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A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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From the Editors

As always with our non-themed issues, this edition of *The Hudson River Valley Review* spans centuries and topics, ranging from an eye-opening treatment of the Leisler Rebellion (a seventeenth-century political firestorm) to a dramatic account of one of the first environmental battles in the region—the effort to halt the Hudson River Expressway—in the 1960s. In between, there are fascinating articles about the formation of the Black Rock Forest Preserve and the Valley's charitable response to the Irish famine, as well as an in-depth look at the formation of incorporated villages and a travelogue from a perceptive Dutchman who sailed up the Hudson in the 1870s. There is also a Local History Forum on the New Netherland Museum and three book reviews. And we've added another feature—an annotated listing of New and Noteworthy books about our region—all of which means that this is one of the fattest *Reviews* to date. We hope you find it both informative and entertaining.

Reed Sparling
Christopher Pryslopski

The *Hudson River Valley Review* is pleased to introduce its new editorial board. Beginning with the Autumn 2006 issue, this board will be assisting the editors in identifying new and noteworthy work in Hudson River Valley regional studies, selecting manuscripts for review and publication, and planning future issues of the journal. We are very excited to welcome a distinguished board of scholars who will assist in our effort to study and interpret America's First River.

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Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself.

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

HRVR prefers that essays and other written materials be submitted as two double-spaced typescripts, generally no more than thirty pages long with endnotes, along with a computer disk with a clear indication of the operating system, the name and version of the word-processing program, and the names of documents on the disk. Illustrations or photographs that are germane to the writing should accompany the hard copy. Otherwise, the submission of visual materials should be cleared with the editors beforehand. Illustrations and photographs are the responsibility of the authors. No materials will be returned unless a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. No responsibility is assumed for their loss. An e-mail address should be included whenever possible.

HRVR will accept materials submitted as an e-mail attachment (*hrvi@marist.edu*) once they have been announced and cleared beforehand.

Since HRVR is interdisciplinary in its approach to the region and to regionalism, it will honor the forms of citation appropriate to a particular discipline, provided these are applied consistently and supply full information. Endnotes rather than footnotes are preferred. In matters of style and form, HRVR follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

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Regional History Forum

Book Reviews

On the cover: A hand-tinted engraving of the Catskill Mountain House, after W.H. Bartlett's *View from the Mountain House*, 1836. Private collection.

Famine Relief From An Ancient Dutch City

Harvey Strum

"As Albany is my native place, I feel proud of the conduct of the ancient Dutch City," wrote Myndert Van Schaick, chairman of the New York City General Irish Relief Committee, to the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends in Dublin in April 1847.[1] Van Schaick expressed pride that his hometown had just filled an Albany ship for Ireland. Actually, that year Albany sent two ships to Ireland and forwarded provisions for the famished Irish and Scots aboard at least five other vessels to relieve the distress created by the Great Famine and a smaller scale food shortage in the Highlands and islands of Scotland. Because of its location in the state capital, the Albany committee emerged as the State Irish and Scottish Relief Committee and channeled funds from the Capital District and parts of upstate New York via the New York City committee to Ireland and Scotland.[2]

As a result of the 150th anniversary of the famine, historians published a large number of works evaluating the significance of the disaster in Irish history and its impact on immigration to the United States. Most research on famine relief evaluated the role of the British government. Historian Diane Hotten-Somers concluded, "the American response to the famine has received hardly any critical attention."[3] In reality, historians of Irish communities in New York, including Albany, New York City, and Troy, paid little attention to the outpouring of Irish and non-Irish aid to Ireland and Scotland in 1847.[4] New Yorkers from Long Island to the North Country and the Niagara Frontier gave their pennies and their dollars to aid the starving in one of the greatest examples of voluntary philanthropy by the American people.[5] For a brief moment in 1846 and 1847, Americans put aside their political, social, religious, and ethnic differences to unite in the common cause of aid to the Irish and Scots—fellow human beings with shared Christian values who needed and merited their assistance.[6]

A potato blight hit Ireland and parts of the European continent in the mid-1840s. Over a million people died in Ireland, millions more remained at risk, and

millions fled to England, Canada, and the United States. Famine-induced immigration dramatically altered the ethnic and religious makeup of American cities, but especially of New York State in communities like New York City, Brooklyn, Albany, Troy, and Buffalo. By contrast, only a few thousand Scots a year fled to the United States, because voluntary organizations and the British government better managed the distress in the western Scottish Highlands and islands. At any given moment, about 150,000 people remained at risk of starvation in Scotland between 1845 and 1850, and the mortality rate from the famine remained quite low.[7] American press accounts focused attention on the famine in Ireland, but in the American mind the two issues came together, and many Irish relief committees, like the one in Albany, extended their mandate to cover both Irish and Scottish relief aid.

When the first news arrived of the potato blight, small-scale efforts to raise money for Ireland began in New York City and other major cities in the winter of 1845 to 1846. Hopes of a new harvest led to a quick decline in American efforts. By the fall of 1846, however, the situation appeared worse than expected, and famine-relief committees started soliciting funds in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Society of Friends established the Central Relief Committee in Dublin, which sent copies of an appeal to the United States. Jacob Harvey, a Quaker and New York City merchant, solicited aid from Quakers in other cities and raised public awareness among non-Quakers. The press in New York City, New Jersey, and elsewhere reprinted letters from Harvey.[8] Americans established nonpartisan, nondenominational relief committees at the village, town, city, county, and state levels to channel relief aid to Ireland and Scotland. Whether in New York City, Albany, or the upstate village of Keeseville, the pattern remained consistent: citizens established voluntary committees organized on a temporary basis to solicit and forward contributions of money, food, and clothing.[9] Most of these contributions were sent to the Dublin Quakers for distribution.

New York emerged as the most important state for Irish relief because half of the supplies reaching Ireland went through the port of New York City. While most committees sent their contributions to the Dublin Quakers, some selected an intermediary—such as British consuls in American cities or American representatives in England.[10] A number of committees, like those in Boston and Providence, went through William Rathbone, a British merchant with Irish and Scottish connections.[11]

Throughout the crisis, Irish immigrants helped out friends and family in Ireland. In Albany, the Irish members of the local Catholic churches "had anticipated this call upon them by early remittances."[12] Catholic priests in

Albany encouraged the Irish to send funds to kin and friends in their hometowns. Members of St. John's Church alone sent $2,800 to relatives in Ireland in early 1847. An Albany newspaper noted that "the extent of such remittances is little known to the public."[13] Jacob Harvey published accounts of remittances from Irish immigrants in New York City and Philadelphia to encourage the non-Irish to donate; newspaper elsewhere reprinted the figures to spur donations. No records remain of how much Irish immigrants in Albany, Troy, or other upstate communities sent to their families and friends in 1846 and 1847. However, this was an important part of the famine-relief effort. A Buffalo newspaper noted the liberality of the Irish in sending one million dollars "within the last few months," while an Albany paper complimented the Irish for sending "home their earnings with fidelity and devotedness."[14]

Funds not sent directly to kith and kin went via Catholic priests in Albany and other communities like Keeseville or Plattsburgh to Roman Catholic bishops, especially New York's John Hughes.[15] Hughes volunteered to forward remittances from upstate communities and Irish immigrants scattered elsewhere in the United States via Catholic parishes in Ireland. What made these remittances remarkable was that they came not from middle-class Irish-Americans. Instead, working-class laborers and domestics, whether in New York City or Albany, sent money from their limited earnings. In Troy, "individuals of the working classes" sent over $2,000 to "their friends" in Ireland in February 1847.[16] This was representative of the behavior of poor and struggling Irish immigrants. As the Albany Irish Famine Relief Committee concluded, Irish immigrants "in donations privately transmitted which, regarding the limited pecuniary resources from which it is given, we believe to be unequaled in the charities of [the] world."[17]

News of the famine in Ireland appeared in the American press between mid-November 1846 and early January 1847. The New York City press reported that "the accounts of the state of the country continue to be most distressing," while another city paper told its readers that "the wail of famine rises louder and louder from unfortunate Ireland."[18] Upstate residents read similar accounts. In Ovid, the local newspaper cited a letter from Dungarvon reporting that "the condition of the people is truly heart-rending."[19] An Albany paper told its readers that there was "famine and starvation" in Ireland, and across the Hudson in Lansingburgh, a newspaper reminded its readers that "the poor of Ireland are famishing with hunger."[20] Unitarian minister Henry Colman, on a European tour, informed Albany editor Luther Tucker of "the utter failure of the potato crop in Ireland…and the consequences are frightful to contemplate."[21]

Initially, upstate localities did not respond to the crisis; in fact, most

American communities ignored the famine. Relief meetings were held in port cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, Jersey City, Baltimore, Savannah, New York, and Brooklyn.[22] Appeals to New York City's Irish to aid the starving in Ireland were not new; they started sending aid to "their famishing fellow countrymen" as early as 1842.[23] Most of the funds raised in New York, and the other ports between November 1846 and mid-January 1847 came from the Irish or the Society of Friends. Jacob Harvey forwarded copies of the Dublin Quakers' circulating addresses on the crisis and used his position in the New York meeting to promote famine relief and solicit donations, persuading New York City newspapers to publish the appeals by the Quakers. After reading these appeals, the Rose-Street Meeting of Friends in New York City decided "to throw their mite towards" famine relief and raised $1,105 in early January 1847.[24]

Jacob Harvey, *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, New York City Mayor Andrew Mickle, and several Democratic Irish-American political leaders called a meeting for Irish relief at Tammany Hall in late December 1846. Citizens elected Mayor Mickle as treasurer and created ward committees that would solicit donations over the next month. Their efforts were a success: Working men at the New York Gas Light Company gave $155, police in the Fourth Ward donated $72.80, and some of the "most eminent and philanthropic merchants" gave $1,600.[25] Greeley volunteered his newspaper office as a collection point for donations, and this initial effort in New York City raised more than $4,000. Meetings in Brooklyn in late December raised several hundred dollars.[26] Most Americans viewed these fundraising efforts as primarily an affair of the Irish and the Society of Friends; upstate communities did not attempt to emulate the good work.[27]

Some newspapers attempted to use the December meeting to create an ongoing famine-relief campaign. While the *New York Courier* praised the December effort, it noted that "it should have been held months ago," and urged New Yorkers to open their purses.[28] Greeley wanted the New York meeting to stimulate meetings in other cities and towns; "may we hope that this movement will be imitated, he wrote in the *Tribune*."[29] Thurlow Weed, in the *Albany Evening Journal*, noted that "The friends of humanity in the City of New York have set a ball rolling which will not stop, we hope, until…we send substantial relief to the starving people."[30] Weed published a detailed account of New York's meeting "In The Corner" to encourage action in Albany.[31] A similar appeal came from a paper in Lansingburgh: "Would it not be advisable for the citizens of Lansingburgh to respond in a like manner?"[32] James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, argued that the press "did the public's business, outlining a public-service role for journalism." Newspaper editors in New York and other states promoted

famine relief, revealing the accuracy of Bennett's observation about the public-service role of journalists.[33]

In mid-January 1847, grim reports of the famines in Ireland and Scotland brought by the ships Hibernia and Sarah Sands were reprinted in newspapers across the country. Citing accounts that came aboard the Sarah Sands, William Cassidy's Atlas reported that "the poorer people are starving to death."[34] An Albany paper tied to the antirent movement also sympathized with the plight of the Irish and warned that "hundreds are daily dying of starvation."[35] The Liberty Party's Patriot informed its readers that famine "is spreading havoc among the Irish people."[36] In Troy, the *Northern Budget*'s headline read: "The Starving Poor of Ireland."[37] A paper in Kinderhook, Columbia Couty, reprinted an account of "the dreadful condition of Ireland."[38] In Baldwinsville, Onondaga County, the local paper reminded its citizens of "the destitution which prevails throughout Ireland and Scotland."[39] People in Keeseville read that the famine "is daily carrying off its victims by the hundreds in Ireland."[40] Reports such as these changed the public mood, and in February Irish famine relief became a national crusade. Shaker Daniel Sizer, living at the Mount Lebanon community in Columbia County, recorded: "The famine increases in Ireland. Meetings held throughout the nation for their relief."[41]

In early February, citizens in various cities—including New York, Albany, Rochester, and Buffalo—began to mobilize. However, the first meeting to receive national attention took place in New Orleans, where former Whig presidential candidate Henry Clay gave an impassioned oration to help the Irish. Within a week, Democratic Vice President George Dallas chaired a meeting in Washington attended by members of the Supreme Court, House, and Senate that called for a national campaign of voluntary philanthropy. Daniel Dickinson, a Democratic Senator from New York, served as one of the vice presidents of the meeting; Whig Representative Washington Hunt from Lockport, Niagara County, was on the Committee on Resolutions, and Representative William B. Maclay of New York City delivered one of the speeches in favor of aiding the Irish. "Never let it be said…by the historian…that America was indifferent to the present sufferings of Ireland," he argued.[42] The meeting urged every community in the United States to establish committees to collect money, food, and clothing and ship it to committees in the major cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Baltimore, Washington, and Charleston, where responsibility for transporting the contributions to Ireland would be assumed.[43]

Efforts to involve the federal government in famine relief failed. A proposal in the House of Representatives from Washington Hunt to appropriate $500,000

for aid (along with a similar proposal in the Senate) died because of opposition from Democratic President James K. Polk, who persuaded most Democrats (including New York's two senators) that federal aid to the Irish was unconstitutional. Although some famine relief meetings in New York State, as well as editorials in New York newspapers, endorsed federal assistance, it had no impact on Polk's constitutional objections.[44] Instead, in response to a suggestion from George DeKay of New Jersey and petitions from Boston, New York City, and several other cities, Congress in March authorized the loaning of two warships, the Macedonian and the Jamestown, to transport a load of relief supplies from New York City and Boston, respectively, to Ireland and Scotland.[45]

Simultaneous with the national meeting in Washington, newspapers in Albany began to plead for help for the Irish. Thurlow Weed announced in his paper on February 9 that a movement had begun in the state capital for "an effort to be made immediately to purchase a cargo of corn" for shipment to Ireland.[46] William Cassidy noted that the famine relief movement had begun in other cities, like New York, and he asked his readers: "Are not we here to have a share in this movement?"[47] A similar call came from the Liberty Party's newspaper. It used the relief meetings and the money donated by Irish immigrants to goad antislavery advocates to perform their duty: "there is a loud call upon the people here, to open their hearts in pity of the miserable sufferers."[48] What was happening in Albany was repeated in New York City, Rochester, Buffalo, Troy, and many other communities across the state as editors campaigned for famine relief and encouraged their towns and cities to create relief committees and join in the national campaign of voluntary philanthropy blessed by their leaders in Washington.

State and local leaders joined in encouraging the citizens of New York to organize famine relief committees. Albany Mayor William Parmalee, a Whig, led a group of citizens who called for a public meeting on famine relief at the State capitol on February 12. Among those who joined in the call were John Van Buren (son of former president Martin Van Buren), who, like Cassidy, belonged to the Barnburner faction of the Democratic Party; Amasa Parker, former Democratic assemblyman and congressman; Azariah Cutting Flagg, former state comptroller and a Democrat; Whig lawyer and politician Ira Harris; Edward C. Delevan, one of the leaders of the state's temperance movement; and Thomas W. Olcott, president of the city's Mechanics and Farmers Bank.[49] Mayor Parmalee presided over the meeting until he turned it over to Whig Governor John Young. The governor's presence gave the meeting the official blessing of the state political leadership. Governor Young recommended the organization of relief committees in each town in the state to collect money, food, and clothing to transmit to the Central

Executive Committee in Albany (which emerged as the State Committee) for shipment via New York City to Ireland. In his speech, the governor stressed some of the major themes repeated at other relief meetings—the magnitude of the crisis, common humanity, "the bond of common origin" with the Irish, and Americans as the people of plenty living in "the granary of the world."[50]

John Van Buren, the other major speaker, stressed similar themes, but once again acknowledged "individual charity of the Irish working class" and used their remittances as a model of generosity that all Americans should emulate. Emphasizing America's role as a beacon of liberty to the oppressed of the world, he noted that liberty required American benevolence, and that a free people should share their abundance with the Irish.[51] American liberty had responsibility, and freemen could show their acceptance of this burden through philanthropy. Whig political leaders like Governor Young and Democrats like Van Buren redefined American republicanism to include an obligation for voluntary national philanthropy. Of course, this became a people-to-people, not government-to-government, mission in voluntary assistance, which in the antebellum period reinforced American perceptions of republicanism and America's role in the world as enlightened and humanitarian.[52]

Three days after the meeting at the capitol, members of the assembly and senate held a legislative relief meeting in the assembly chamber to raise funds and draft an address to the people of New York. Once again, this was a nonpartisan affair, with Whig Senator Ira Harris and freshman Democratic Assemblyman Daniel Sickles as participants. The legislators repeated the call of the State Committee to the people of New York to organize committees and forward contributions. They stressed the magnitude of the crisis, common humanity, Americans as a people of plenty, and the moral obligation to help.[53]

State legislators gave about $380 from their own purses. While the governor, state officials, and state legislators actively endorsed the campaign to aid Ireland, the state took little official action to help. A proposal from Daniel Sickles for a direct public contribution from the state died, just as Washington Hunt's proposal had in Congress. Support existed in the state legislature to waive tolls on contributions shipped for famine relief. The proposal passed the assembly, but ran into unexpected opposition from a minority of five senators who blocked the action on constitutional grounds.[54] At the local level, proposals in several cities (including Buffalo and Rochester) to contribute funds from common councils also failed because local lawmakers raised constitutional scruples. (The major exception to the unwillingness of state and local legislators to provide public funds came from New York City, where the Common Council voted $5,000 of public money to buy

provisions for Ireland.)[55]

Meanwhile, the Albany Irish Relief Committee served simultaneously as the State Committee, raising donations in Albany and soliciting donations from upstate New York, which it forwarded through the General Irish Relief Committee of New York City (organized at the same time as the Albany committee) to Ireland and Scotland. Charles Jenkins, a Whig alderman from the Sixth Ward, chaired the Albany group, while transplanted Albanian Myndert Van Schaick headed the New York City Committee. The Albany Committee adopted most of Governor Young's address as part of its statewide appeal for aid. Members urged each town, city, and ward to create relief associations and forward money either to Theodore Olcott, treasurer of the State Committee, or John W. Ford, its secretary. Thomas James in Albany collected food and clothing as a chair of the Clothing and Provisions Subcommittee. Newspapers around the state aided the relief effort by publishing copies of either the appeal or the instructions from the committee, once again suggesting the public-service role of journalists in this campaign.[56]

Summing up the public mood, New York City's Finance Committee told the Dublin Quakers that "The committee would fail in discharging their duty, were they to omit to assure you of the deep and wide-spread sympathy felt throughout our city and State, for the sufferings" of the Irish.[57] Soon, committees were organized all around the state. Residents of Keeseville held a meeting and organized a committee of nine to solicit donations, while the local paper encouraged, "Let all who can give any, even a trifling sum."[58] In the village of Clintonville, residents met at the local school on February 20. They elected a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee of ten, and drafted an appeal to the villagers to "respond heartily and liberally."[59] Ignoring the extreme cold, Watertown residents met at the Universalist Church and urged "the people of this town and county to unite… for the relief of the starving poor of Ireland."[60] An initial subscription of $375 was raised and forwarded to the State Committee in Albany. After the meeting, one of Watertown's newspapers pushed residents to contribute and expressed its gratitude that "the right spirit is being aroused among our citizens."[61] The Oswego Palladium told its citizens: "Let not the agonizing petitions of suffering humanity, then, be unheeded." (Oswego residents turned out to be the most generous in northern New York.[62] Within a few days of setting up a local committee, donations of more than $1,000 were raised.[63])

In western New York, the citizens of Buffalo held a mass meeting in mid-February for famine relief. Millard Fillmore, soon to become the Whig vice president (and then president), became a member of the executive committee. His

high-profile role in Irish famine relief contradicts his 1856 candidacy for president on the anti-Irish American Party. (Ironically, many of the most active leaders for Irish famine relief in 1847 later became nativists, members of Order of United American lodges, and supporters of the American Party.)

Buffalo is an ideal example of how Whigs and Democrats, Irish and Germans, Catholics, Unitarians, and Presbyterians all worked together for the common American cause of Irish relief. Middle-class citizens' groups like the Young Men's Association raised funds, as did the Irish Sons of St. Patrick. Ministers actively appealed to their congregations to contribute, and as one of the committee members observed at the St. Patrick's Day dinner, "The clergy of Buffalo of all denominations; their liberality and zeal in the relief of Ireland entitles them to the praise and gratitude of Irishmen."[64] The city's editors and publishers also played a major role in advocating and participating in the relief movement. The level of cooperation in Buffalo proves that famine relief emerged as a respectable, ecumenical movement—and an unusual example of cooperation.

Part of what makes the 1847 campaign an unusual example of international philanthropy by nineteenth-century Americans was how widespread active participation was and how it reached small communities throughout the state. Most contributions ranged from twenty-five cents to two dollars; in rural areas, residents contributed provisions. Larger donations tended to be twenty-five to fifty dollars, with a rare $100 donation.[65] The largest single donation in upstate new York came from abolitionist Gerrit Smith, who contributed $2,000.[66] More typical were the $11.45 raised by Charity Lodge 207 of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Williamson and the one dollar donated by Michael Sheridan of Scottsville.[67]

The actions of committees in Ontario and Genesee counties suggested something that the accounts of the committee in Buffalo failed to mention—the role of women. While the formal committees were all-male, in some parts of the United States women organized relief activities, or male committees asked women to play an active role in this philanthropic endeavor. Women in Brooklyn organized a relief committee to aid in soliciting donations, acting independently of their male counterparts.[68] Women in Batavia suggested a public dinner at the Eagle Tavern; $170 was raised.[69] In Canandaigua, a separate women's committee was established to collect clothing.[70] Women in Binghamton raised $427, while those in Kingston contributed $167.[71] These fund-raising efforts were organized by middle-class women, but working-class women also participated by sending in donations.[72] Whether it was widows who save "their sixpences and shillings," or Isabella McGuire, who donated a ham in Potsdam, women joined this national

cause. A few editorials and committee appeals explicitly asked women to participate. "We hope our ladies will take this matter in hand," suggested a Baldwinsville newspaper; another in Lowville asked women in the community to contribute clothing.[73]

With the exception of Brooklyn, the women who took an active role in fundraising in 1847 lived in smaller communities in upstate New York. In urban areas, most committees solicited women's donations but not their aid. One of the exceptions was Utica, where a Catholic order, Sisters of Charity, collected clothing; the Utica committee asked other women "to cooperate in this work of mercy."[74] Since charity for the poor in urban communities was "the province of bourgeois women," it is somewhat surprising that other upstate cities did not follow Utica's example.[75] Female participation followed in the pattern of social space allowed women in mid-nineteenth- century America. Famine relief appeared a natural extension to men of women's roles in the home. For women, it provided an opportunity to join in a community and national event. For some, it provided a chance to take a more public role. The common bond that Americans felt with the Irish in 1847 also linked Americans regardless of their status, whether they were former governor William Henry Seward, who chaired a famine meeting in Auburn, or the unknown female patient at the Lunatic Asylum in Utica who wrote a poetic tribute to the Irish.[76]

In the lower and mid-Hudson regions, most famine relief went to the New York Committee, while in the upper Hudson and Capital Region, most aid went via the State Committee. Officers and cadets at West Point sent $360 to New York.[77] At a donation meeting in Newburgh, two small boys gave one dollar apiece out of their earnings from a local manufacturing plant. Members of the Lutheran Church in Valatie, Columbia County, collected forty-four dollars, while their neighbors at the Presbyterian Church donated sixty-three. Across the Hudson, people in Saugerties gathered 352 garments and $405 and sent it to New York City.[78] New Lebanon Shakers supplied $700 in rye, beans, and clothes; a second Shaker community at Watervliet sent $300 in rye, beans, flour, peas, buckwheat, mittens, and socks to the State Committee.[79] After listening to a sermon on behalf of famine relief by Rev. B. Van Zandt at the Dutch Reformed Church in Kinderhook, residents gave $131. All the churches in the village of Glens Falls set aside Sunday, February 14, for the gathering of collections.[80]

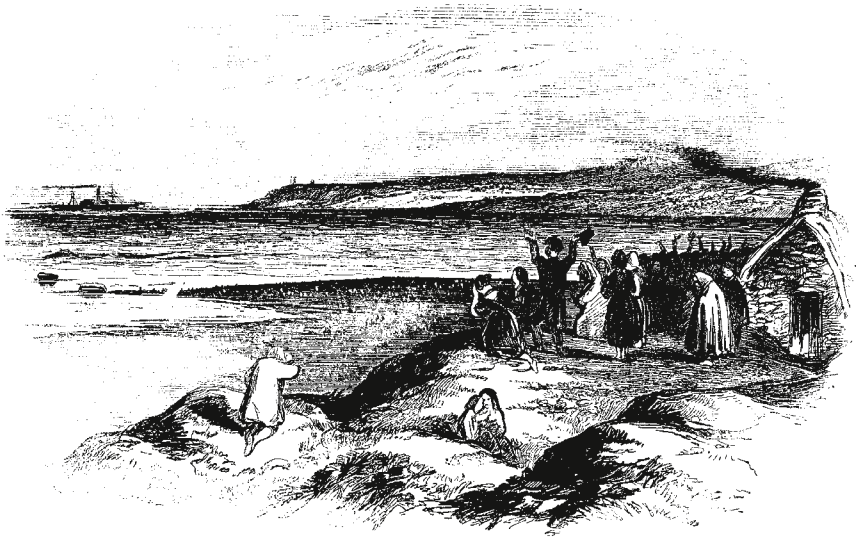
Residents of the Capital District also united behind aid to the Irish and Scots. "Old Watervliet, we have no doubt," argued a local editor, "will throw in her mite."[81] Citizens of the village met at Jefferson Hall on February 16 to pass resolutions and establish ward committees to solicit donations. Within three

weeks, $475 had been raised and forwarded to Albany.[82] Both the Democratic and Whig newspaper editors in Lansingburgh encouraged the people of their village to contribute, asking, "Have we not enough and to spare?"[83] Dividing up the community by fire districts, committee members went to every house, raised $575, and sent the funds to New York, with $475 going for Ireland and $100 for Scotland. (On average, eighty-five percent of the funds collected statewide went to Irish relief, and fifteen percent to the Scots.)[84]

An unusual element of Schenectady's relief movement was the active involvement of leaders of the Bible Society on its committee, and the committee's argument that citizens should support famine relief because of the contributions of Irish immigrants to the construction of public works projects such as canals, railroads, and bridges. Bible Society leaders were usually Baptists or Presbyterians, had a strong evangelical Protestant strain, and in the 1830s became increasingly vocal in expressing their concerns about Irish Catholic immigrants, especially during the Protestant-Catholic schoolhouse wars of the 1830s and 1840s.[85] Yet during the famine-relief campaign, even evangelical Protestants suspended their anti-Catholic concerns and viewed the Irish as fellow Christians. By articulating the contributions of Irish immigrants to America, the Schenectady committee also defined the Irish as part of American mosaic.

In Troy, all four newspapers and the city's influential merchants, businessmen, lawyers, and politicians rallied to the cause of Irish and Scottish relief.[86] As elsewhere, the twenty-five man committee included members of the Irish community along with Francis Mann, the Whig candidate for mayor; David L. Seymour, his Democratic opponent; and Father Peter Havermanns, the city's most prominent Catholic clergyman. Ironically, Troy politicians who became nativist in the 1850s, like Whig Alderman Russell Sage, served on the committee. Troy's committee served as a cross-section of the city's influential men, but confirmed the non-partisan and ecumenical nature of famine relief. By including Havermanns and Irish-Americans, the committee recognized the presence of the Irish in the community and their right to participate in leadership roles in this national charity. As the city's Whig Post argued, "Remember what Ireland has done for America." It went on to cite the role of Irishmen "in fighting our battles, in framing our laws, and in sustaining our independence!" By March, the people of Troy had donated $3,000 for Ireland.[87]

Back in Albany, the State Committee needed to raise funds locally and coordinate the shipment of provisions, clothing, and money from upstate via the New York City Committee to Ireland and Scotland.[88] A dispute arose over how to ship food to Ireland and Scotland. Committees in New York City, New Jersey,



COURTESY OF STEVE TAYLOR: "VIEWS OF THE FAMINE" WEBSITE

"Relief for Ireland"
Illustration from *The Pictorial Times*, January 30, 1847

Brooklyn, and Albany decided against using the federal warship *Macedonian* because they believed that private merchants vessels would get the food to the Irish more quickly. The *Macedonian*'s captain, Commodore George DeKay, actively solicited cargoes of provisions from the State Committee, and he sent a representative, Robert Holmes, to Albany in late March to meet with Mayor William Parmelee because "I shall be most happy to have the honor of carrying across the Atlantic, the contributions of the great City of Albany."[89] Assuming that the Albany Committee would send its contributions to him, DeKay also wrote to Charles Jenkins with instructions on shipping kiln-dried cornmeal.[90] A public fight broke out in the New York City press between the New York City Committee and DeKay over the wisdom of shipping provisions on private merchant ships or aboard the *Macedonian*.[91] A low-keyed and private disagreement emerged between the Albany group and DeKay. One of DeKay's partisans in New York City lobbied Jenkins to ignore the advice of the New York City Committee and use the *Macedonian* because "the position taken here by the New York Committee appear to me untenable, and will not be supported by public opinion."[92] The Albany Committee did not agree, and decided to rely on the New York City Committee's advice to ship its contributions by merchant vessels. According to Thomas W. Olcott, "I am not aware of any decided encouragement had been given to Commodore DeKay." The Albany Committee expressed their faith in the New York group, "composed as it is of gentlemen of business habits and of benevolent and honorable feelings."[93]

A few weeks later, DeKay got into a public feud with Thurlow Weed, who had become the harshest media critic of using American warships.[94] Weed's criticism paralleled that of historian Timothy Sarbaugh, who concluded that President Polk and Congress "failed the starving Irish" by only contributing "two war-torn vessels."[95] Essentially, Weed followed the same line of reasoning in the *Albany Journal*: that the federal government could have done more to aid the Irish, and the use of warships appeared a costly distraction that actually reduced the amount of funds available to purchase food. "This appropriation of vessels of war to do what can be done at less cost without them, will excite contempt rather than commendation," the *Journal* informed its readers."[96]

By contrast, the warship *Jamestown*, commanded by Captain Robert Forbes, faced no political problems, and the New England Irish Relief Committee, based in Boston, filled it with donated provisions and food purchased by the committee with contributions raised throughout New England. Not all New Yorkers agreed with the Albany, Brooklyn, and New York City Committees. The New York City Common Council's donation of 1,018 barrels of cornmeal was sent aboard the *Macedonian*.[97] The Ladies Irish Relief Committee of Brooklyn strongly urged the use of the Macedonian; member Anna Heffernan expressed her contempt for the arrogance of all the-male Brooklyn Irish Relief Committee for ignoring the women's wishes.[98] Other communities upstate contributed cornmeal that was loaded on the warship. In the end, Robert Forbes formed a *Macedonian* Committee in Boston to complete the cargo before the ship sailed for Ireland and Scotland.[99]

The Albany Committee rejected DeKay's offer because it agreed with the criticisms of Weed and trusted the members of the New York City Committee (especially since the chair, Myndert Van Schaick, was a transplanted Albanian). Delays in the opening of navigation on the Erie Canal and Hudson River made the use of merchant vessels more practical since the Albany Committee needed to wait for shipments from the northern and western parts of the state, which might not arrive in the capital until after the planned departure of DeKay's vessel. A psychological factor also motivated the Albany Committee—the desire of local contributors to know that an "Albany Ship" went to Ireland, rather than having the donations lumped together aboard the *Macedonian*.

Citizens of Albany contributed $10,374 for Ireland while money and shipments of provisions from other parts of upstate New York brought in $13,214.[100] Most of the donations came in small amounts. Martin Van Buren gave fifty dollars, Governor Young twenty-five. Iron molders employed at Jagger, Treadwell, and Perry donated $150; the executives at one of Albany's leading stove manufacturers gave twenty-five. Railroad executive Erastus Corning contributed fifty dollars.

Workers for Uri Burt's brewery pooled part of their wages and gave sixty-six dollars; domestics employed at the Delavan House Hotel dug into their pockets for forty-two. Thurlow Weed found twenty-five dollars to give, while "a little boy…scraped together thirty-seven cents."[101] Most Albanians gave between fifty cents and five dollars, with the largest single donation—$200—coming from Reuben H. Walworth, who ran unsuccessfully for governor as a Democrat in 1848. To further the cause of famine relief, the city's political and business leaders joined together to sponsor a benefit at the Odeon Theater. Sponsors included Erastus Corning, Mayor Parmalee, John V. L. Pruyn (a lawyer and Corning's chief assistant on the New York Central Railroad), John Van Buren, and leading stove merchant Joel Rathbone. Tickets for the play and dance on March 18 sold for fifty cents and one dollar.[102] Similar benefits in Brooklyn, Buffalo, Troy, and New York City formed a pattern of common attempts by Irish relief committees to use entertainment as a vehicle to enlarge the pool of donors.

The Protestant establishment endorsed relief efforts in Albany. Reverend William Buell Sprague, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church and a leader of the Albany Bible Society and City Tract Society, encouraged citizens to attend a benefit temperance lecture. Methodists allowed the use of their church for the lecture, which was given by John B. Gough. Members of other families that were "pillars of Albany's Protestant establishment"—Pruyns, Townsends, and Van Rensselaers—all served on the Odeon benefit committee and contributed to the cause.[103] Reflecting the contributions of Protestant residents and the nondenominational thrust of famine relief, Charles Jenkins informed the Dublin Quakers that "these two thousand barrels are the equally mingled contributions of the Roman Catholic and Protestant citizens of the City of Albany."[104]

Half of Albany's contributions came from the city's Irish Catholics, who gave more proportionally than larger Catholic communities in Brooklyn and New York City. Over $6,000 came from Catholics, primarily Irish. Members of the Hibernian Provident Society donated $400 from their general funds and another $200 in individual contributions. Originally organized in 1833 by James Maher and other members of the Irish-American elite of businessmen and middle-class professionals, it sought "to bolster the repute of Irish-Americans" and "enhance Irish prestige within Albany."[105] Elite and middle-class Irish-Americans used famine relief as a vehicle for identifying with Ireland, but also as a way of joining the Protestant establishment in Albany in a common philanthropic endeavor. Donations within the Irish community came from the elite like Maher, but also from individuals like David Mahony, a laborer on Albany's waterworks.[106] As elsewhere, political opponents in the city worked together in famine relief. Peter

Cagger, from one of "Albany's prominent Catholic families," became an influential member of the more radical Barnburner faction of the Democrats. He "challenged Erastus Corning, the Hunker patriarch" (the more conservative Democratic faction), but worked with Corning on the Odeon benefit committee, as well as with Whig Mayor William Parmalee.[107]

The reality was that most Irish residents of Albany were recent immigrants of modest means. St. Mary's Church, the city's oldest Catholic congregation, raised over $2,300. Setting an example for his flock, Father Joseph A. Schneller, purchased fifty barrels of flour from Rochester worth $350.[108] Members of his congregation who belonged to the Laborer's Mutual Benefit Society pooled $100. Michael Masterson, "a street paver and secretary of the Labor Mutual Benefit Society, and his brothers, Philip (also a paver), and Patrick (a machine tender), each gave $1."[109] Two dollars was donated by nurse Catherine Murphy, and five dollars from molder John Roche. Though small in numbers—and despite "how scanty their means"[110]—this congregation raised the largest amount of any Catholic church in New York. Other Catholic churches in the city gave almost as generously. Later, when it came time to transport the collected provisions to towboats, the city's cartmen, mainly Irish, took them without charge. It's no wonder one local Irish Catholic boasted that Albany's Irish "have been among the foremost in this glorious work of charity."[111]

Donations for Scotland also poured in. The State Committee collected $411 in Albany and $1,355 from other parts of upstate New York to palliate the suffering of the Scots.[112] In most communities in the state, the Irish relief committees extended their mandate to include Scottish relief, and they gave a share of their contributions—usually ten to fifteen percent—for Scotland. In larger communities such as New York, Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Rochester, and Buffalo, ad hoc committees began an additional round of fund-raising. Where there was an organized Scottish immigrant community, fund-raising developed through St. Andrew's Societies, the Caledonian Society, or Presbyterian churches.

After the Irish campaign in Schenectady, members of the city's executive committee held a separate meeting on March 30, 1847, for the "suffering condition of a large portion of the inhabitants of Scotland."[113] Albany's Scots, organized in the St. Andrew's Society, started a second fund-raising movement for Scotland independent of the State Committee.[114] Contributions ranging from fifty cents to fifty dollars came from individuals, while churches also took up collections. In the end, $1,000 was sent via the State Committee to the Highland Destitution Committee in Edinburgh. (Even before the collections of the St. Andrew's Society, members of Albany's State Street Baptist Church gave $600, which was sent to Scotland

in February via the Sarah Sands.) The State Committee sent three shipments to the St. Andrew's Society in New York; President Richard Irvin used the donations to purchase cornmeal. In mid-April, the State Committee sent $1,306. A month later, $178 from the State Committee and $1,000 from Albany's St. Andrew's Society purchased cornmeal in New York City that went aboard the barque Jane Morrison for Glasgow. A final shipment of $300 in cornmeal went aboard the barque Eagle in September. The State Committee in Albany took responsibility to collect donations from local committees and St. Andrew's Societies in upstate New York, and arranged with the St. Andrew's Society in New York to forward the contributions to Scotland.[115] For Scottish immigrants in the United States, raising money for their afflicted homeland permitted them to identify with their origins, maintain ethnic identity, and (like the Irish) express their sense of republicanism with their fellow Americans.

Cold weather delayed the opening of navigation on the Erie Canal and upper Hudson River, leading the State Committee to convert 7,000 bushels of corn into money and cornmeal to send via the New York City Committee. That committee chartered the British brig *Minerva* to carry Albany's donations to Cork. Robert Minturn, a member of the New York Committee, visited Albany in mid-April to discuss with Charles Jenkins the forwarding of Albany's contributions, and Minturn used $16,000 from the Albany group to purchase cornmeal.[116] Some of the cargo went out on the *Minerva*, while the rest was transported to Dublin on the "Albany" ship *Malabar*. Carrying 1,617 barrels of cornmeal purchased from Albany's funds and over 400 barrels of food and clothing sent from the capital, the *Minerva* left New York on May 13. Instructions from the Albany Committee requested that the Dublin Quakers distribute the provisions between the bishops of Cork, Dublin, Tuam, and Cashel.[117] The Quakers wound up forwarding the cargo to Waterford, because the poor in that part of Ireland most desperately needed it. (Albany's contributions were first the from the United States to reach the city.)[118] Later contributions reached the Catholic and Anglican bishops.

The dispatch of the *Minerva* led Myndert Van Schaick to write Bewley and Pim, two of the secretaries of the Dublin Committee, to express his pride in his fellow Albanians. According to Van Schaick, "the supply from this city is, for the present nearly exhausted," because New York had to cope with "unusually great numbers of poor people" who had fled the famine in Ireland.[119] Thus, the donations from Albany and elsewhere upstate filled a crucial vacuum at a time when the philanthropic resources of New York City were sorely taxed. This was just the beginning of the Irish influx into New York that would fundamentally alter the ethnic and religious mix of its cities. Within a few years, over forty percent of the

population of Albany and Troy would be Irish. Aid from Albany and New York alleviated the degree of distress in Ireland, but it did not reduce the flight of Irish to the United States.

With the opening of navigation on the Erie Canal, the State Committee forwarded to the New York Committee contributions from upstate communities. Additional cargoes marked "Relief for Ireland" arrived by railroad. Albany's cartmen quickly transported the supplies from storehouses and depots to towboats.[120] Several towboat lines, such as the Swiftsure Line, agreed to carry the supplies to New York City without charge. The *Malabar* left New York on May 26 with a cargo of corn, cornmeal, beans, and clothing—in all, 2,584 barrels of food purchased from funds sent by the State Committee and more than 330 barrels of food shipped from Albany.[121] Another 1,500 barrels of cornmeal purchased from the Albany Committee's funds went aboard the *Sidons* on April 29 to Liverpool. Smaller amounts of food were shipped aboard the *Anna Maria* (a "Brooklyn" ship) to Limerick on May 13; the *James*, also to Limerick, on June 22; the *Free Trader* to Cork on July 16; and the *Patrick Henry* to Liverpool on September 7.

The final significant shipment of 715 barrels of cornmeal went to Liverpool aboard the *Ashburton*, which left New York on November 29, 1847. The last donation of funds raised in Albany went to purchase food sent aboard the , which left for Liverpool on June 17, 1848. (It also carried the last shipments from the New York Committee.)[122] In the most specific contribution sent from Albany, fifty barrels of wheat flour went to Father Theobold Mathew, "the Cork Capuchin temperance leader," who was a friend of Thurlow Weed's. (Father Mathew visited New York State in 1851, campaigning for Catholic temperance, and signed up 10,000 in Albany, 4,000 in Troy, and 6,000 in Buffalo for the temperance pledge.)[123]

The State Committee articulated in its correspondence with the Dublin Quakers and the Irish clergy key themes of America's aid. First, the Albany group left most of the distribution of food to the Dublin Quakers, because Americans assumed that they would fairly distribute the aid without using the crisis for evangelical purposes (unlike Protestant groups such as the Irish Baptist Society, which tried to sway the hungry Irish into conversion). Reflecting upon the wishes of their contributors, the State Committee requested that 2,000 barrels of cornmeal be set aside to be distributed equally between the Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops in Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, and Armagh as a symbol of ecumenicalism, because it was "the equally mingled contributions of Protestant and Roman Catholic, native and foreign born citizens of the City of Albany."[124] Expressing their admiration of the Irish immigrants in Albany who contributed sums far beyond their means, the largely Protestant leaders of the State Committee acknowledged Irish immigrants

as fellow workers in this charity effort. For a brief moment, Americans—regardless of religious denomination or whether they were native-born or immigrants—worked together. Studying the Albany Committee is important because it was the most explicit in articulating this bond created by famine relief.

In 1847, the United States emerged as a leader in international philanthropy, as Americans raised over $1.5 million for famine relief. What is remarkable about this effort is that it took place between two waves of anti-Catholic, anti-Irish nativism. Protestants, including those who participated in nativist movements in Buffalo in the 1850s, and members of the Protestant establishment in Albany, were able to put aside their anti-Catholicism and sectarian concerns because of shared values of Christian benevolence and common humanity that defined the Irish as a people in need and Irish immigrants as fellow workers in the common cause that became a shared national mission. Aid to the Irish and Scots fit into Protestant values of benevolence, morality, and responsibility but differed in two important aspects—it was not solely an upper- or middle-class movement since this philanthropic endeavor crossed class lines and solicited contributions from poor and working-class Americans and also involved the active cooperation and participation of Irish Catholics. For a brief moment, the United States became "universal America," where class, ethnicity, and religious denomination did not matter.[125]

Famine relief emerged as an expression of American republicanism and voluntarism at its best, as the people of plenty shared their abundance with the less fortunate in Europe. For Whigs, Democrats, Antirenters, and abolitionists, international philanthropy became an obligation of a republican society. The creation of so many local famine relief committees emerged as a logical extension of the widespread spirit of voluntarism prevalent in American society in the 1840s. This organizational structure of aid to Ireland and Scotland mirrored how New Yorkers joined together for moral improvement, public safety, and civic and social betterment.

Historians ignored famine relief because it portrays Americans as saints rather than as sinners, as heroes rather than as villains. In the contemporary historiography of victimology, the United States is the Great Satan of exploitation. Studying famine relief reveals Americans as leaders in international benevolence, "but it also underscored America's commitment and global volunteerism."[126] When New York City's Congregation Shearith Israel gathered in a special meeting for Irish relief in 1947, its rabbi observed: "Our fellow citizens have come forward with promptitude and generosity; contributions have poured in from all classes, from all sects."[127] In that year, Jews, Quakers, Catholics, Baptists, and Presbyterians all over New York became one people with one goal.

Notes

1. Myndert Van Schaick, Chairman, to Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim, Secretaries, Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends, 15 April 1847, in General Irish Relief Committee, New York City, Aid to Ireland: Report of the General Irish Relief Committee of the City of New York (New York City: The Committee, 1848), 86. According to the New-York Historical Society the original manuscripts of the New York Committee are not in their collections, and I used the microfilm copy of the report at the New York State Library, Albany, New York.

2. A great deal has been published about the Irish famine, especially in light of the 150th commemoration. As an example, see Cormac O'Grada, *Black '47 and Beyond* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Christine Kinealy, *A Death-Dealing Famine: The Great Hunger in Ireland* (London and Chicago: Pluto Press, 1997); Liam Kennedy, et. al., *Mapping The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999). By contrast there is only one really detailed work on the Scottish famine: Tom Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988).

3. Diane Hotten-Somers, "Famine: American Relief Movement, (1846-1850)," in Michael Glazier, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Irish in America* (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 305.

4. For example, William Rowley, "The Irish Aristocracy of Albany, 1798-1878," *New York History* 52 (July 1971), 275-304; William Rowley, "Albany: A Tale of Two Cities, 1798-1889," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1967); Ronald Bayor and Timothy Meagher, eds., *The New York Irish* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996); Daniel Walkowitz, *Worker City, Company Town: Iron and Cotton Worker Protest in Troy and Cohoes, New York, 1855-1884* (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1978); WHMT, *Hard Days Are Gone* (video) (Albany: WHMT, 1999).

5. As an example of scholarship on British relief, Thomas P. O'Neill, "The Organization and Administration of Relief, 1845-1852," in R.D. Edwards and T.D. Williams, eds., *The Great Famine* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1962), 205-59. For an overview of American reaction to the famine: Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1963), 41-64; Helen Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (Kingston and Montreal): McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 108-26; Christine Kinealy, *A Death Dealing Famine*, 111-16; John Holt, "The Quakers in the Great Irish Famine," (M.L. thesis, Trinity College, University of Dublin, 1973), 110-22; Rob Goodbody, *A Suitable Channel: Quaker Relief in the Great Famine* (Bray, Ireland: Pale Publishing, 1995): 21-24; 78-82; Christine Kinealy, "Potatoes, providence and philanthropy: the role of private charity during the Irish Famine," in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *The Meaning of the Famine* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997): 158-163.

6. For local studies: John Ridge, "The Great Hunger in New York," *New York Irish History* 9 (1995): 5-12; This author's articles, "Famine Relief from Brooklyn," *New York Irish History* 12 (1998): 16-20; "Thirty Dollars From Little Becky: New York's Irish Famine Relief Efforts, 1846-1847", *Seaport* 35 (Fall 2000): 30-34. This popular history article covers famine efforts in New York City. For state studies, Henry Forbes and Henry Lee, *Massachusetts Help to Ireland During the Great Famine* (Milton, MA: Captain Forbes House, 1967). This was an extensive catalogue that went with an exhibition on the 120th anniversary of the Great Famine. Also, see this author's recent work: "Famine Relief from the Garden City to the Green Isle," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 93:4 (Winter 2000-2001), 388-414; "Not Forgotten in Their Affliction: Irish Famine Relief from Rhode Island, 1847," *Rhode Island History* 60:1 (Winter 2002); 27-36; and "South Carolina and Irish Famine Relief, 1846-47," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 103:2 (April 2002); 130-152.

7. There is no study of American efforts to aid Scotland, but this author is researching one. Devine, *Great Highland Famine*, 13-16, 111-116, briefly mentions American aid just as many historians of the Irish famine, like Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 241-45. On the relatively low death rates and emigration figures, see Devine, *Great Highland Famine*, 57-63; Cormac O'Grada, *Black '47*, 16, 105; Michael Flinn, ed., *Scottish Population History* (Cambridge, U.K. Cambridge University Press, 1977), 433.

8. For an account of Harvey's role, see my article in *Seaport*. "Little Becky" was Harvey's daughter. Also, see Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good*, 111-123, 257-58.

9. As an example, for the village of Keeseville, see *Essex County Republican*, 27 February 1847.

10. H.N. Fryatt, et. al., Jersey City Irish Relief Committee, to General Robert Armstrong, 5 January 1847, in *Jersey City Sentinel*, 6 January 1847; Robert Armstrong to H.N. Fryatt, et. al., 4 February 1847, in *New York Herald*, 11 March 1847.

11. For example, William Rathbone to Dr. Francis Wayland, 18 May 1847, Letterbook I, New England Relief Society, William Rathbone Papers, Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, England.

12. *Albany Evening Atlas*, 8 March 1847. Also, *Albany Evening Journal*, 8 March 1847.

13. Ibid; also, *New York Freeman's Journal*, 27 February 1847 for Albany remittances; *Albany Argus*, March 1847.

14. *Buffalo Courier*, 12 February 1847; *Albany Evening Journal*, 27 February 1847. As another example, editorial by *Herkimer Journal* in ibid, 20 January 1847. Democratic and Whig papers commended the Irish.

15. Story taken from the *New York Freeman's Journal* soliciting contributors as remittances to be sent via Bishop Hughes reprinted in Keeseville *Essex County Republican*, 2 January 1847. Harvey's account of remittances was reprinted by newspapers across the state. As an example, *Plattsburgh Republican*, 30 January 1847. See ibid, 3 April 1847 for remittances sent via the local priest, J. Rooney, for forwarding to family and friends from Plattsburgh and Clinton County.

16. *Troy Daily Post*, 2 March 1847; *West Troy Advocate*, 13 January, 17, February; 10 March 1847. For Hughes' intermediary role in forwarding remittances, see *Albany Evening Journal*, 23 April 1847.

17. Central Executive Committee (Charles Jenkins, et. al.), Albany, New York, to Rev. Michael Slattery, Archbishop of Cashel, 27 April 1847, Albany Committee for the relief of Ireland Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art (Albany Committee, AIHA). The Albany Institute contains the records of the Albany Committee, one of the few committees in the United States whose original records survived. A few committees, those in New York City, Newark (New Jersey), Philadelphia Quakers, and the Hibernian Society of Charleston, South Carolina, published reports of their activities in 1847. Newspapers remain the primary repository of the records of these famine relief committees.

18. *New York Evening Post*, 17 November 1846; *New York Herald*, 21 November 1846.

19. Ovid *Bee*, 25 November 1846.

20. *Albany Evening Journal*, 1 January 1847; *Lansingburgh Gazette*, 1 January 1847.

21. For details on New York City and Brooklyn between January–May 1847 see my articles cited above and for Boston, Forbes and Crosby, *Massachusetts Help to Ireland*; Henry Colman to Luther Tucker, 18 September 1846, *www.people.vipsima.edu*.

22. *New York Freeman's Journal*, 30 July 1842.

23. For an original of one of Harvey's appeals, see Jacob Harvey to Jonathan Pim, 28 December 1846, *Transactions*, 218-19.

24. Ibid, George Trimble and Samuel Willetts to the Central Relief Committee, 16 January 1847, 233 (Rose Street Meeting).

25. *New York Tribune*, 28, 30 December 1846; *New York Evening Post*, 28, 31 December 1846; *New York Herald* 28, 30 December 1846, 9 January 1847; *New York Courier*, 19 January 1847 for a list of each contribution; *New York Freeman's Journal*, 23 January 1847.

26. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 19, 21, 22, 28 December 1846.

27. For a critical evaluation of the December meeting in New York, Ridge, "The Great Hunger in New York," 7.

28. *New York Courier*, 28 December 1846.

29. *New York Tribune*, 28 December 1846.

30. *Albany Evening Journal*, 1 January 1847.

31. Ibid; also, see *West Troy Advocate*, 13 January 1847.

32. *Lansingburgh Gazette*, 1 January 1847.

33. William Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833—1865* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 163. While Huntzicker extensively covers the New York City press, he does not mention famine relief.

34. *Albany Evening Atlas*, 11 February 1847.

35. *Albany Freeholder*, 24 February 1847.

36. *Albany Patriot*, 17 February 1847.

37. *Troy Northern Budget*, 30 January 1847.

38. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 4 February 1847.

39. *Baldwinsville Onondaga Gazette*, 24 February 1847.

40. *Keeseville Essex County Republican*, 20 February 1847.

41. Journal of Daniel Sizer, 24 February 1847, Box 12, Shaker Historical Society Files, deposited in Manuscripts, NYSL.

42. *Washington National Intelligencer*, 12 February 1847; *New York Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1847.

43. For the original draft of the resolutions adopted by the Washington meeting, see 9 February 1847 in the Daniel Webster Papers at Dartmouth College. I used the microfilm edition at Princeton University, reel 20, 027623-36.

44. Timothy Jerome Sarbaugh, "A Moral Spectacle: American Relief and the Famine, 1845-49," Eire—Ireland 15:4 (Winter 1980), 6-14, details the Congressional debate. Also, "A Trojan," possibly a resident of Troy, New York, sent a letter to the *Washington National Intelligencer*, 16 February 1847, suggesting the use of government vessels to deliver relief supplies.

45. For the original petitions from New York City, etc., and congressional resolutions, see National Archives, Records of the U.S. Senate, Petitions Laid Upon the Table (Sen. 29A–H7, Record Group 46 and Original Senate Bills and Resolutions, 29th Congress, 2nd Session (S. 184–Sen 29A–B4), S 184. For an account of the *Macedonian*, Phyllis DeKay Wheelock, "Commodore DeKay and the Voyage of the *Macedonian* to Ireland," *American Neptune* 13:4 (October 1953); 254-69; James DeKay, *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian, 1809-1922* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995); Forbes and Lee, *Massachusetts Help to Ireland During the Great Famine*, 26-63; Edward Laxton, *The Famine Ships: The Irish Exodus to America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1996), 49-54. Laxton also briefly mentions the *Macedonian*; Captain Robert Forbes, *The Voyage of the Jamestown on her Errand of Mercy* (Boston: Eastburn Press, 1847).

46. *Albany Evening Journal*, 9 February 1847.

47. *Albany Evening Atlas*, 6 February 1847.

48. *Albany Patriot*, 10 February 1847. Rowley does not mention famine relief in his article and briefly mentions it in his dissertation, "Albany," 297-98.

49. *Albany Evening Journal*, 11 February 1847; "Relief To Ireland," Broadside, 2086, 15 February 1847, Manuscripts, NYSL. Olcott's house became the governor's mansion, William Kennedy, O'Albany! (New York: Viking Press, 1983), 101. Kennedy does not mention famine relief; Albany Argus, 12 February 1847.

50. *Albany Evening Journal*, 13 February 1847.

51. Ibid.

52. Neither Curti's overview of American philanthropy cited above nor Hatton's *Largest Amount of Good* emphasize the themes of American philanthropy during the Irish famine or how Americans articulated famine relief. Diane Hotten-Somers in her essay, "Famine: American Relief Movement," *Encyclopedia*, 305-08, briefly covers some themes from a different perspective and recommends the

work of Christine Kinealy, especially "Foreign Aid to Ireland during the Great Famine," in *Ireland's Famine: Commemoration and Awareness* (Dublin, 1997).

53. Legislative Relief Meeting, backside of "Relief to Ireland," 15 February 1847, Broadside, 2086, Manuscripts, NYSL; *Albany Argus*, 16 February 1847.

54. Ansell Bascom, Chair, Legislative Committee to Charles Jenkins, 8 March 1847, Albany Committee, AIHA; *New York Freeman's Journal*, "Subscriber, Albany," 23 February 1847, in 6 March 1847; *Albany Argus*, 23 February 1847; *Albany Evening Atlas*, 20, 22 February 1847; *Albany Evening Journal*, 24 February 1847.

55. Unfortunately, the recent biography of Daniel Sickles doesn't mention his role in famine relief, Thomas Keneally; *American Scoundrel* (New York: Nan Talese-Doubleday, Random House, 2002). For New York City, see James Stowall, et. al., Finance Committee, to Central Relief Committee, 31 May 1847, in *Transactions*, 244; Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, Vol. XXII, 23 November 1845—10 May 1847 (New York: William C. Bryant, 1847), 351 (1 March), 618, 623 (30 April). For Buffalo, *Buffalo Courier*, 6 March 1847; For Rochester, *New York Freeman's Journal*, "P," Rochester, February 22, 1847, in 6 March 1847.

56. "To the Citizens of New York," 15 February 1847 in the "Relief to Ireland," Broadside, 2086, Manuscripts, NYSL; Minutes of the Proceedings of the Albany Famine Relief Committee, 15 February 1847, Albany Committee, AIHA.

57. James Stowall, et. al., Finance Committee for the Common Council of the City of New York to the Central Relief Committee, 31 May 1847, *Transactions*, 244.

58. *Keesville Essex County Republican*, 27 February 1847.

59. Ibid.

60. *Watertown Spectator*, 9 March 1847.

61. *Watertown Jeffersonian*, 26 February 1847.

62. *Oswego Palladium*, 16 February 1847.

63. Ibid, 23 February 1847.

64. *Buffalo Courier*, 17 February 1847. For roles in Irish organizations, 23 March 1847, and for backgrounds and nativist ties, Gerber, *Making of an American Pluralism*. Also, *Buffalo Express*, 13, 15, 16, 17 February 1847.

65. *Buffalo Courier*, 23 March 1847; Buffalo Express, 24 March 1847.

66. *Buffalo Courier*, 1 March 1847 (Clarence), 22 March 1847 (Lockport); and *Rochester Democrat*, 12 March 1847. Also, see letter from an "Episcopalian" in the Democrat discussing the best way to use the funds for famine relief.

67. Relief Committee, Aid to Ireland, 27; Neither Judith Bushnell, Reference Librarian at Geneseo College Libraries nor David W. Parish, historian for Geneseo, could track down a manuscript reference; Bushnell to author, 5 July 2002.

68. See the author's articles on Brooklyn and Illinois cited above.

69. *Batavia Republican Advocate*, 16 February 1847.

70. *Canandaigua Ontario Repository*, 23 February 1847. Thirty-five women were on the committee.

71. *Albany Argus*, 16 February 1847; *Ovid Bee*, 3 March 1847; *Buffalo Courier*, 18 February 1847, *Binghamton Broome Republican*, 24 February 1847; Irish Relief Committee, Aid to Ireland, 37-38, 46; *New Orleans Delta*, 17 March 1847.

72. Studies of women in philanthropy do not mention famine relief. For example, Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) or Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change; Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); *Cooperstown Otsego Democrat*, 3 April 1847; *Little Falls Mohawk Courier*, 18 March 1847.

73. *Baldwinsville Onondaga Gazette*, 18 February 1847; *Lowville Northern Journal*, 11 March 1847.

74. *Utica Daily Gazette*, 6 March 1847.

75. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism*, 78.

76. *Utica Daily Gazette*, 20 February 1847.

77. Ibid, 22 February, 9 March 1847; *Cazenovia Madison County Whig*, 7 April 1847. For the record of an individual contribution, see contribution of $25 received by Mayor Wetmore of Utica and given to Francis Kernan, treasurer of Utica Committee, 5 April 1847 in Kernan Family Papers, Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.

78. Edmund Wetmore, et. al., Irish Relief Committee of Utica to the Central Committee, 8 May 1847, in *Transactions*, 241. Also, for donations from central New York that went via the Albany Committee, see item 72, undated list of groups that donated supplies and money; item 73, lists of supplies collected and shipped, 30 April 1847, and Account Book, Theodore Olcott, 15 February–8 September 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

79. Ann Buckingham Diary, 20 March, 23 March 1847, v:2; Box 5, Papers of the New Lebanon Shakers, Manuscripts, NYSL.

80. Irish Relief Committee, Aid to Ireland, 41, 45, *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 4 March 1847.

81. *Albany Daily Argus*, 25 March 1847; item 73, undated list of donations, Account Book of Theodore Olcott, 15 February–8 September 1847, AIHA.

82. Ibid, 24 February 1847; *Albany Evening Journal*, 25 March, 11 May 1847; Account Book of Theodore Olcott, 15 February–8 September 1847, AIHA.

83. *Lansingburgh Gazette*, 19 February 1847. Also, see the editorial in the *Lansingburgh Democrat*, 19 February 1847, on the need for Irish relief.

84. *Lansingburgh Democrat*, 19 February; *Lansingburgh Gazette*, 19, 26 February, 19 March 1847. Copies of these newspapers are available at the Troy Public Library. Most of the other newspapers cited in this article are form the microfilm collections of the NYSL. Rensselaer County Historical Society has no record.

85. Ray Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study in the Origins of American Nativism* (Gloucester, Ma.: Peter Smith, 1963), 143-58; Barbara Petrick, *Church and School in the Immigrant City: A Social History of Public Education in Jersey City, 1804-1930* (Metuchen, N.J.: Upland Press, 2000), 33, 120; Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 127.

86. *Troy Post*, 12 February 1847; *Troy County Post*, 16 February 1847; *Troy Daily Whig*, 9, 10, 12, February 1847; *Troy Northern Budget*, 30 January, 8 February 1847; and ibid, 16 February citing *Troy Telegraph* editorial on Irish relief. Father Havermanns was of Dutch or Flemish origin.

87. *Troy County Post*, 16 February 1847. For details on Dunnigan, see Pardons, Albany County, 1855, Myron Clark Papers, NYSL.

88. As an example, Charles Folger to John Ford, 4 May 1847, Albany Committee, AIHA.

89. George DeKay to William Parmalee, 24 March 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA. DeKay wrote a number of people in New York and New Jersey soliciting cargoes, and the correspondence in the Albany Institute appears to include some of few surviving letters of DeKay's.

90. George DeKay to Charles Jenkins, undated, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA. DeKay wrote a similar letter to Parmalee, 17 March 1847.

91. Publications touching the United States Frigate *Macedonian*, Appendix No. 7, *Aid to Ireland*, 165-175, and for example, *New York Sun*, 28 April 1847; *New York Express*, 29 May 1847.

92. Alfred Clarke to Charles Jenkins, 2 April 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

93. Thomas W. Olcott to Alfred Clarke, 2 April 1847. Also, see Clark's letter of 31 March 1847 to Olcott, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

94. Ibid, Clarke to Charles Jenkins, 2 April 1847; *Albany Evening Journal*, 27 April; George DeKay to the editors, 1 May 1847 in *Albany Evening Journal*, 3 May 1847.

95. Sarbaugh, "A Moral Spectacle," 14. For a more favorable view of the *Macedonian* and DeKay's role, see the works of Wheelock, "Commodore DeKay," 254-69; DeKay, *Chronicles*, 228-243; Laxton, *The Famine Ships*, 49-54.

96. *Albany Evening Journal*, 20 March 1847. Also, see *New York Courier*, 29 April 1847.

97. James Stowall, et. al., Finance Committee, Common Council of New York, to Central Relief Committee, 31 May 1847, in *Transactions*, 244.

98. Anna Heffernan, Secretary of the Ladies Irish Relief Committee to the editors, 8 April, 27 May 1847, in *New York Morning Express*, 29 May 1847.

99. Edmund Wetmore, et. al., Irish Relief Committee of Utica, to the Central Relief Committee, 8 May 1847, in *Transactions*, 241; Laxton, *The Famine Ships*, 52-54; DeKay, *Chronicles*, 232-237.

100. For details on the cargo loaded in Boston for *Macedonian* see, for example, David Henshaw to Davis Brooks and Co; 22 May 1847, item 11, Bills, Records of New England Committee for Relief of Ireland and Scotland in the Robert Bennet Forbes Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

101. Contributions, 8 September 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

102. Accounts of contributions are from *Albany Argus*, 26 February, 2, 4, 6, 15 March 1847; Account Book of Theodore Olcott, 15 February–8 September, 1847, AIHA. Unfortunately, the extensive papers of the Corning Family at the Albany Institute did not record Corning's contributions and work for famine relief. Similarly, Townsend Family Papers, Manuscripts Division, NYSL, contain no records of contributions made by members of another major family.

103. Edwin Croswell to Charles Jenkins, 25 February 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA. Croswell later sent another $50.

104. *Albany Argus*, 18 March 1847; *Albany Evening Journal*, 27 February; 13, 16, 30 March 1847; *Albany Evening Atlas*, 16, 17 March 1847.

105. Brian Greenberg, *Worker and Community* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985), 132. For the temperance lecture, *Albany Evening Atlas*, 1 March 1847.

106. Charles Jenkins, Chairman, Central Committee of the State of New York to the Central Relief Committee, 28 April 1847, *Transactions*, 239. Original copy of this letter is in Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

107. Citations from Greenberg, *Worker and Community*, 135. Contributions from the *Albany Evening Atlas*, 16 March 1847; 8 March entry, Account Book of Theodore Olcott, AIHA.

108. Details on individuals from Greenberg, *Worker and Community*, 134-35, 33.

109. Citations from Greenberg, *Worker and Community*, 128; Rowley, "Irish Aristocracy," 294; *Albany Evening Journal*, 16 March 1847; John Dillon, *The Historic Story of St. Mary's, 1798-1932* (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1933), 178-79.

110. *New York Freeman's Journal*, 6 March 1847; *Albany Evening Atlas*, 26 March 1847; J.A. Schneller to Charles Jenkins, 30 March 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA. Also, see Account Book of Theodore Olcott at AIHA; L.G. Hoffman, *Hoffman's Albany Directory* (Albany: L.G. Hoffman, 1847); 35, 68, 242, 270-76, 301.

111. Citation from Rowley, "Irish Aristocracy," 293.

112. *Albany Evening Journal*, 30 April 1847; *Albany Argus*, 9 March 1847; *Albany Evening Atlas*, 8 March 1847. Information on occupations from above and Rowley, Albany, 484. Rowley's occupational analysis coincides with contemporary newspaper accounts.

113. Contributions, 8 September 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

114. *Schenectady Reflector*, 2 April 1847 notice of Daniel McDougal, et. al., committee, "Relief to Scotland."

115. 13 May 1847 entry, in Peter Kinnear, compiler, *1802-1903, Centennial Year Historical Sketch of the St. Andrew's Society of the City of Albany* (Albany: Weed Parsons, 1903), 15; *Albany Evening Journal*, 11, 23, 27 March; 8 April 1847; *Albany Argus*, 1 May 1847.

116. *Albany Evening Journal*, 19 February 1847; Richard Irvin to Charles Jenkins, 19 April, 26 May, 4 October 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA; Robert Forbes to Richard Irvin, 17 June 1847 acknowledging contributions for Scottish relief from New York City and Albany in *Albany Evening Journal*, 22 July 1847. For Irvin's role, see *New York Journal of Commerce*, 25 February 1847. Also, see individual Scottish contributions in Account Book of Theodore Olcott and Final Report (undated) of the Albany Irish Relief Committee in AIHA. The published reports of the Edinburgh and Glasgow sections of the Central Board of the Highland Destitution Relief Fund for 1847 mention some specific examples and general amounts from the United States but they do now specifically mention Albany. See First to Seventh Reports of Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland of the Destitution Committee at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Similarly, the Treasurer's Reports at the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh make passing reference to American contributions from New York and Philadelphia, entries for 11, 15 February; 19 May 1847. Both the National Library and National Archives of Scotland kindly provided me with copies.

117. Charles Jenkins to Myndert VanSchaick, 3 April 1847; Robert Minturn to Charles Jenkins, 5 April 1847; Myndert VanSchaick to Charles Jenkins, 10 April 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

118. Myndert VanSchaick to Charles Jenkins, 10 April 1847; Myndert VanSchaick to Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim, 15, 29 April, 15 May 1847 in Relief Committee, Aid to Ireland, 86-89, 91, Appendix No. 3, 61-62; Robert Minturn to Charles Jenkins, 14, 17, 28, 29 April; 1, 8, 11 May 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

119. Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim to Charles Jenkins, 18 June 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

120. Myndert VanShaick to Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim, 15 April 1847 in Relief Committee, Aid to Ireland, 86.

121. *Albany Evening Journal*, 29 April 1847; As an example, Edwin Thomas, Buffalo Committee to Charles Jenkins, 14 April 1847, or Charles Folger, Geneva Committee, Relief Committee, AIHA.

122. Robert Minturn to Charles Jenkins, 11 May 1847 and Memorandum of Investment of Albany funds by the New York Committee of Aid to Ireland, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

123. Ibid, Robert Minturn to Charles Jenkins, 11 December 1847, 3 February 1848; James Reyburn to Central Relief Committee, 30 November 1847 in *Transactions*, 249. Also, see Appendix VII, 342-43 for list of Albany donations.

124. Bayor and Meaher, *New York Irish*, 220 (citation); Rowley, *Albany*, 299; Gerber, *American Pluralism*, 149; Joseph Bewley to Charles Jenkins, 17 July 1847, Theobold Mathew to Joseph Bewley, 22 July 1847, Theobold Mathew to Charles Jenkins, 24 July 1847, Albany Relief Committee, AIHA.

125. The phrase "universal America" came from Father Charles O'Reilly of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, *Boston Pilot*, 6 March 1847.

126. Hotten-Somers, "Famine," 307.

127. "Meeting of the Jewish Population of New York in Aid of Ireland," *Occident* 5:1 (April 1847), 37.

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