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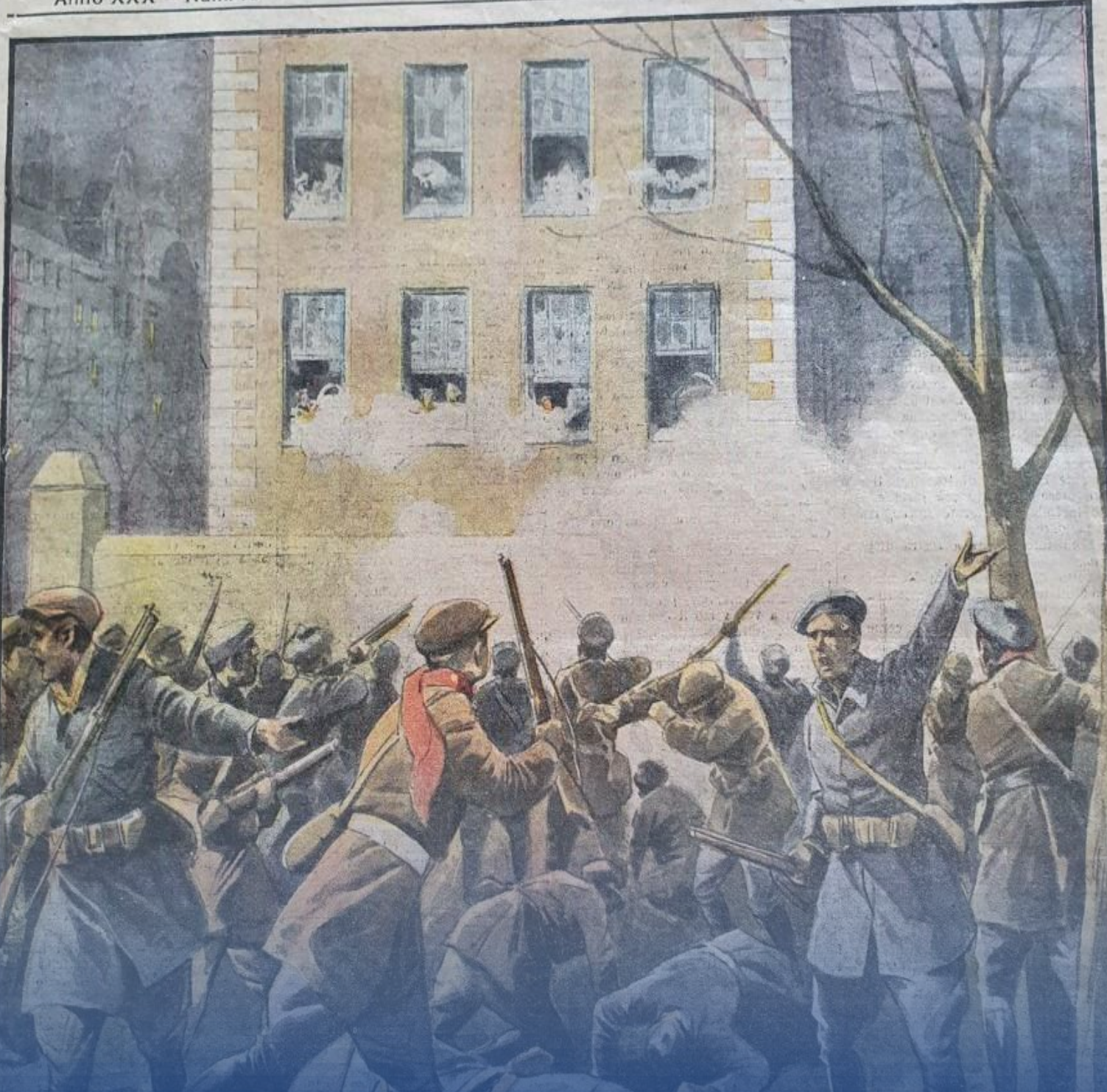
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The Diaspora and the Irish Revolution, 1916-1923

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11 June 2021 Conference Programme

9.00 - 9.15	Welcome Remarks
9.15-10.45	Panel 1 The Diaspora and Revolutionary Politics - Chair: Dr Eric Derr Dr David Doolin (UCD) - Tracing a legacy of Irish American Fenianism: 1866 to the 1916 Rising Dr Elaine Callinan (Carlow College, St Patrick's) - The Irish Diaspora in the USA and Election Campaigns in Ireland, 1917-1920 Mr Des Dalton (Independent scholar) - Arms and ideology: Joe McGarrity, Clan na Gael and the Treaty Split
10.45- 11.00	Break
11.00 - 12.00	Morning Keynote Address - Chair: Dr Elaine Callinan/ Dr Regina Donlon Dr Jennifer Redmond (Maynooth University) - Waging War Against Emigrants? Migration and the War of Independence
12.00-12.10	Break
12.10-1.40	Panel 2 Immigrant experiences of the revolution - Chair: Dr Ida Milne Mr Patrick Mahoney (Drew University, NJ) - The Local in the Global: A microhistory of revolutionary Hartford, Connecticut Dr Siobhra Aiken (Queens University, Belfast) - The Local in the Global: Living the revolution in Springfield, Massachusetts Dr Regina Donlon (Carlow College, St Patrick's) – 'The sojourn in my native land has been a most peaceful one': Return migration to Ireland during the revolutionary period, 1916-1923
1.40-2.15	LUNCH
2.15-3.15	Afternoon Keynote Address - Chair: Dr Elaine Callinan/Dr Regina Donlon Professor Enda Delaney (University of Edinburgh) - A global history of the Irish Revolution, 1916-23
3.20-4.50	Panel 3 Diaspora, Revolution and Empire - Chair: Dr Margaret Murphy Dr Sophie Cooper (University of Leicester) - 'There must be a bit of an Englishman in the Lord': Irish women religious in the diaspora during Ireland's Revolutionary Era Ms Niamh Coffey (University of Strathclyde/University of Edinburgh) – 'We called ourselves the Irish Ladies' Distress Committee': Gender and Irish Republican Women in Britain, 1916-1923 Dr Brian Hanley (Trinity College, Dublin) - 'The only people who would take a risk ...' Maritime workers and the global Irish Revolution Dr Thomas Tormey (UCD) - The dilemma of surreptitious solidarity and military deception versus diasporic participation: the IRA in Scotland during the War of Independence
4.50-5.00	Break
5.00-6.00	Evening Keynote Address - Chair: Dr Thomas Mc Grath Dr Martin Mansergh (Vice Chair of the Government's Expert Advisory Group on Centenary Celebrations) - Re-evaluating the contribution of the diaspora combined with other external factors to the Irish Revolution and beyond.

Conference Organisers: Dr Regina Donlon | Dr Elaine Callinan

www.carlowcollege.ie

Contributors' Biographies

Dr Síobhra Aiken is a lecturer in Roinn na Gaeilge agus an Léinn Cheiltigh, Queen's University, Belfast. She completed her PhD at the Centre for Irish Studies, NUI Galway in 2020. Her research on the emigration of female revolutionaries has appeared in *Irish Historical Studies* and *Women and the Decade of Commemorations* (edited by Oona Frawley). Her monograph, *Spiritual Wounds: Trauma, Testimony and the Irish Civil War*, is forthcoming from Irish Academic Press.

Dr Elaine Callinan completed her MPhil and PhD at Trinity College Dublin and is currently a lecturer in Modern Irish History at Carlow College, St. Patrick's. She is the author of *Electioneering and Propaganda in Ireland 1917-21: Votes, Violence and Victory* (Dublin 2020) published by Four Courts Press. She has also published journal articles and book chapters in a number of publications. The main focus of Elaine's research is to examine how politicians and political parties campaigned in elections in Ireland during a time of political and military upheaval and just before the foundation of the Irish Free State. She also has a keen interest in local and regional Irish history. To develop further interest in regional history, the historians at Carlow College have designed new Master of Arts and Postgraduate Diploma in Irish Regional History programmes which are starting in September 2021. See www.carlowcollege.ie for more details.

Ms Niamh Coffey is a second year PhD student, jointly supervised by the University of Strathclyde and the University of Edinburgh, in Scotland. Her research focuses on Dundee's Irish female population from the mid-nineteenth to the early-twentieth century, with a gendered and transnational perspective. She is particularly interested in women's involvement in the Irish nationalism across the diaspora, and last year she was one of the recipients of the British Association of Irish Studies' Postgraduate Bursary Award.

Dr Sophie Cooper is currently a Teaching Fellow in Irish History at the University of Leicester. She completed her PhD at the University of Edinburgh in 2017. Sophie's work focuses on the multigenerational Irish community identity in Ireland and its diasporas, particularly the role of women and girls in shaping ideas of belonging. She has published in *Social History* on Irish women's networks and material culture. Her first monograph, *Forging Identities in an Irish World: Melbourne and Chicago, 1840-1922*, is forthcoming with Edinburgh University Press.

Mr Des Dalton studied at Carlow College from 2011 until 2015 where he obtained a 1st Class BA Honours degree in English and History. In 2015 he was a joint winner of the inaugural Delany Archive Trust, Fr Thomas McDonnell Research in History Prize for his dissertation: 'The Irish Bureau of Military History and the Ernie O'Malley Military Notebook Interviews: The Battle for Historical Narrative and Legitimacy'. He is currently researching and writing on the Irish Civil War.

Professor Enda Delaney is Professor of Modern History at the University of Edinburgh. He has published on the history of the Irish diaspora and the Great Famine, and is currently working on a study of the Irish encounter with modernity after 1780. He was Co-PI (with Fearghal McGarry, Queen's University Belfast) of a major Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project on 'A Global History of Irish Revolution, 1916-1923' between 2017 and 2020.

Dr Regina Donlon is a lecturer in Irish History at Carlow College, St Patrick's. Her research interests include the Irish diaspora, nineteenth-century Irish social and cultural history and Irish-American nationalism. A former Irish Research Council, Post-doctoral Research Fellow, her first monograph *German and Irish immigrants in the Midwestern United States, 1850-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) was awarded the Concordia Historical Institute Award of Commendation in Regional History in 2019.

Dr David Doolin has a diverse and eclectic research and teaching record. Presently working as the Newman Fellow in the School of History at UCD, he has been tasked with writing a history of rugby in Leinster. He also teaches a popular module on the History of Digital Technology, that delves into the Digital Revolution and its impact on culture and society. Dr. Doolin also continues to explore the Irish immigrant experiences in the United States. He has just contributed a chapter (April 2021) about an American transnational revolutionary movement within the Irish Diaspora, for a festschrift in honour of Professor Catherine B. Shannon, which will explore a wide variety of topics on Irish American history, expected to be published early 2022. His monograph *Transnational Revolutionaries: The Fenian Invasion of Canada, 1866* was published in 2016, to coincide with the 150th year anniversary of that event. This book investigates the significance of militant, Irish, Revolutionary nationalists, who flourish in the United States during and immediately after the American Civil War, and the complexities of an Irish-American diasporic identity, by taking a closer look at what is arguably a somewhat forgotten historical event.

Dr Brian Hanley is Associate Professor of History at Trinity College, Dublin. He has written widely on Irish republicanism and radicalism and is currently working on a study of the global impact of the Irish Revolution.

Mr Patrick Mahoney is Caspersen Doctoral Research Fellow at Drew University and a former Fulbright Scholar (2019-20) at the National University of Ireland, Galway. He has published widely in Irish and in English in various academic and popular journals. His book, *From a Land Beyond the Wave: Connecticut's Irish Rebels, 1798-1916* (2017) won the Connecticut League of History Organizations' Publication Prize (2018). His edited and translated volume, *Recovering an Irish Voice from the American Frontier: The Prose Writings of Eoin Ua Cathail*, has just been published by the University of North Texas Press (May, 2021).

Dr Martin Mansergh is a member of the Royal Irish Academy and Vice-Chair of the Government's Expert Advisory Group on Centenary Commemorations. He is also a former diplomat, political advisor, peace process negotiator, Senator, TD, and Minister of State for OPW, Finance and the Arts (2008-11). From 2004 to 2001, he was a member of the Council of State. He is a monthly columnist with *The Irish Catholic* and author of *The Legacy of History for making Peace in Ireland* (2003). His accolades include: MA, D. Phil., Oxon.(1973). Honorary doctorate, National University of Ireland (2017). Co-recipient of Tipperary Peace Prize (1994), and recipient of the Saint Columbanus award, Carlow College St. Patrick's (2018).

Dr Jennifer Redmond is Assistant Professor in Twentieth Century Irish History at the Department of History, Maynooth University. She researches in the area of gender and women's history in modern Ireland and the history of Irish migration. Her recent guest edited issue of *Irish Studies Review* on Irish Revolutionary Masculinities was published in May 2021. Dr Redmond acknowledges the support of the Irish Research Council in funding her research for the special issue and the convening of two symposia.

Dr Thomas Tormey holds an MA in Military History and Strategic Studies from Maynooth University, an MSc in History from the University of Edinburgh, and a PhD in Modern Irish History from Trinity College Dublin. His doctoral thesis on 'Guerrilla warfare and the dynamics of violence in the Irish War of Independence' was supervised by Prof Eunan O'Halpin and focused on counties Dublin and Roscommon. He has reviewed books for a number of peer-reviewed publications and his article on 'Scotland's Easter Rising veterans and the Irish revolution' appeared in the 2019 edition of *Studi Irlandesi*, a journal of Irish studies published by the University of Florence press.

Paper Abstracts

Panel 1 The Diaspora and Revolutionary Politics - Chair: Dr Eric Derr

Dr David Doolin (UCD): Tracing a legacy of Irish American Fenianism: 1866 to the 1916 Rising

The Easter Rising in April 1916 took place in the year that was the 50th anniversary of the Fenian Invasion of Canada, May 1866. Historical records that explored the Fenian Brotherhood (FB) of 1866, initially discounted their efforts and, indeed, many depicted the Fenians as at best quixotic, and more often as ludicrous. Two things captivated me about this history. Firstly, were the Fenians, and their plans, really as outrageous as sometimes depicted, or had the narrative relied on tired, old stereotypes of the Irish? Secondly, given the neatly defined fifty-year time span from 1866 to 1916, was there perhaps a temporal thread that connected the FB and the IRB? I have done much exploration and published a monograph that addressed the first query, showing that the Fenians in America, were a much more potent and influential organization than depictions have suggested. The specifics and specificity of their efforts to invade Canada for example, were much more complex and nuanced and, indeed, effective than the quick dismissals of that event portrayed. Furthermore, while the FB as an organization might have failed in this specific venture, this did not spell the end of a transnational revolutionary movement that informed the fight for Irish freedom. Indeed, the Fenians became a teaching moment for the next group to take up the baton within the diaspora, that influenced and helped direct physical force Irish nationalism. This paper will go some way to explore the historical thread, a continuum, that can be traced from the 1866 FB and the diasporic influence on the 1916 Rising.

Dr Elaine Callinan (Carlow College, St Patrick's): The Irish Diaspora in the USA and Election Campaigns in Ireland 1917-1920

Raising a propaganda budget to conduct effective electoral campaigns and conceiving clever strategies to secure votes during the years 1917 to 1920 became paramount. All parties operated skilled and coherent fundraising campaigns although they differed on method, sources and distribution. John Dillon, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, stated he was in for 'a fierce struggle' in the general election of December 1918. During the years 1917 to 1920 the electoral propaganda wars equalled any of the military upheavals in Ireland, so for all nationalists greater amounts of money and knowledge had to be sought from abroad. Propaganda had been influenced by the Great War, but the emulation of United States marketing methods in Ireland in the early 1900s and the growth of advertising agencies was proof of an increasing realisation that the tools of commercial and political marketing were essential to success on election day. The aim of this paper is to focus on nationalist efforts in the USA to raise the much needed finances for election campaigns and to investigate how propaganda in Ireland became influenced by these USA tours.

Mr Des Dalton (Independent Scholar): Arms and ideology: Joe McGarrity, Clan na Gael and the Treaty Split

Joe McGarrity is one of the key figures in the Irish Revolutionary period, yet he has not received the attention his central role would indicate it deserves. Joe McGarrity and Clann na Gael had a central place in ideological debates that occurred within the national movement in the months preceding the civil war. He would be a major source of arms and finance to the Anti-Treaty republicans during and immediately after the civil war. This paper will briefly examine the historical roots of Clan na Gael and its place within wider militant Irish Republicanism. The paper's primary focus will be on McGarrity and his pivotal role in

supporting the Anti-Treaty wing of the national movement in Ireland. The roots of the division within Clan na Gael mirrored those within the national movement in Ireland and predated the Treaty split. In many respects they were part of the wider struggle for supremacy being waged within the national movement in Ireland between the IRB and key figures such as Eamon de Valera, Austin Stack and Cathal Brugha. McGarrity's close relationship with De Valera placed McGarrity at odds with John Devoy. This division would be pivotal in determining Devoy's support for the Treaty and would ultimately lead to McGarrity supplanting Devoy as the leader of physical force Irish Republicanism in the United States. He would occupy this position until his death in 1940.

Panel 2 Immigrant experiences of the Revolution - Chair: Dr Ida Milne

Dr Patrick Mahoney (Drew University): The Local in the Global: A microhistory of revolutionary Hartford, Connecticut

Dr Síobhra Aiken (QUB): The Local in the Global: Living the revolution in Springfield, Massachusetts

How dependent is global history on the local? Or, to put it differently, is a global history possible without a study of the local? These two papers aim to foster debate on the merits of microhistories of the Irish revolution in the diaspora. Drawing on an array of newspaper sources, official records, letters, diaries, and interviews, these papers trace the events of the revolution in two major industrial New England hubs: Hartford, Connecticut and Springfield, Massachusetts. Hartford and Springfield both attracted thousands of Irish emigrants and boasted vibrant Irish republican communities by the early twentieth century.

These papers will highlight how the revolution was experienced by these communities despite the geographic distance from the home culture. Indeed, many of the leaders of the 1916 Rising had visited these republican hubs, while the local communities boasted of their role in supporting the Rising in early fundraising efforts. Support was not only financial, however. This paper will reflect on the return migration of locals during the revolution, such as Hartford police officer, Daniel McAuliffe, who returned to support Michael Collins in the Civil War – an event which caused much friction locally. The papers will further explore the diverse roles played by women within local republican organisations and consider how post-civil war revolutionary emigrants were assimilated into the local, and often fractured, republican community. By pointing to the similarities and differences between the experience of revolution in Springfield and Hartford, these papers hope to explore the extent to which the revolution shaped the everyday lives of immigrants in these two largely working-class Irish-American communities.

Dr Regina Donlon (Carlow College, St Patrick's): - 'The sojourn in my native land has been a most peaceful one': Return migration to Ireland during the revolutionary period, 1916-1923'

This paper examines the links and relationships that Irish immigrants in the United States had with the homeland during the revolutionary era. Between 1916 and 1923, a total of 21,754 Irish-born immigrants resident in the United States applied for a passport to visit Ireland. The majority of these applications were submitted by Irish immigrants in their 20s and 30s, and for most, the stated reason for their return was to visit family. However, during this seven-year period, two years in particular are worth noting: 1920 and 1922. The year 1920 and into 1921 saw violence during the War of Independence peak and the following year, 1922, was marked by the beginning of the Irish Civil War. This suggests a direct correlation between the number of Irish immigrants returning during this period

and the rebel activity that characterized Ireland during these years. An examination of both US passport applications and the IRA pension files confirms that a number of those who returned to Ireland with the intention of 'visiting family' or 'settling an estate' also became involved in the revolutionary movement. This paper explores the transnational experiences of some of those who returned.

Panel 3 - Diaspora, Revolution and Empire - Chair: Dr Margaret Murphy

Dr Sophie Cooper (University of Leicester): "There must be a bit of an Englishman in the Lord": Irish women religious in the diaspora during Ireland's Revolutionary Era.

The Bureau of Military History's witness statements and military pension service records have allowed for research into varied experiences of revolution. As of yet, however, the role of women religious in the Irish Revolutionary Era has been omitted from the record. Convents provided accommodation for Irish diplomatic emissaries around the world, including Laurence and Alice Ginnell's work in South America, and female religious orders in North America and Australasia offered support to Irish revolution in a variety of ways. This paper will explore the tensions between female Catholic religious service, local diplomatic environments, and support for Irish revolutionary activities in the Irish diaspora. This engagement was influenced by international intrigue and operated within the pressures of close-knit settler and ex-patriate communities. In doing so, a new gendered migrant perspective on the complexities of engagement with nationalist ideas will be highlighted, placing women religious alongside their brothers in religious service in the story of diasporic revolution.

Ms Niamh Coffey (University of Strathclyde/ University of Edinburgh): "We called ourselves the 'Irish Ladies' Distress Committee'": Irish Republican women in Britain, 1916-1923

The years 1916 to 1923 witnessed the mobilisation of Britain's Irish population in the fight for independence, as Britain became a central location for gun running, sabotage, and other clandestine activities by republican groups. Much of the work that has been produced on this topic has focused on male dominated IRA companies, and therefore has neglected the efforts of Irish women in Britain during this period. However, the online publication of the Military Service Pensions Collection has highlighted that republican women in Britain did not act as mere auxiliaries to their male counterparts but participated in activities which blurred the boundaries between the 'male' IRA and 'female' Cumann na mBan. This paper uses these applications to analyse the activities of republican women in Britain during this period, arguing that their activities were reflective of a changing society where women were increasingly viewed as political citizens, as highlighted through the partial emancipation of women in 1918 and their inclusion as equal citizens in the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic. Although some nineteenth century gendered assumptions prevailed, republican women were able to use them to their advantage; for instance, by posing as distress committees for the relief of Irish civilians, or as concerned visitors of republican prisoners, in order to conceal their clandestine activities. The applications also demonstrate the strength of the connections between the various Irish communities in Britain and the serve to underline the fact that the fight for independence did not stop short of Ireland's shores.

Dr Brian Hanley (TCD): 'The only people who would take a risk ...' Maritime workers and the global Irish Revolution

Maritime workers were a crucial part of the Irish republican effort between 1917-21. A special unit of the IRA's Dublin Brigade, 'Q' Company, made up of dock workers, was engaged in the bringing of communications and finance from America to Ireland, or the sending messages from the republican leadership to activists across Europe. For an IRA that was chronically under armed importing weapons was also a necessity. 'Q' Company was part of a network, composing both men and women, encompassing Hamburg, Antwerp, Genoa, New York, St. John's and Montreal, moving arms through Liverpool, London and Southampton unto Dublin or other Irish ports. Liverpool though was central, the 'most important' city for trans-Atlantic communications and for smuggling from both Europe and America. It was through that city's ports that Eamon de Valera, Harry Boland and others were spirited to the United States. Republicans took advantage of widespread industrial tumult to divert attention from smuggling, but their efforts were also disrupted by strikes. However republicans themselves were involved in organizing maritime strikes in Liverpool and New York, though with markedly different outcomes. The IRA's turn to offensive operations in England after November 1920 also had the unwanted effect of bringing state attention onto these networks. Republican efforts saw them cooperate with radicals from diverse backgrounds along with the criminal underworld. This paper examines a hitherto underexplored aspect of the Irish revolution 'from below.'

Dr Thomas Tormey (UCD) - The dilemma of surreptitious solidarity and military deception versus diasporic participation: the IRA in Scotland during the War of Independence

The scholarship relating to diasporic interventions in Ireland's struggle for independence is a well-established but ever-growing field. Work on the IRA in Scotland has included contributions from Iain Patterson, Máirtín Ó Catháin, and Gerard Noonan. Of these, only Patterson has cleaved close to the topic of this paper, although it must be said that his 1993 article pre-dates the release of a good deal of the source material that historians of the Irish revolution rely on in the twenty-first century.

Drawing on source material relating such as the Military Service Pensions Archive, Bureau of Military History witness statements, and British cabinet documents, this paper will offer a new interpretation of Scotland's interaction with the Irish War of Independence. Through an analysis of the activities of the IRA in Scotland the paper will discuss how patterns of violence across Britain and Ireland knit together. Furthermore, the paper will also discuss how units of the IRA in Scotland played upon and exacerbated longstanding Scottish Protestant fears about an Irish Catholic 'enemy within'. The effect that this process had on both the strategic situation in 1921 and the long-term position of the Irish in Scotland will also be considered.

These topics are of particular importance given that Scotland was and is Ireland's closest neighbour, was host nation to a proportionately large diasporic population in the revolutionary decade, and has been the subject of numerous historiographical comparisons covering many periods.