

# Home Rule from a Transnational Perspective

The Irish Parliamentary Party and the  
United Irish League of America, 1901-1918

by  
**Tony King**

Series in World History



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For my parents



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# Abbreviations

<b>AOH</b>	Ancient (American) Order of Hibernians
<b>Cumann</b>	Cumann na mBan
<b>Clan</b>	Clan na Gael
<b>CDB</b>	Congested Districts Board
<b>BOE</b>	Board of Erin, (the Irish branch of the AOH)
<b>DIB</b>	<i>Dictionary of Irish Biography</i>
<b>DMP</b>	Dublin Metropolitan Police
<b>FJ</b>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<b>FOIF</b>	Friends of Irish Freedom
<b>GA</b>	<i>Gaelic American</i>
<b>INL</b>	Irish National League
<b>INE</b>	Inghinidhe na hÉireann
<b>INF</b>	Irish National Federation
<b>IPP</b>	Irish Parliamentary Party
<b>IRB</b>	Irish Revolutionary (Republican) Brotherhood
<b>IV</b>	Irish Volunteers
<b>IW</b>	<i>Irish World</i>
<b>JQMC</b>	John Quinn Memorial Collection
<b>NLI</b>	National Library of Ireland
<b>NYPL</b>	New York Public Library
<b>RP</b>	Redmond Papers
<b>SF</b>	Sinn Féin
<b>TCD</b>	Trinity College Dublin
<b>UIL</b>	United Irish League
<b>UILA</b>	United Irish League of America
<b>UILGB</b>	United Irish League of Great Britain
<b>WBCP</b>	William Bourke Cockran Papers
<b>YIB</b>	Young Ireland Branch





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# Foreword

Michael Doorley

*The Open University*

The relationship between the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) and its American support organisation, the United Irish League of America (UILA), has been surprisingly understudied. In recent decades, historical attention has been quite rightly devoted to the role of revolutionary Irish-American nationalist movements such as the Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF) and the Clan na Gael in Ireland's independence struggle. However, it is important to note that in the decade before the outbreak of the First World War, the dominant Irish-American nationalist movement in the United States was not the Clan but the UILA. In this well-researched work, Tony King explores how the constitutional nationalist movement in Ireland, the IPP, drew on the financial and political resources of the American-based UILA to progress the cause of Home Rule in Ireland. However, the relationship between both organisations was often marked by discord, especially in the context of the developing revolutionary situation in Ireland. Drawing on a range of sources in both American and Irish archives, King's work analyses not only the history of the UILA but also the reasons for these tensions. In this context, this book represents a valuable contribution to our understanding of the American dimension to the Irish constitutional nationalist movement in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Irish historical works on Irish Party leader John Redmond have generally focused on the complex Anglo-Irish environment in which he operated and have tended to neglect the IPP's important American fund-raising and political propaganda arm. More American orientated works such as Alan Ward's *Ireland and Anglo-American Relations* (1969), Francis Carroll's *American Opinion and the Irish Question* (1978), and Bernadette Whelan's work *United States Foreign Policy and Ireland* (2006) have naturally paid more attention to the activities of the UILA though within the wider context of American interactions with the Irish Question. Francis Carroll's insightful article, 'The Collapse of Home Rule and the United Irish League of America, 1910-18' in *Ireland's Allies* (ed., Miriam Nyhan Grey, 2016) is more focused on this topic, but there are limits to what can be achieved in a short article. Given the lack of specialised works on this topic, there is no doubt that Tony King's book will likely become the definitive source on the IPP/UILA relationship.

In December 1901, John Redmond, leader of the IPP, established the UIIA as an American support organisation to further his goal of achieving Home Rule for Ireland. King highlights how in the years before the First World War, as the prospects for Home Rule brightened, a majority of Irish-American nationalists supported the UIIA. Through the leadership efforts of John F. Finerty and John O'Callaghan, the UIIA raised the profile of the Irish Party in the United States and prominent American politicians such as William Howard Taft and former US president Theodore Roosevelt expressed sympathy with the Home Rule cause. The UIIA also enjoyed the unqualified support of the *Irish World* newspaper, which was then the leading voice of Irish-America. With the assistance of the UIIA, Redmond made several successful fund-raising missions to the United States so much so that his Unionist and Conservative Party enemies frequently described him as a 'dollar dictator' using American money to subvert the British constitution.

Opposition to the UIIA also came from the more revolutionary faction within Irish-American Nationalism in the form of John Devoy's Clan na Gael, the successor to the American Fenian movement and a sister organisation to the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Ireland. The Clan newspaper the *Gaelic American* poured scorn on both the UIIA and Redmond and lambasted the idea of Home Rule as a betrayal of Ireland's national destiny. Meanwhile, the chairman of the Clan in New York, Daniel Cohalan, issued strident calls to Clan members to avoid UIIA meetings, thus reflecting his fear that the cause of revolutionary Irish nationalism in the United States was being undermined by its constitutional nationalist rival.

By 1914, despite Clan and IRB agitation on one side and Unionist and British Conservative Party opposition on the other, the long and torturous path to Home Rule seemed about to be concluded. Indeed, as King explains, UIIA president Michael J. Ryan took steps to wind up the organisation now that its main goal had apparently been achieved. However, Britain's involvement in the First World War interrupted the implementation of Home Rule, and the course of Irish history now took an unexpected turn. Redmond, without any consultation with the UIIA and gambling that the war would be a short one, urged Irishmen to enlist in the British Army in defence of the freedom of small nations. Redmond undoubtedly perceived this stance to be in the interests of the Irish Parliamentary Party, but it ignored traditional Irish-American opposition to the British Empire. Redmond's move alienated many UIIA members, and the *Irish World* withdrew its support. King describes how the UIIA now went into a decline that was compounded by Irish-American outrage at the British executions of the Rebel leaders which following the failed 1916 Rising. The Clan and the newly formed Friends of Irish Freedom led by Judge Cohalan capitalised on these events, and revolutionary Irish Nationalism now took centre stage in Irish-American politics.

Overall, King draws on an impressive array of primary source evidence. He has fully mined the Redmond papers in the National Library of Ireland (NLI) with a particular focus on over 300 letters between UILA secretary John O'Callaghan and Redmond himself. King has also made use of American based sources such as those of Congressman William Bourke Cockran and John Quinn as well as Irish American newspapers such as the Clan na Gael's *Gaelic American* and the *Irish World*. He has also drawn heavily on little-used UILA publications such as the *Proceedings of National Conventions* and the UILA journal the *United Irish League Bulletin of America* published between 1907 and 1912. Drawing on these resources and relevant secondary work, King explores how the UILA's many internal flaws, especially under the leadership of Michael J. Ryan, contributed to the decline of the organisation. However, he also puts forward a convincing argument that the failure of the UILA can be attributed to policy mistakes of the IPP under John Redmond's leadership. Redmond's decision to subordinate the UILA to the IPP reflects his failure to appreciate Irish-American concerns fully. This tension between the interests of Irish-American nationalism and Irish nationalism has been explored with regard to the dispute between Judge Daniel Cohalan's Friends of Irish Freedom and Sinn Fein leader Eamonn de Valera during the latter's visit to the United States in 1919/1920. However, King's study highlights that such transatlantic tensions were not unique to revolutionary nationalism and also occurred within the constitutional nationalist tradition. In this regard, Tony King has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the relationship between UILA and the IPP and of the transnational dimension in Irish constitutional nationalism during a critical phase in Irish history.



# Introduction

This book is a study of the Irish Parliamentary Party's (IPP) relationship with the United Irish League of America (UILA) between 1901 and 1918. This was a critical period for Ireland; encompassing as it did party reunification, a cultural reawakening, an emerging separatism, unparalleled political progress at Westminster, labour activism, a home rule crisis, a world war, a republican insurrection, and the very real prospect of partition. Under John Redmond's *de-facto* leadership, the UILA was tasked with supporting the IPP in its efforts to secure Irish legislative independence from Britain. That the Irish Party failed to achieve this, and that the UILA subsequently lost all faith in its parent organisation's ability to ever do so, is, for advocates of constitutional nationalism, a sad fact of history. The aim of 'Home Rule from a Transnational Perspective: The Irish Parliamentary and the United Irish League of America, 1901-1918', then, is to explore the fragility of an affiliation unable to weather the momentous developments which conspired to undermine it.

Transnationalism is a relatively new field and its relationship to diasporic studies requires some early clarification. Diaspora is more widely used to denote 'religious or national groups living outside an [imagined] homeland' while transnationalism refers primarily to these migrants 'durable ties' with the land of their birth.<sup>1</sup> One of the transnational practices most engaged in by these migrants is political participation in both the country of their emigration and immigration.<sup>2</sup> And these ties and this participation can certainly be ascribed to the mass of Irish immigrants who descended on the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In describing four distinct sets of diaspora Michel Bruneau has identified one which is 'organised around a political pole'.<sup>3</sup> This is so, Bruneau argues, 'when the [migrants] country of origin [in this instance Ireland] is dominated by a foreign power [read Britain] and the main aspiration of the diaspora is the creation of a nation-state' [in their homeland].<sup>4</sup> And as if to confirm that this applies to Irish American involvement in the struggle for Irish independence Maria Koinova describes how 'external actors - including diasporas - make choices ranging from moderate to radical to affect domestic change' in their home country.<sup>5</sup> This, as we will come to see, is exactly what the United Irish League of America and its arch-nemesis, the revolutionary Clan na Gael, attempted to do with Ireland.

While this body of work falls safely within the parameters of transnational it might also be considered transatlantic in that it deals primarily with events which occurred in Ireland and the United States. This was essential for several

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