

ROCHESTER HISTORY

Edited by Ruth Rosenberg-Naparsteck
City Historian

Vol. LXVIII

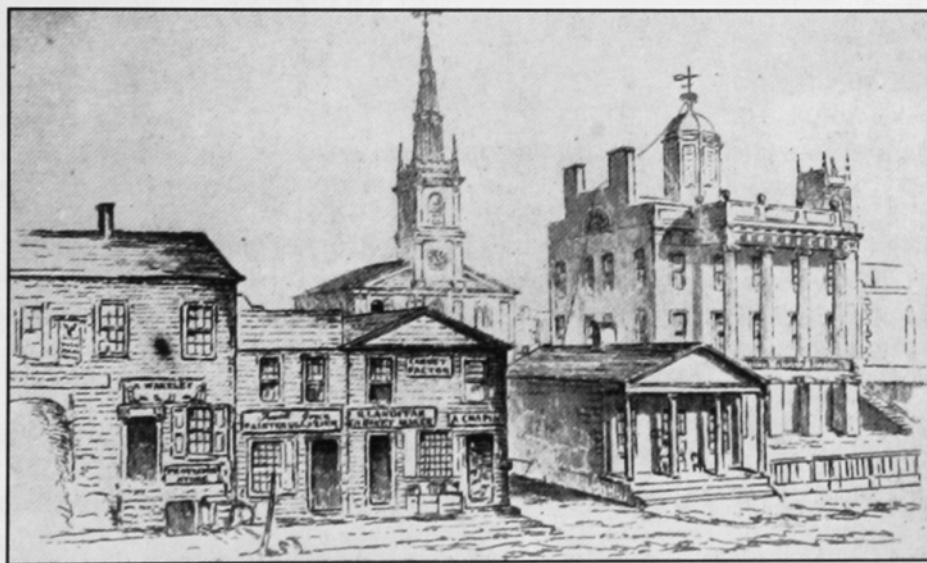
Summer 2006

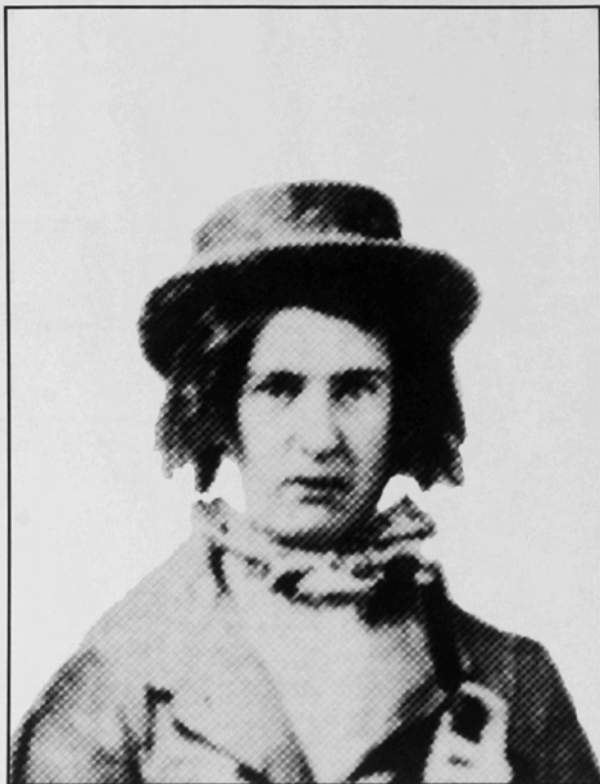
No. 3

To Feed the Hungry

Rochester and Irish Famine Relief

by Harvey Strum





Levi Ward

Front cover: Levi Ward, chairman of the Irish Famine Relief Committee observed that on February 8, 1847, Rochester had the largest gathering of concerned and giving citizens "we have ever seen, embracing all classes of citizens" The meeting was held at this Monroe County Court House on Main Street.

ROCHESTER HISTORY, published quarterly by The Office of the City Historian. Address correspondence to City Historian, Rochester Public Library, 115 South Avenue, Rochester, NY 14604.

www.libraryweb.org

Subscriptions to the quarterly Rochester History are \$8.00 per year by mail. Foreign subscriptions \$12.00 per year, \$4.00 per copy back issue.

Rochester History is funded in part from the Frances Kenyon Publication Fund, established in memory of her sister, Florence Taber Kenyon and her friend Thelma Jeffries.

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The home of Everard Peck at 62 S. Fitzhugh Street. Many civic and charitable causes were started or furthered there. Doubtless the Irish Famine Relief was also the talk of the dinner table as well.

Rochester and Irish Famine Relief

"It is a delightful employment to feed the hungry, and to succor the perishing," wrote Levi A. Ward, chairman of the Rochester Irish Relief Committee, as he forwarded the last of Rochester's donations in December 1847 to the Society of Friends in Dublin for distribution to the starving of Ireland.¹ In 1847 the citizens of Rochester joined with Americans throughout the state and nation in a national cause of voluntary philanthropy to aid the victims of famine in Ireland and Scotland.² For a brief time Americans put aside their ethnic, religious, social, political, and racial differences and joined together to organize local committees in cities, towns, and villages across the country to raise money, provisions, and clothing for the starving. Actually, Rochester, like many other communities, raised money for Irish relief three times in the 19th Century. In 1863 and 1880 the people of Rochester once again dug into their pockets and purses to contribute to aid the less fortunate in the Emerald Isle.³ In most communities, in the United States in 1847, as in Rochester, Batavia, and Canandaigua,

local business, political, civic and religious leaders established non-partisan, non-sectarian citizens committees to collect contributions.

The American press did not devote much attention to the distress in Ireland until the arrival of the *Arcadia* in Boston with news about the famine in November 1846. Readers of Rochester newspapers learned that "the accounts of the state of the country continue to be most distressing."⁴ Reports appeared of "women frantic with hunger and the cries of their famishing children," and throughout the state and nation newspapers started reporting about the distress in Ireland.⁵ As the situation turned bleak in Ireland, relief organizations were established in Ireland, Scotland, and England to raise money for famine relief. The Society of Friends created a Central Committee in November 1846 to solicit donations and distribute food, clothing, and seed. American relief committees, like those established in Rochester, Buffalo, Albany, and New York City, channeled relief primarily through the Dublin Quaker committee. New York City merchant and Quaker Jacob Harvey circulated an appeal letter from the Dublin Quakers to American Quakers to raise public awareness of the crisis among Quakers and non-Quakers. Many Irish immigrants sent remittances in 1846-47 directly to friends and family in Ireland, including Irish immigrants living in Rochester. By early February, a local merchant offered to remit without charge any funds Irish immigrants wanted to send "for the relief of the starving people of that country."⁶

Some Irish immigrants sent donations via Roman Catholic Bishops, like John Hughes of New York, who volunteered to forward donations.

Awareness of the famine did not lead to immediate action in Rochester. In a few cities, New York, Boston, and Jersey City, citizens organized relief committees in November and December 1846, but "generally speaking, the response remained until February relatively small," with most donations coming from Quakers and Irish-Americans.⁷ The arrival of the *Hibernia* in Boston in mid-January followed by the *Sarah Sands* two weeks later detailing mass starvation in Ireland and distress in Scotland led the American press to expand their coverage of events in Ireland in February and March 1847. As the Rochester *Republican* told its readers based on the reports from the *Hibernia*, "famine is doing the work of death in various parts of the country."⁸ Printing accounts from the Irish press of "these abodes of wretchedness" created by the famine, the Rochester *Democrat* told its subscribers "to read the following heartrending account of suffering... and then contribute" to Irish relief." Publishing accounts of the distress in Ireland and Scotland, the press raised public awareness and turned awareness into action.

The behavior of the Rochester *Democrat* also demonstrated the public service role of journalism as American editors pushed, shamed, and encouraged their readers to participate in the national cause of voluntary famine relief.

In early February, citizens in various cities, such as New York, Charleston, and Rochester called for action. Simultaneously, at a mass meeting in Washington in early February that Vice-President George Dallas chaired, the Vice President and members of Congress urged the creation of local famine relief committees and suggested that citizens in smaller communities forward their donations to relief committees in New York, Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, or Charleston. American political leaders, Democrat and Whig, promoted a nationwide campaign of voluntary philanthropy, and encouraged local business, political, civic, and religious leaders to establish committees in every village, town, city, and county in the United States.¹⁰ A few days later on February 12, citizens of Albany, led by Mayor William Parmelee, held a public meeting and created a state committee. Chaired by Charles Jenkins, the committee issued a statewide appeal on February 15 to the citizens of New York to organize relief societies in every town and ward in New York and suggested that food, clothing, and money be forwarded to Albany. The state committee reinforced the simultaneous appeal from national political leaders for every community in the United States to join in this national cause of voluntary aid to Ireland and Scotland.¹¹

While national and state political leaders endorsed a campaign of voluntary philanthropy neither the national nor the state government supported direct aid to Ireland and Scotland. Congressman Washington Hunt, a Whig Congressman from Lockport introduced a bill for \$500,000 to purchase and ship provisions to Ireland, but it died in committee, as did a proposal from Whig Senator John Crittenden, of Kentucky, because Democratic President James Polk declared it unconstitutional to approve foreign aid. A smaller scale proposal introduced by Daniel Sickles in the State Assembly to use state funds to purchase food also met the same fate. Instead, in response to petitions from citizens in Albany, New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia and a recommendation from Captain George DeKay of New Jersey, Congress voted in early March to lend two warships, frigate *Macedonian* and sloop-of-war *Jamestown*, to carry relief supplies sent by committees in New York and Boston, respectively, to Ireland and Scotland. Most relief supplies went via private vessels, as did the aid from Rochester, since the federal government limited its

aid to loaning the two warships.¹²

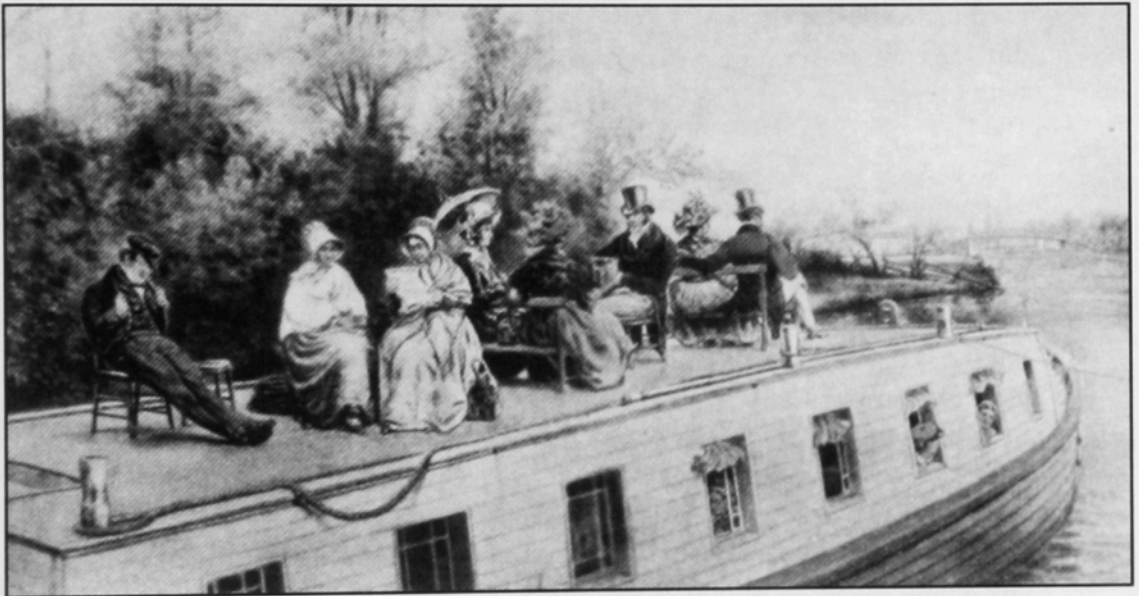
Meanwhile, the local Irish community just recently demonstrated its support for Ireland's struggle for self-determination from England. Throughout the 19th Century, Rochester's Irish identified with the Emerald Isle in times of crisis and in the long running campaign for Ireland's self-determination. The Irish began arriving in the 1820s initially residing in the east side upper Falls area of "Dublin," that the city annexed. By 1845 one third of the population was foreign born and many were Irish, and the Irish became the largest ethnic group by 1860.¹³ As early as 1828 the Irish organized a local chapter of the Hibernian Society, and Father Bernard O'Reilly, the pastor at St. Patrick's Church, established the Partial Abstinence Society on July 7, 1836 and the Hibernian Temperance Society as a total abstinence group on July 5, 1840. Bernard O'Reilly established the group to counter the image of the Irish as "addicted to the vice of intemperance more than any other nation," and it grew to 500 members in February 1841.¹⁴ In the 1840s the Irish gained experience in raising funds for local issues, like the annual Orphans' Fair for the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, and for Ireland by soliciting donations for Irish Repeal.¹⁵ They demonstrated their distinct identity as Irish and their loyalty by organizing the militia unit, Irish Volunteers, which marched along with another major immigrant group, German Grenadiers.¹⁶

St. Patrick's Day in the 1840s became an opportunity for the Irish to express their identity and their identification with Daniel O'Connell's campaign to repeal the Act of Union between Ireland and England and re-establish an Irish Parliament. Irish-Americans throughout the United States used St. Patrick's Day to voice support for O'Connell and organized chapters of the Irish Repeal Associations from New Orleans to Boston. For example, in 1842 one of the set toasts by the Irish was to Daniel O'Connell and "the cause of freedom," and Father O'Reilly added "Ireland as she ought to be, free and independent."¹⁷ A year later participants toasted to "The Speedy Repeal of the accursed Legislative Union between England and Ireland," and several participants gave individual toasts restarting the theme of Irish independence and support for Irish Repeal.¹⁸

St. Patrick's Day also emerged as a magnet in the 1840s for residents to express their dislike for the Irish. In 1842 nativists put an effigy on the "Liberty Pole" near Buffalo Bridge to ridicule the Irish, "the work of men of groveling feelings."¹⁹ Two years later another newspaper cautioned against effigies intended to ridicule the Irish and St. Patrick's Day suggesting it had become a repeated problem.²⁰

Conflict also emerged in the 1840s between Irish and native born wings of the Democratic Party over access to political positions, and the background of candidates.²¹ In fact, the built-up anger led Irish immigrants to organize a mass meeting of Adopted Citizens of Monroe County on November 5, 1843 to voice their discontent.²² What made Irish Famine Relief so significant was that it took place between waves of anti-Irish nativism that appeared in the mid 1840s, The Native American Party, and the better known Know-Nothing (American Party) movements of the mid 1850s.

Despite the mixed reception the Irish encountered, they made clear their identification with Ireland by forming the Rochester Repeal



The first wave of Irish arrived in the 1820s. Famine brought thousands of Irish immigrants to western New York. Many traveled on the Erie Canal and helped to build the enlarged canal.

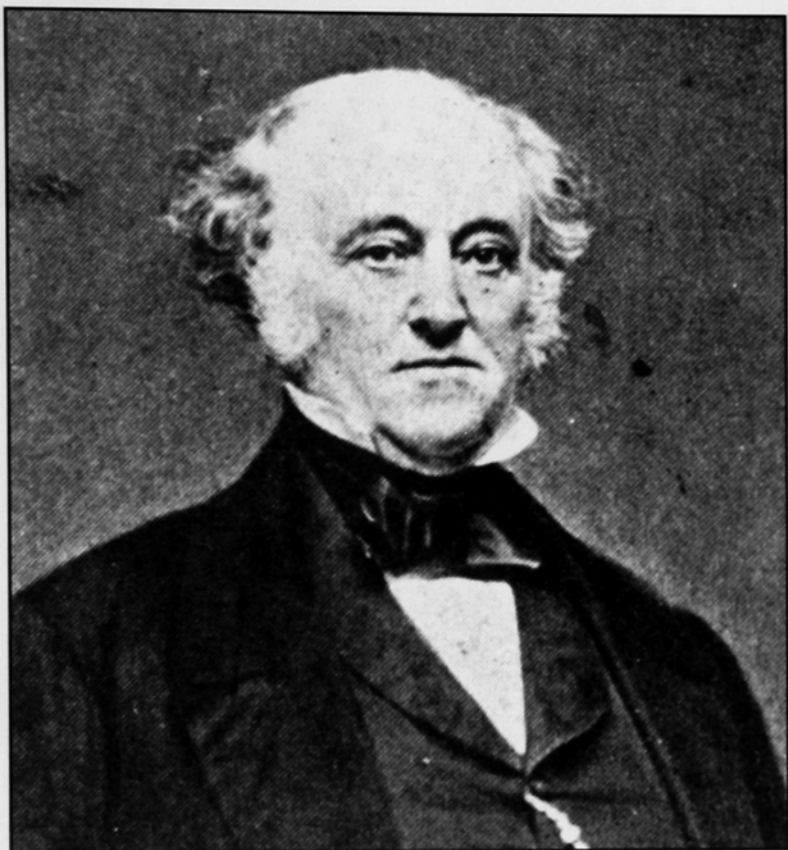
Association in 1841, also known as the Association of the Friends of Ireland. The Irish met monthly, denounced British policies, celebrated American republicanism, and raised donations for the movement. For example, at the February 1842 meeting Father O'Reilly donated \$5.00, Garrett Madden from Tyrone County \$5.00, and John Nowlan from Wicklow, \$1.00.²³ The movement peaked in early 1844 with a series of simultaneous mass meetings held across the United States in January, because of a suggestion from Albany Repealers to demonstrate the widespread support of Irish immigrants for repeal that would impress their fellow Americans, the repealers in Ireland, and hopefully

the British government. The Rochester meeting, held on January 3, 1844 in Monroe Hall, was well attended, but what made it unusual was that Patrick Barry, the Secretary, appealed to women, "ladies are respectfully invited to attend."²⁴ Usually, nationalist activities were gender exclusive to males, but several other Repeal groups, in, for example, Paterson and Trenton, New Jersey, invited women to attend.²⁵ At this meeting women came and several contributed to the cause, like, Miss Bridget O'Donoghue and Miss Ann McArdle who gave \$1.00 and Miss Margaret Madden, 50 cents.²⁶ Again, this was an unusual example of support from Irish women to the male dominated nationalist cause. Women were also encouraged to participate in Irish famine relief and in some communities, like Binghamton and Brooklyn established women's relief committees. Irish immigrants used the Repeal movement as a way of creating a public space, as they did with famine relief. It allowed Irish immigrants to create a bond with other Americans while identifying with Ireland, just as they did in 1847. Fresh from the Emerald Isle Rochester's Irish identified with Irish causes, and in 1847 rallied to help families and friends in Ireland.

Famine relief efforts in Rochester began about the same time as the national meeting in Washington. On February 8, 1847 citizens of Rochester gathered at the Court House in one of largest meetings "we have ever seen, embracing all classes of citizens."²⁷ This theme, that famine relief involved citizens of all classes reappeared at the end of the campaign when Levi Ward told the Dublin Quakers that "contributions have been from all classes of citizens, rich and poor."²⁸ Famine relief emerged as a movement uniting the people of Rochester regardless of class, politics, ethnicity or religion.

Citizens selected an executive committee and committees for the city's nine wards as well as neighboring Greece and Chili. The committee called several meetings over the next week as it organized and decided to divide the wards into districts "to visit each family" in Rochester to solicit contributions.²⁹ A subcommittee was chosen to draft a circular and solicit donations from farmers and residents of all the towns in Monroe County. Appointments were made two weeks later to solicit contributions in each of the towns in the county. In Rochester, one of the committee members went to each of the city's schools to get contributions, and the clergy were asked to give sermons requesting donations from parishioners. In many towns and cities local committees solicited contributions from teachers and school children, and in every community citizens committees requested the aid of the clergy.³⁰

The committee's leadership consisted of Silas Cornell, a local



Jacob Gould was a successful shoe manufacturer in Rochester and the city's first Democrat mayor. He was very active in the Irish Famine Relief, particularly in 1847 when Relief Committee Chairman Levi Ward announced that the Court House gathering that February was one of the largest ever and represented all classes of people.

Quaker and anti-slavery activist, as chair who served until he moved to Rhode Island in May when Levi A. Ward, who organized the Monroe Mutual Insurance Company in 1836 and moderate reformer, replaced him. Mayor William Pitkin served as Treasurer. Members of three political parties were on the committee. Cornell had supported a local chapter of the anti-slavery Liberty Party, while Lewis Selye and Frederick Whittlesey were prominent Whigs and Isaac Butts and Jacob Gould were Democratic activists. A number of prominent Irish-Americans and supporters of the Repeal Association were involved, including Patrick Barry, Secretary of the Repeal Association, Garret Barry, James O'Donoughue, Patrick Doyle, and John Allen. While the committee was a non-partisan interdenominational committee, it included many supporters of Irish Repeal. Many of Rochester's Irish,



Patrick Barry, secretary of the Association of the Friends of Ireland, also known as the Rochester Repeal Association, appealed to women to attend their meeting in January of 1844 at Monroe Hall in Rochester.

fresh from Dublin or King's County, identified with both political and humanitarian aid to Ireland. Letters from friends and relatives reinforced the need to act. A Rochester merchant received a letter from his sister in Ireland, "we have terrible distress here, and the papers give a faint idea of the melancholy facts." Reports like this confirmed the need to help by personal remittances or by supporting the Irish Relief Committee.³¹

Certain themes emerged in the appeals made for donations. Members of the Irish Relief Committee emphasized the magnitude and severity of the crisis in Ireland, "famine in Ireland has no parallel in modern history."³² Americans had an obligation as the people of plenty to help, especially "we of the Genesee Country, who are surrounded with an inexhaustible supply of nature's bounty."³³ Furthermore, the farmers of Monroe County saw wheat prices rise because of the famine and it had become "the source of great profits" to Genesee Valley



Alderman Everard Peck tried to get Rochester's Common Council to support Irish Famine Relief efforts but to no avail.

farmers.³⁴ They had a moral responsibility to alleviate the pain of hunger.

The Irish Relief Committee contacted two New York Quakers, Mahlon Day and David Sands, who recommended sending food and money from Rochester to the Quakers in Dublin via Liverpool. As with other committees they decided to forward kiln dried corn meal to Ireland.³⁵ They recommended to the state legislature that all provisions and clothing destined for Ireland and Scotland be sent on railroads and canals toll free. Many railroads and canals from South Carolina to New York agreed to deliver famine aid free. Some institutions in Rochester, like the Savings Bank of Rochester, donated to the cause, but attempts by Alderman Everard Peck to persuade the Common Council to donate the annual supper money of \$100 met defeat for some unknown reason.³⁶ The people of Rochester responded and within two weeks the committee raised \$1,500.

County towns quickly joined in the effort with Henrietta the quickest to respond. It held a meeting of citizens on February 19th at the local Congregational Church and \$100 was subscribed. Citizens appointed a committee for every school district.³⁷ The Rochester sub-committee made the rounds of Ogden, Greece, and Irondequoit to encourage donations from all the communities in Monroe County.³⁸

William H. DeLancey, the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York, based in Geneva, assisted the Rochester committee and fundraising throughout western New York by calling upon the Episcopal clergy to make special collections on March 7th for famine relief for Ireland and Scotland.³⁹ Also, some young men in Rochester held a ball for Irish relief on March 17th. Led by John Rigney, they forwarded the funds to John McHale, the Bishop of Tuam, who acknowledged the gift, and published his thanks to the young men of Rochester in the Dublin press.⁴⁰

On November 4, 1847 the Rochester Irish Relief Committee disbanded, a pattern followed by other committees, in, for example, Albany, New York City, and Newark. The Committee issued a brief report to the people of Rochester, and Levi Ward summarized the committee's activities in a last shipment to the Society of Friends in Dublin. Citizens of Rochester and Monroe County contributed over \$4,000 in donations, food, and clothing. The committee sent 988 barrels of cornmeal, 30 barrels of flour, 15 barrels of corn and wheat, and 3 boxes of clothing. Money, food, and clothing went to New York City for shipment aboard six vessels with the first shipment being 182 barrels of cornmeal on March 31, 1847 aboard *Europe* to Liverpool and the last shipment of 85 barrels went via *Henry Clay* to Liverpool on October 2, 1847.⁴¹ Summarizing for the people of Rochester, Levi Ward observed that the contributions "have been most cheerfully made" with the prayers of the donors for the Irish and that the ties of brotherhood "between Ireland and America (were) strengthened four-fold," by American famine assistance to Ireland.⁴² Ward articulated one of the key themes of American aid to Ireland, that Americans united, regardless of their differences, and saw the Irish not as the "other," but as part of "one common brotherhood."⁴³ The actions of Ward, Cornell and Rigney's young men's group revealed another element of American aid to Ireland. Without the direct involvement of the national government, Americans organized voluntary citizens' committees that extended their aid as a "people to people" campaign from American voluntary groups, like the Rochester, Greece and Henrietta committees to the voluntary committee of the Society of Friends in Dublin.

Simultaneously, with the raising of funds for Ireland, a smaller scale effort developed in various parts of the United States, including Albany, Charleston, and Rochester, to solicit donations for Scotland where the potato blight destroyed crops in the Western Highlands and Islands. The magnitude of the crisis was considerably less than that of Ireland, but about 150,000 people in Scotland remained at risk of starvation from 1845-1850.⁴⁴

The Rochester Irish Relief Committee did not extend its mandate, but after reports "that the famine in the "Highlands of Scotland appears to be without material alleviation," Scots in Rochester solicited contributions.⁴⁵ Charles Dundas encouraged people to send money or provisions through him and his warehouse on Child's Basin to be shipped via the Erie Canal to New York City for Greenock, Scotland.⁴⁶ Presbyterians held a meeting at the First Presbyterian Church in mid-March to raise funds to forward to Scotland.⁴⁷ Efforts in Rochester formed part of the national voluntary campaign in 1847 to send food and provisions to help the starving in Ireland and Scotland.

As the Civil War began in the United States another food crisis hit Ireland in the early 1860s. Kentucky proposed in 1861 that Congress send food aid to Ireland, but as in 1847 Congress tabled the proposal and the federal government did nothing.⁴⁸ A year later, The New York City Irish organized the Committee for the Relief of Ireland, headed by Judge Charles P. Daly in May 1862.⁴⁹ Over the next year contributions were raised primarily from Irish-Americans in New York, and in the spring of 1863 fundraising efforts began in other cities, like Newark and Jersey City, where large numbers of Irish immigrants resided.

Once again, Rochester responded with a series of meetings in May 1863, and as the Rochester *Democrat* argued, "Let us then as American citizens, native and foreign born, meet together tonight and extend a generous helping hand to the people of Ireland in misfortune."⁵⁰ What made the Rochester famine relief effort different than famine aid elsewhere was the support of some non-Irish, and the efforts to get Protestant and Catholic clergy involved in the fundraising.⁵¹ However, while the committee included some non-Irish and a number of the small contributors were not Irish, the accounts of the subscriptions published indicate that primarily Catholic churches and Irish-Americans contributed.⁵² Also, a number of the individuals involved in the 1863 committee or those that gave larger contributions were on the 1847 Irish Relief Committee, including James Cunningham, Michael Lester, Isaac Butts, Levi Ward, and John Rigney. The political leadership and the press endorsed the 1863 cam-



Patrick O'Rourke helped turn back the Confederate attack at Gettysburg when he led his unit at Little Round Top in July of 1863. O'Rourke lost his life, but became a Civil War hero and favorably changed the perception of the Irish in America.

paign giving it an ecumenical cast, but it remained a heavily Irish affair. In reality, national and state political leaders, in part because of the Civil War, did not encourage a nationwide campaign of voluntary aid as they did in 1847. For about a month the Rochester committee solicited contributions from the city and neighboring communities, like Greece, Lima, Palmyra, and Fairport. After raising \$5,000, the funds were sent to Ireland, with \$2,000 going to the Archbishop of Dublin and \$3,000 to the Archbishop of Cashel.⁵³ In this campaign two themes emerged – the need of the Irish and the sacrifices of Irish-Americans in the battles of the Civil War who showed their loyalty at Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburg.⁵⁴

In 1879-80 two events coincided. Failure of wheat crops in Europe and the potato in parts of western Ireland led to another famine.⁵⁵ Simultaneously, an agricultural depression in Ireland in the 1870s gave



James Cunningham, a major donor to famine relief, served on Irish Relief committees in both the early 1840s and again in 1847. He and others on the Relief committee persuaded Charles Stewart Parnell, leader of the Irish Parliament faction, to come to Rochester to raise money for Irish relief. The cause received donations from Catholics, Protestants and Jews throughout the 19th century.

rise to anti-landlord agitation in the form of the National Land League in 1879. Charles Stewart Parnell, although a Protestant landlord, emerged as the leader of the movement and led the Irish⁵⁶ Parliament faction seeking home-rule. Irish-Americans, once again, raised money for Ireland, and established American chapters of the Land League to raise funds, support Irish nationalism, and pressure the British.

As in 1847, a mass meeting in Washington encouraged voluntary aid to Ireland in January of 1880. They endorsed a campaign of voluntary aid to feed the starving, and most American aid went through the Mansion House Committee in Dublin which had the blessing of the Catholic and Protestant bishops in Ireland.⁵⁷ Separately, James Bennett, Jr., editor of the New York *Herald* opened its own fund for

Irish relief in February 1880. As in 1847, in February 1880, a proposal for famine relief from two Democrats, John Ellis of Louisiana and James Phelps of Connecticut, failed to win enough support in Congress to turn into an appropriation to help the Irish. Instead, Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes agreed to donate one warship, *Constellation*, that would bring a cargo of voluntary aid from New York City to Queenstown in Ireland in April.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, Parnell came to the United States on a speaking tour in January and Irish-Americans invited him to speak in Rochester.⁵⁹ Representatives of the major Irish organizations, the St. Patrick's Society, the Celtic Club, and the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, met and succeeded in persuading Parnell to visit on January 26. Some of the Irish-Americans involved had been in the 1840s Repeal movement and in 1847 Irish Relief Committee, including James O'Donoghue, James Cunningham, and Patrick Barry.⁶⁰ The Mayor of Rochester, Cornelius Parsons, apparently of English stock, endorsed the appeal to Parnell, the Land League movement, and fundraising for Irish relief.

Even before Parnell arrived, the Irish associations led by William Purcell, editor of the *Union and Advertiser*, started raising money for Irish relief which they planned to give to Parnell.⁶¹ The Irish associations created two funds, one for Irish famine relief, and the second for Irish National Land League, with about \$1,600 of the \$2,100 raised by the end of January going for famine relief.⁶² Parnell received an enthusiastic reception as both men and women turned out to hear the Irish politician.⁶³ Within a week of Parnell's visit Irish-Americans led by William Purcell organized the Irish National Land League Association, following the pattern of other Irish-Americans in cities and towns across the United States.⁶⁴ Through February and March the Land League chapter raised funds for Irish relief and held a dramatic entertainment in late March to raise additional funds.⁶⁵ About \$2,000 was raised in Rochester for Irish relief. Again in 1880, the effort appeared non-partisan and ecumenical as Catholics, Protestants, and Jews contributed to Irish famine relief. However, in many communities, such as Rochester, it was primarily an Irish affair as it had been in 1863. This time around large numbers of Protestant and non-Irish residents of Rochester remained aloof from the campaign to aid Ireland. In 1847, Irish famine relief became a national cause, in 1863 it became primarily Irish, and in 1880 it depended upon the local reaction as few jumped to follow the national appeal in January. No state committee emerged in 1880, and each local group made separate decisions on how to help the Irish and send aid to Ireland, whether through

the Mansion House Committee in Dublin, Parnell's Land League, the Catholic Church, the New York *Herald's* special fund, or donations sent aboard the one warship, *Constellation*. While 1863 and 1880 demonstrated the loyalty of Irish immigrants and their children to Irish nationalist causes and to aiding the hungry in Ireland, only in 1847 did all the people of Rochester and the United States, regardless of political party, social class, ethnicity, or religion, unite in the common cause of philanthropy. As Levi Ward expressed it the people of Rochester "found it a pleasant duty" because "it is indeed 'blessed to give,'" as they raised money and food for Ireland and Scotland in a "people to people" movement.⁶⁶

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33. Rochester *Republican*, February 16, 1847.
34. Rochester *Democrat*, February 16, 1847.
35. Ibid, February 15, 1847.
36. New York *Freeman's Journal*, March 6, 1847. The information came from a Rochester Irish-American, "P" to Editor, February 23,

1847. I assume that “P” is Patrick Barry, because of his role in the Repeal Association.
37. Ibid; Rochester *Republican*, March 2, 1847.
38. Rochester *Democrat*, March 12, 1847; New York *Freeman's Journal*, March 6, 1847.
39. Rochester *Democrat*, March 12, 1847.
40. Bishop John McHale to John Rigney and others, September 1, 1847, in Rochester *Republican*, September 20, 1847.
41. For Ward's final report, see Rochester *Daily Advertiser*, November 17, 1847 and for earlier summaries, see Rochester *Democrat*, May 22, 1847; Rochester *Republican*, June 1, 1847. For records of shipments see “American Contributions,” Appendix VII, *Transactions*, p.338, p.344, and Ward's letter, pp.250-51.
42. Levi Ward to Central Committee, December 10, 1847, *Transactions*, p.251.
43. Ibid.
44. Tom Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp.13-16, pp.111-16, briefly mentions American aid.
45. Rochester *Democrat*, February 11, 1847.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid, March 16, 1847.
48. Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad*, pp.66-67.
49. Ibid.
50. Rochester *Democrat*, May 18, 1863.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid, May 20 – June 9, 1863.

53. Ibid, Patrick Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel to Rev. Michael O'Brien, St. Patrick's Rochester, July 13, 1863 in July 31, 1863 issue.
54. Ibid, May 19, 1863.
55. Curti, *American Philanthropy*, p.80.
56. Lawrence McCaffrey, "Forging Forward and Looking Backward," in Ronald Bayor and Timothy Meagher, eds., *The New York Irish* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p.224.
57. Curti, *American Philanthropy*, p.82.
58. Ibid, p.96; New York *Herald*, January – April 1880.
59. Rochester *Union and Advertiser*, January 5, 1880.
60. Ibid, January 19, 1880; Rochester *Democrat*, February 8, 1847.
61. Rochester *Democrat*, January 14, 1880.
62. Rochester *Union and Advertiser*, January 31, 1880.
63. Ibid, January 27, 1880; Rochester *Democrat*, January 27, 1880.
64. Rochester *Democrat*, February 2, 1880 Rochester *Union and Advertiser*, February 2, 1880.
65. Ibid, March 29, April 12, 1880.
66. Levi Ward to the Central Committee, December 10, 1847, *Transactions*, p.251.

Back cover: Main Street in Rochester about 1840.

