
- 72 *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, 19 August 1939.
- 73 *Irish World*, 11 January 1936. See also Kennedy, 279.
- 74 *Irish World and the American Industrial Liberator*, 17 June 1939.
- 75 *Irish World*, 15 July 1939.
- 76 *Irish World*, 30 September 1939.
- 77 *Irish World*, 20 May & 30 September 1939.
- 78 *Irish World*, 3 June 1939.
- 79 *Irish World*, 6 May 1939.
- 80 *Irish World*, 14 & 28 December 1940, 8 March & 3 May 1941.

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