

Fenians Over the Niagara: Irish Nationalism and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Buffalo, NY

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In 1865, the *Evening Courier and Republic*, a popular newspaper in Buffalo, NY, printed a front-page reporting on rumors of a possible invasion. In an effort to address readers' concerns and prevent panic, the article announced that steps had been taken "to guard the Banks and other property...on the frontier," and that there was no real cause for concern.¹ Was this a last-ditch effort of the Confederacy to invade the Union in the waning months of the Civil War? Was it perhaps the sparks of another war with Indigenous peoples on the western frontier? Neither of these were the case. This article, published on December 6th, 1865, referred instead to a rumored invasion from the United States into Canada, a nation with which the United States was not at war. The frontier described in the article was the Niagara Frontier, a region split between the state of New York and Canada by the Niagara River. And the would-be invaders? They were members of the Fenian Brotherhood, a group of radical Irish American nationalists who intended to support the cause for an independent Ireland by invading the British-held territory of Canada, capturing as much as they could take, and holding those territories ransom or even as a base from which to invade Britain itself. Although the invasion did not take place during the following days, a Fenian invasion of Canada did occur the following year on June 1st and 2nd, 1866.²

Late on the evening of June 1st, roughly 600 members of the self-styled Fenian Army crossed the Niagara River from Black Rock, just north of the City of Buffalo.³ They had in their possession rifles, bayonets, pistols, and, they hoped, enough ammunition to achieve their goal: the capture of Fort Erie in Ontario, Canada, and all the arms therein, so that it might be used as a base from which the rest of the invasion was to be conducted. The fort was situated on the northern shore of Lake Erie at the mouth of the Niagara, making it the best location in the region from which to extend the invasion. After organizing their forces throughout the night, the Fenian Army, led by Colonel John McMahon and Generals John O'Neill and Thomas Sweeny, met the Canadian militia and several units of the Queen's Own Rifles of Toronto on June 2nd, near the town of Ridgeway, west of the fort. Astonishingly, the battle resulted in a Fenian victory, and the Fenians would go on to win another battle that afternoon at the Welland Field Battery at the outskirts of the fort.⁴ However, news arrived shortly thereafter of inbound British regulars from Toronto and that the American military had cut off all possibility of

resupply from the American side of the border. With this news, the Fenian Army quickly disbanded, and then retreated in chaos back over the Niagara and into United States territory.⁵

Following the failed invasion, newspapers in Buffalo and throughout North America, as well as in Ireland, were filled with reports of the raid itself, the retreat, the capture of some of the men, and their subsequent trials before the Canadian courts. The Fenian Brotherhood itself also came under increased public scrutiny. Some of these men were also Buffalo residents. Additionally, the tumult in North America was accompanied by further violence between British authorities and the Fenians in Ireland. Moreover, the Irish American community itself was discussed in the press and elsewhere, with both their activities and their loyalties called into question. Who were these self-identified Fenians? What motivated them to stage the Fenian Raids? And how long had such radical political activities been going on under the noses of the non-Irish residents?

The Fenian Raids of 1866 were not isolated, nor were they simply a violent outburst conducted by a few radicals. Rather, they were a manifestation of long-simmering social and political conflicts which boiled over in Ireland at the turn of the nineteenth century, traveled to the United States, and were planted and grew within Irish American communities, such as Buffalo, NY. I argue that Buffalo was not merely the city from which the self-styled Fenian Army launched their attacks but was also an important center of Irish Nationalist activity due to its large Irish American population, as well as its proximity to other Irish American communities in the United States and Canada. As Irish immigrants filled American cities throughout the mid-nineteenth century, they raised funds, held lectures, staged plays, wrote articles, and attended meetings, all in support of various forms of Irish nationalism. Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, the Buffalo Irish embraced and supported the cause of Irish nationalism, even as they struggled with, and adapted, to anti-immigrant prejudice, low wages, and all the other difficulties brought on by immigration. These included robust public discourse which questioned whether Irish immigrants could ever truly be American, as well as prejudice against the Irish for their Catholic faith. Whether through monetary support or through direct participation, the Buffalo Irish supported Irish nationalist efforts from the early nineteenth century.

Put another way, Buffalo was more than the point of departure for the Fenian Army in 1866, it also held an Irish American community which, in varying ways, supported their cause and had done so for decades.⁶ While the Fenians were the most violent and radical branch of Irish nationalism to be transplanted to the United States, there were multiple ways in which the Buffalo Irish, and Irish Americans more generally, supported this cause. From the Grand Hibernian Society to the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, to the radical Fenian Brotherhood, Irish Americans in Buffalo supported efforts to bring about an independent Ireland, even as they created new communities, fought in support of the Union during the Civil

War, and made new lives for themselves in the United States. Ultimately, the events which unfolded in Buffalo in the 1860s illustrates that beyond the clamor of Irish Nationalism's famous orators and exiled leaders along the cities of the east coast of North America were many communities of Irish Americans who supported and participated in the transnational movement for an independent Ireland.

Although large numbers of immigrants, between 15,000 and 50,000 per year, arrived in the United States throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the arrival of *An Gorta Mór* in 1845, better known as the Irish Potato Famine, pushed that number into the hundreds of thousands annually.⁷ Throughout the 1830s and early 1840s, unrest had grown steadily in Ireland, which was under strict British control. Objecting primarily to anti-Catholic legislation under Protestant rule, harsh tenancy laws which kept the Catholic majority in relative poverty, a tumultuous agricultural economy, suppression of the Irish language, and the stifling of industrial growth in Ireland, Irish politicians, led by Daniel O'Connell attempted throughout this period to bring about the repeal of the Act of Union. Repeal, if achieved, would have given Ireland significantly more control over its own governance, which at this time was managed by Parliament in London.⁸ This period also saw an eruption of Irish political engagement, in part because of O'Connell's encouragement of the Irish press and public reading rooms for the benefit of the illiterate.⁹ In spite of these efforts, the British government never seriously considered an independent Ireland during this period.¹⁰

When the first potato crop failure occurred in 1845, the Irish population depended heavily on this staple crop as their primary dietary component.¹¹ The cause of this crop failure was a late blight, a biological disease which turned the inside of an otherwise healthy potato into inedible, black mush.¹² That first winter, only the poorest felt the effects. By the end of 1847, known as "Black '47", the crop failures had caused a humanitarian and economic crisis across the entire island.¹³ Over the next two years, deaths from hunger and hunger-related illnesses mounted. Meanwhile, British authorities responded with a mixture of misguided good intentions, indifference, or at worst, active obstruction.¹⁴ The combination of a lack of cohesive leadership and the mounting crisis of the famine further enflamed resentments felt by the Irish towards British authorities. By the time of Irish independence in 1922, a mixture of these blight-initiated crop failures, diseases, political oppression, and ever-increasing violence and discontent resulted in the emigration of over 4,000,000 Irish, most of whom settled in the United States.¹⁵

The decision to emigrate to the United States was not taken lightly. Many families could only afford to send one family member at a time. Often, the goal was for that individual to earn enough to provide for themselves, and to send funds back to Ireland to ensure survival in the short term, and reunification in America in the long term.¹⁶ Due to this relative poverty, most Irish immigrants settled in urban centers in the northeastern region of the United States.¹⁷ Over time, this form of urban chain-migration resulted in the formation of numerous Irish Amer-

ican communities in port-cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. However, it was not only in these metropolises that the Irish chose to settle, but also smaller cities such as Buffalo, New York.

Buffalo, which began as a small eighteenth-century settlement on the Niagara Frontier, is perched on the eastern edge of Lake Erie, where it was first settled by the French, then won by the British, before it became part of New York following independence.¹⁸ After it was burned to the ground during the War of 1812, the rebuilt Buffalo experienced unprecedented growth following the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825.¹⁹ This canal was the critical link between the Eastern Seaboard and the Midwest, and the commerce which traveled along the canal allowed Buffalo to become the United States' largest inland port, shipping more grain through its docks than almost any other port in the world.²⁰ This extensive economic expansion and affordable method of travel led to a population boom, of which Irish immigrants comprised a significant portion. Before this period, there were little more than 400 Irish in Buffalo. By 1855, that population had swelled to just over 10,000.²¹ The Buffalo Irish settled mostly in the First Ward neighborhood south of the city, a neighbourhood which sat adjacent to the shipping district.²² As they established themselves in a new city and a new nation, Irish Americans did not abandon or forget their former homes, nor did they wholly replace their old political beliefs with new ones.

The Irish in Buffalo and Irish Nationalism in America have not gone unexamined by historians. In terms of broader Irish immigration history, much of the debate among scholars has been focused on the extent to which the Irish and their descendants retained the culture of their homeland and adopted that of their newly adopted American homes.²³ This scholarly discussion was expanded upon greatly by the work of Kerby Miller, who argued that as the Catholic-majority Irish left Ireland, their individual reasons for making the decision were encompassed by a cultural preoccupation with exile.²⁴ In other words, the feeling of being forced out of Ireland against one's will permeated Irish American culture as a whole. Furthermore, it can be said that the deep emotional trauma of mass cultural exile added to the motivations of Irish Americans to carry their own culture of nationalism with them and continue their efforts in America. For instance, David Brundage argues that this cultural feeling of exile led Irish Americans to consider themselves a part of a "greater Ireland," to the point that American-based Irish Nationalists became influential leaders of the movement itself.²⁵ All these prior studies provide a sense of Irish America, but there are others, including this study, which more specifically address the events in Buffalo in the mid-nineteenth century.

The first major study of the Irish in Buffalo is David Gerber's *The Making of American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-1860*. This work analyzes the rapid development of the city of Buffalo alongside the growth of its immigrant communities throughout the Antebellum period. In that light, Gerber argues that although certain individuals within immigrant communities in Buffalo showed some "re-

siliency” to industrial capitalism and American political machines, the majority of Buffalo’s Irish and German immigrants lived lives determined largely by forces beyond their control.²⁶ Chief among those forces, Gerber asserts, were Buffalo’s rapidly-expanding industrial economy and the “bourgeois” elites who increasingly defined themselves in opposition to their new Irish and German neighbours.²⁷ While Gerber’s insights into the development of urban centers in the decades preceding the Civil War are valuable, especially in his highlighting of the ways in which ethnicity and class intersected, there is additional significance in the history of the Buffalo Irish. The Irish of the early nineteenth century were a highly politically conscious people, as previous scholarship has already established.²⁸ Contrary to Gerber’s assertions, the Buffalo-Irish, and indeed Irish Americans in general, brought and sustained their political involvement in both domestic politics and the politics of the Irish nationalism constantly throughout the nineteenth century.

The other major work which considers the Buffalo Irish is *Between Riot and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* by William Jenkins. Jenkins focuses exclusively on the Irish, but then compares those Irish who settled in Buffalo with those in Toronto, Canada, and argues that the two cities provide fertile ground for examining the development of the Irish diaspora from the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of hostilities in Ireland in 1916.²⁹ He further opines that the Irish American identity, which in this case referred to any Irish living in North America, was in a constant state of “fabrication” and redefinition throughout this period. Jenkins uses the Fenian Raids on Canada in 1866, as well as Canada’s status as a dominion, which began in 1867, as a starting point from which to track the development of a transnational North American movement in support of Irish nationalism.

Jenkins’ study built upon previous scholarship by acknowledging the agency held by both Irish immigrants as individuals within the ethnic group itself. Jenkins’ work also illuminates the interconnectedness of Irish nationalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even as violence in Ireland threatened to alienate many international supporters. More importantly, Jenkins begins his study with the Fenian Raids of 1866, an event which Jenkins’ argues was long in the making. Irish American identity in Buffalo, and elsewhere in North America, was expanded upon and solidified from 1867 to 1916, but those same processes regarding both identity and Irish nationalism had been underway, and warrant examination. It is within this gap in the scholarship that this study places itself.³⁰ Irish nationalist activity in Buffalo began long before the Fenian Raids of 1866 were planned or executed, and the city was an important center of Irish American political activity.

While a variety of Irish nationalist groups were founded and flourished in the United States throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Fenian Brotherhood is perhaps the most infamous and, therefore, has been the focus of sustained scholarly inquiry. The founding of the Fenian Brotherhood in America took place simultaneously with the founding of the Irish Republican Broth-

erhood in Ireland as migration out of Ireland to the United States reached a new high.³¹ The organization was founded by John O'Mahony and other Irish nationalist leaders in 1858 following the exile of many prominent Irish leaders after the failed 1848 Irish rebellion.³² Scholars such as David Brundage have examined the foundations and leadership of the Fenian Brotherhood, which occurred most in New York City, as well as the military experience they gained during the American Civil War.³³ Brundage argues that the Fenian Brotherhood's relatively short-lived popularity among Irish Americans was due to their divisive stance in favour of the use of violence, as well as their inability to recruit from the middle classes.³⁴ At the same time, Patrick Steward and Bryan McGovern argue that the Fenian Brotherhood appealed mostly to young Irish men "in search of an adventurous way" to act out their frustrations at their economic disadvantages and prove their manhood.³⁵ This study, apart from including Irish nationalist groups and activities conducted by other groups in the city as well as the Fenians, complicates these arguments by showing the involvement of women and their sister organizations, exploring the actions of rank-and-file members, and by examining other motivations for Irish Americans, specifically the Buffalo Irish, for participating in Irish nationalism.

The earliest incarnations of organized Irish nationalist activity in Buffalo occurred in 1848, before the famine in Ireland was over. While Europe held its breath as revolutions occurred across the continent, waves of Irish immigrants arrived in cities like Buffalo, choosing to begin again rather than await Ireland's fate. In the summer of 1848, the *Buffalo Daily Republic* reported that a fraternal organization dubbed "the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick" had convened and elected officers.³⁶ The organization, founded in 1771 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and came to Buffalo in 1845, was originally intended for the relief of poor Irish immigrants and had grown substantially in response to this latest wave of immigration.³⁷ Following these elections, the paper reported that the sympathies of the people of the city of Buffalo, both Irish and non-Irish, were entirely in support of the suffering Irish. "The citizens of Buffalo...in great numbers, and with enthusiasm respond to the cries for help, which came booming across the Atlantic, from famishing Ireland."³⁸ This article not only referenced the general good will mainstream Buffalo residents felt for the Irish in Ireland, but also printed the resolutions which were voted and agreed upon by the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick at their first meeting. Among the many items of the resolution was assertion that "the British Government [was] the greatest foe of human freedom," that "we give our support (consistent with our duty as American citizens) to all measures having for their tendency the overthrow of the British Government," and declared that "a fund be created for the purpose of furnishing the Irish people with munitions of war as soon as they shall have struck for freedom."³⁹

Throughout the summer of 1848 and into the spring of 1849, the *Buffalo Daily Republic* and the *Morning Express*, two of the area's most popular newspapers, reported on the activities of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, all of which con-

tained similar themes.⁴⁰ First, that the problems Ireland faced at this time were caused by British neglect and maleficence, and that Ireland had a right to be self-governing. Secondly, that the people of the United States were both prosperous and sympathetic to these misfortunes due to their republican form of government. Finally, and most importantly, that the time for words and appeals to the British authorities had passed, and that funds must be raised in order to acquire arms so that the Irish could free themselves. Although it would be nearly two decades before the Fenian Raids brought these the calls for military action to fruition, these early declarations are significant. The published resolutions passed by these groups of Irish immigrants in Buffalo illustrate that even in the earliest days of the Irish diaspora, Irish nationalist sympathies and actions were alive and well in the United States, including the city from which the raids originated. The *Buffalo Daily Republic* and the *Buffalo Morning Express* also reported on celebrations of Irish culture and religion, such as Saint Patrick's Day parades and festivals, as well as information regarding how recent immigrants might send funds to Ireland in order to aid their families.⁴¹ These early reports of Irish American political activity also show that there was, for the time being, sympathy for the Irish both at home and abroad among non-Irish Buffalo residents. These newspaper articles also show that, even before the close of the first decade of mass migration from Ireland, the Irish had mobilized and organized in the city and were at work in support of their own political causes.

Naturally, resolutions and calls for revolution only go so far, and are not indications of a substantial movement on their own. However, the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick's early calls for revolution, and the raising of funds, were answered shortly after their formation with the establishment of their annual ball. Beginning in the late 1840s, the group began organizing and hosting a night of social activity and amusement to support the cause of Irish nationalism more generally.⁴² Organized by an all-male planning committee and hosted at downtown venues, such as Concert Hall, the Eagle Street Theater, or St. James' Place, admission to the ball was one dollar. Advertisements for the dances were placed in several Buffalo newspapers in the weeks leading up to the event, including the *Buffalo Morning Express* and the *Buffalo Daily Republic*, which ensured many readers were aware of the event. The fact that these advertisements were placed in several mainstream Buffalo newspapers, and not just smaller immigrant presses, suggests that the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick believed they could increase their revenue by opening themselves up to those outside the Buffalo-Irish community. This is a strategy which would be taken up and expanded upon by the Fenian Brotherhood after this secret society was founded in 1858.⁴³

The question then remains; how did the Buffalo Irish stay in tune to developments in Irish politics and the movement for Irish independence overseas? To be sure, the continuing influx of new immigrants to the city assisted in this. However, during the mid-1850s, expelled Irish radicals began touring the United

States to visit the American Irish. Through their use of public lectures and speeches, these exiled Irish nationalists were able to accomplish their dual goal of appealing to sympathetic Americans, while remaining in touch with Irish immigrants and their descendants.⁴⁴ One of these exiles was John Mitchel, a radical Irish nationalist who had started several newspapers in Ireland in support of the cause. After escaping a penal colony in 1853, he came to the United States where he continued to fund and support the Irish-nationalist press in the United States and embarked on a series of speaking tours throughout the country.⁴⁵

On February 1st, 1856, one of Mitchel's stops was Buffalo, New York.⁴⁶ Advertisements for his lecture at American Hall informed readers that for 25 cents they could listen to the famed "Irish Exile" relate his heroic tale of escape from British authorities, as well as hear his opinions on the state of Ireland and its future.⁴⁷ The Buffalo Irish, and any non-Irish who attended, were thereby made aware of events in Ireland in a more direct way than ordinary news reports.⁴⁸ The subject of that evening's lecture was "The Ripening of the Irish Revolution."⁴⁹ According to reports of Mitchel's visit, he argued strongly that the American Irish had the ability to be "Irish and American citizens at the same time."⁵⁰ This prompted heavy criticism that made its way into the newspapers, in whose reports Mitchel was further criticized for encouraging Irish Americans to conduct their own invasions on British territories, something which the *Buffalo Morning Express* was not "inclined to excuse" no matter what wrongs Ireland had endured.⁵¹ Just as with the resolutions of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick in 1848, the rhetoric of Irish nationalism and revolution was not held back until the event in question, but acknowledged in the open in the advertisements themselves.

From the 1840s onward, the growing Irish immigrant population of the city of Buffalo was engaged in, or at least made aware of, Irish nationalism and the movement for Irish independence. Although the Fenian Brotherhood would not be founded until 1858, other groups such as the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, speakers such as John Mitchel, and the Buffalo Irish themselves perpetuated Irish nationalism in the form of fraternal organizations, public dances, and public lectures, all of which perpetuated or supported Irish nationalism in varying ways. The founding of the Fenian Brotherhood in New York City in 1858 and the national crisis of the American Civil War transformed American-Irish nationalism in Buffalo and elsewhere. Far from placing their Irish nationalist sympathies aside during wartime, the American Irish connected their long-standing political sympathies to the Union's war effort.

Before the opening shots of the Civil War, the American Fenian Brotherhood was founded in the same year as its Irish counterpart. Leaders of each branch, such as John Francis O'Mahony and John Francis Maguire, coordinated the Fenian Brotherhood's efforts on both sides of the Atlantic.⁵² While the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick supported Irish nationalism throughout the previous decade, it was also a fraternal organization which supported the general relief of the Irish Amer-

ican poor. The Fenian Brotherhood however was a group whose sole purpose was to bring about an independent Ireland by whatever means necessary.⁵³ The Fenian Brotherhood claimed that by forming an organized and efficient group, the disunity of the uprisings in Ireland in 1848 would be avoided. Moreover, Fenian leadership stressed the importance of keeping millions of Irish who had moved to America within the fold and argued that the “Irish Nation” included them as well as the population of Ireland itself.⁵⁴ While the Fenian Brotherhood looked to form itself as a potential government-in-waiting for Ireland, the women of the Fenian Sisterhood also participated in the movement as the main fundraising body of the organization. By the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, branches of the American Fenian Brotherhood had begun expanding beyond New York City and into other urban centers with Irish populations, including Buffalo.

Just as with other segments of the Northern population, the early days of the Civil War saw high rates of volunteer enlistments in support of the Union. Along with regular regiments, Irish and German populations throughout the North formed their own ethnic regiments in support of the war effort.⁵⁵ Statistically, American immigrant populations volunteered and enlisted at about the same rate as their native-born counterparts. However, American immigrant soldiers held motivations which were unique when compared to native-born troops. Many immigrant soldiers believed that their participation in the Civil War on behalf of the Union would prove their loyalty and portray their ethnic group in an honourable and favourable light to mainstream Americans.⁵⁶ This was especially true for Irish Americans, who often found themselves the subjects of anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic rhetoric throughout the nineteenth century.⁵⁷

Although the suffering of the Irish in Ireland and in the United States was met with general sympathy in Buffalo and elsewhere in the 1840s, by the outbreak of the Civil War, public opinion on the American Irish had become decidedly more mixed. For example, the *Buffalo Daily Republic* published an article in 1860 entitled, “A Negro better than a Foreigner,” which described Irish Catholic voters as “voting cattle” who were pushed to the polls and controlled by the Democratic Party.⁵⁸ One Republican candidate interviewed for this article claimed “I DESPISE THE POPE AND HATE THE PAPIST AND DETEST THE IRISH,” while another said, “I will kick any Irish or Dutch Catholic who votes for me.”⁵⁹ It was in light of this changing public opinion that Irish Americans in the city began pursuing the twin-goals of support for Irish-Nationalism and their own fight for broader acceptance among their fellow Buffalonians.

The Buffalo Irish united the two in their support for the war effort in the North. Throughout the autumn of 1862, Buffalo newspapers were filled with calls for an Irish Regiment. Earlier that year, John E. McMahon of Buffalo had been granted the authority to muster an Irish Regiment out of volunteers from Buffalo’s Irish community, and by November, was ready to accept recruits.⁶⁰ “Every Loyal Irishman is Invited to Cooperate in the Good Work,” the advertisement read, “Rally

For The Union under the Green Banner, In Defense of the only Flag that Floats over the Free... Shall Irishmen see it overthrown while they have power to wield a sword or handle a bayonet? Remember the Past! Think of the Future!"⁶¹ This message ran for months in *The Buffalo Morning Express* and *The Evening Courier and Republic* without alteration. The rhetoric used in these advertisements appealed both to the desire of the Buffalo Irish to prove their loyalty to their new homeland, and their ongoing efforts in support of Irish nationalism. They were addressed as "Irishmen," and urged to remember a past in which they were denied their basic civil rights under British rule. The imagery of the "Old Green Banner," which had flown over every Irish rebellion since 1798, connected the freedom fighters of the past with the present struggle of the Civil War. Most importantly, the rhetoric of these advertisements urged would-be troops to "Think of the Future." Although this call to action did not explicitly refer to future military actions in support of Irish nationalism, it did remind the Buffalo Irish that those who desired to defend freedom and prevent oppression ought to do so if they possessed the power.⁶²

By the end of November 1862, the 155th Regiment, which had been headquartered in Buffalo throughout the recruitment process, was officially mustered into action.⁶³ They fought at Spotsylvania Court House, Petersburg, Cold Harbor, and in the final Appomattox Campaign, among others, and suffered 433 casualties in total, including death of their colonel in 1863.⁶⁴ These engagements provided the men of the 155th Regiment with military experiences and discipline. It is impossible to know how many people in Buffalo were compelled to change their minds regarding Irish immigrants because of their military service in the 155th and other regiments. However, some veterans of the Buffalo Irish Regiment, and other Irish regiments like it, later put their military experience to use after the war in the Fenian Raids.⁶⁵

During the 1860s, total or partial independence for Ireland was no nearer and hundreds of thousands of Irish continued to arrive. Throughout this period, Fenianism gained attention and support both in Ireland and the United States. Much like John Mitchel in the 1850s, Irish nationalists embarked on speaking tours of the United States to promote their cause. In 1860, Irish-Catholic speaker Rev. Dr. Cahill spoke at St. James Hall, which was a common venue in Buffalo for a variety of social events, on the "general character of Ireland" and in defense of its "civil and religious associations," of which the Fenian Brotherhood was one.⁶⁶ The "distinguished Irish Orator," Mason Jones, visited Buffalo in 1863. Billed as the "Great Literary Sensation of the Time," Jones spoke at St. James Hall on the connections between the rebellion in the American South and global events in Europe, including Ireland.⁶⁷ Jones visited Buffalo three times, with his lecture on March 24th advertised as "positively the last" of his visit, which suggests that his lectures were incredibly popular and well-received.⁶⁸

Further evidence of Irish nationalist activities in Buffalo may be seen in how Irish nationalism, and the Fenians specifically, were discussed in the press. The

more the Fenian Brotherhood expanded and gained notoriety in both the United States and Ireland, the more commentary there was. Just as the Buffalo Irish Regiment mustered in the autumn of 1862, the *Evening Courier and Republic* published a lengthy article which, while generally sympathetic to the plight of the Irish who remained in Ireland, took the American-Irish to task for what the author perceived to be foolish meddling in matters which were no longer their concern.⁶⁹ The paper, which was published in the city of Buffalo throughout the 1860s and 1870s, was allied with the Democratic Party; however, Republican-allied newspapers in the city also published articles sympathetic to Irish Americans during this period.⁷⁰ The author of this article was Mr. David Gray, who wrote regular columns for the newspaper which gave detailed descriptions and impressions of his travels throughout Europe. He called the Fenians in Ireland, “the most absurdly weak and weaponless element which has ever invoked the name of liberty in Ireland.”⁷¹ He further argued that the constant support which Irish Americans were giving to Ireland would only get “their brethren in Ireland into trouble,” and that the Irish in Ireland remained “hopeful and cheerful” that patience and the gifts of economic development would solve their problems better than any ill-conceived revolution ever could.⁷²

In June of 1864, an “Anonymous Irish Clergyman” wrote to the *Buffalo Morning Express* to defend the Fenians in both Ireland and Buffalo.⁷³ Although the clergyman concealed his identity, the subtitle for the article read, “for the *Morning Express*,” meaning his message was meant to address the paper’s readers, and the city more generally.⁷⁴ In the article, this clergyman criticized anyone, including his fellow Buffalo Irish, who was critical of the Fenian Brotherhood as an organization. He claimed that, “the Fenian organization is the only one that has ever contained the whole strength of the Irish people, within and without Ireland...the cause of the Fenians is just and holy,” and that neither Irish American nor non-Irish should fear the Fenians simply because their meetings were secret.⁷⁵ He shamed the Vatican and all other Catholic bishops who publicly sympathized with the faithful in Italy and Poland, but not for those in Ireland who had been suffering much longer than any Catholic population in the world.⁷⁶ “I am not a member of the Fenian organization,” he closed, “but will support it with my pen and purse, until it is formally proscribed by authority.”⁷⁷ Buffalo’s Bishop Joh Timon disagreed with this anonymous writer, and denounced the Fenians. A private letter to his fellow Bishop Peter Lefevre of Detroit gives further insights into his reasoning. In a letter from February of 1866, just months before the Fenian Raids took place, Timon wrote that the Fenians in Buffalo were more active in his city than ever, and that he wished “some joint action of the Bishops” had been taken much earlier to hinder their growth.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Timon believed that the expansion of the Fenian Brotherhood was only worsened by the existence of the Fenian Sisterhood, which “unsexed” the women and encouraged them to interact with men and discuss politics, an activity which he thought endangered their purity.⁷⁹

The articles from Mr. David Gray and the anonymous clergyman are sig-

nificant for several reasons. First, they acknowledge that the Fenian Brotherhood had—by the 1860s—established itself both in the United States and Ireland, thereby becoming a transnational movement connected to a long history of Irish nationalist activity. Furthermore, the anonymous clergyman acknowledged that many Americans in Buffalo and elsewhere feared the growth of the Fenian Brotherhood and questioned the loyalty of the Irish generally. However, the anonymous clergyman clarified that the quarrel of the Fenian Brotherhood was not with the legitimate and just government of the United States, whose war against the Confederacy was “honourable,” and against the “arbiters of treason,” but rather with what he and the Fenians believed was the illegitimate, unjust, and unlawful British government.⁸⁰ According to this clergyman, there was no contradiction in Irish Americans’ simultaneous support for the Union and Irish nationalism. Finally, both articles confirm that the concerns over Fenian activity in Buffalo and elsewhere had risen to the level at which local clergy, newspapers, and government saw a need to justify themselves in print, in other words, to declare a side. As for the letter from Bishop Timon, it shows that attempts to unite the clergy against the Fenian Brotherhood were unsuccessful, and that both Irish men and women in Buffalo actively disregarded the wishes of their local Church leadership.

Outside public discourse on the Fenians, the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick continued their fund-raising efforts in support of Irish Americans and Irish nationalism. In September of 1860, the organization planned an “excursion to Niagara Falls,” as well as various fund-raising events in support of both the Catholic Church in Buffalo and those in need, such as orphaned children.⁸¹ Throughout the 1860s, the overtly political tones evident in the group’s earlier activities were eventually replaced by more generalized charity work for which the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick eventually became known. While the reasons for this transition are not entirely clear, it is notable that the organization’s reduction in nationalist rhetoric occurred just as the Fenian Brotherhood took root in the United States. By the end of the Civil War in 1865, Fenian activity was on the rise in Buffalo and the group had adopted and expanded upon earlier nationalist efforts in the area.

On July 7, 1865, a banquet was held for the entirety of the Irish Brigade at the invitation of General Thomas Francis Meagher.⁸² The general thanked the troops for their service, and greeted them as a fellow Irishman, patriots, and soldiers.⁸³ After mourning those lost in battle and wishing for there to be “fraternity” with former rebels from the South, Meagher confirmed the sentiments expressed in the original muster advertisement for the regiment in 1862, asserting that the Irish fought in the Civil War “to prove their devotion to this country” and to thank Americans for supporting “Irish independence” in the past.⁸⁴ Meagher directly referenced “sympathy and arms” when referring to the support Americans had given, and while he did not reference the Fenian Brotherhood or any other Irish nationalist organization directly, the content of his speech to the veterans of the Irish brigade confirms that discourse on Irish nationalism was alive and well among Irish Amer-

icans at the end of the war.

By late 1865, the Fenian Brotherhood and Sisterhood of Buffalo had adopted the fund-raising strategies of the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick and expanded upon them. In September, a Fenian Picnic was held at the grounds in Moffat's Grove in Buffalo, and reports of the event remarked that the "full force" of the Fenian Brotherhood was to attend the picnic, including members of the "fairer sex."⁸⁵ In October, a cryptic advertisement was published in the *Evening Courier and Republic* which "ordered" that every member of the Buffalo "Circle" of the Fenian Brotherhood be present at a meeting on the twelfth of that month to discuss which among them would represent the Buffalo Fenians at a national Fenian meeting in Philadelphia in the same month.⁸⁶ In November of 1865, "The Ball of the Fenian Sisterhood" was held at St. James Place.⁸⁷ Directly mirroring earlier fund-raising strategies, tickets for the event were one dollar, and the proceeds were "devoted to the objects of the Fenian Brotherhood which are distinctly understood to be the independence of Ireland," with advertisements promising guests would be "truly compensated" for their admission fee to the ball.⁸⁸ Unlike the balls and dances of the past, the Fenian Sisterhood's Ball were managed by a separate, all-female group of Irish American Fenians. These events show the involvement of the Buffalo Irish, both men and women, in efforts to support Fenianism at the local level. All this further supports the argument that Buffalo, New York was more than just the site from which the raids were conducted but was also a politically active community which supported Irish nationalism.

At the same time, reports of secret meetings of the Fenian "centre" around the Buffalo area filled the gossip columns of several local newspapers.⁸⁹ In January of 1866, six months before the Fenian Raids on Fort Erie, Buffalo Fenians and others sympathetic to the cause of Irish nationalism urged "all friendly to the Fenian Cause" to attend a one-night theater production in support of that same cause.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, Buffalo Fenian leader Patrick O'Day placed an advertisement in the *Evening Courier and Republic* that he was about to sell off his business and all of its stock "immediately."⁹¹ Also in January, General Thomas Sweeny, a veteran of the Civil War and vocal supporter of Fenianism, called upon Fenians across America "not to waste their energies on intestine [sic] strife. Let deeds not words be your motto, and strike before it is too late, and the golden opportunity lost forever. The vast extent of British dominions offers many vital points...let each army follow its chosen general and attack."⁹² For those among the Buffalo Irish who had supported Irish nationalism for the previous eighteen years, as well as for the Fenian Brotherhood at the national level, it was clear that one such "vital point" of the "British dominions," was just across the Niagara River at Fort Erie.

As the Fenian Army crossed from Buffalo on the night of June 1, 1866, and began their attacks on June 2 and 3, American and Canadian authorities scrambled to respond. Reports of the Fenian Army estimated that there were anywhere from 650 to 900 men marching towards Fort Erie.⁹³ Canadian authorities rejoiced

when on June 3, a dispatch from the United States announced that no less than General Ulysses Grant had been assigned to monitor the situation and direct the American military's response to the crisis.⁹⁴ On June 6th, President Andrew Johnson responded to the raids and declared the United States' intention to remain at peace with Great Britain and all her colonies, and encouraged all authorities within the United States to cooperate with those in Canada.⁹⁵ By June 8th, Governor General Monck reported that the Fenian Army had been broken up, and that some had fled to northern New York, but that no further incursions were expected.⁹⁶ By June 11th, the Niagara Frontier was reported to be secure, with prisoners held on both sides of the border, but Lieutenant-General Sir J. Michel reported that many Fenians were still hidden in Buffalo, possibly awaiting further orders to make another attempt.⁹⁷ However, no other incursions from Buffalo into Canada occurred in the aftermath.

Members of the Buffalo Irish community in the First Ward neighbourhood supported Irish nationalism in the United States long before the Fenian Brotherhood was established and the Raids of 1866 were planned. The Buffalo Irish, and Irish immigrants to the United States in general, did not abandon their political sensibilities upon their arrival. Rather, their arrivals were the seeds of American-Irish nationalism which took root and grew throughout the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. Beginning with the opening resolutions of the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick and continued by the Fenian Brotherhood and Sisterhood, the Buffalo Irish held public balls and organized picnics to raise funds in support of Irish nationalist efforts. Some men of the Buffalo-Irish community enlisted in a voluntary regiment of Irish soldiers and connected the struggle to preserve the Union with the struggle to free Ireland from British rule. The Buffalo Irish also hosted and attended public lectures by notable Irish nationalists and wrote to local newspapers to support Fenianism and Irish nationalism generally. Finally, witnesses of the raids and their aftermath confirmed that residents of the Buffalo-Irish community, some of whom were veterans of the Civil War, participated in and planned the raids with members of the Fenian Brotherhood from across the country. In the days before the raids, many soldiers in the Fenian Army, both local and outsiders, were seen in the First Ward and overheard discussing their ill-fated invasion and hid in the neighborhood afterward. More broadly, the long-standing support of Irish nationalism in Buffalo shows that Irish immigrants during the mid-nineteenth century were deeply invested in the political aspects of their Irish heritage and wished to use their new lives and communities as springboards for action in support of Ireland. While what occurred in Buffalo during this period is unique in many ways, it is also an illustrative example of Irish immigrant political culture at this time. Ordinary nineteenth-century Irish Americans, out of a lasting sympathy and identification with the place of their birth and ancestry, contributed to the wider Irish Nationalist movement in significant ways.

NOTES

¹ “There was some excitement...” *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Dec. 6, 1865.

² Fall Assizes for the United Counties of York and Peel, “Report of the Trials of the Fenian Prisoners at Toronto,” Oct. 8, 1866, 4, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).

³ Dispatch from Governor-General the Right Honourable Viscount Monck to the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, June 1, 1866, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).

⁴ While many of these participants had recently gained military experience in the American Civil War, this victory is astonishing because this “army” was neither supported nor supplied by any official government and had planned the attacks in secret.

⁵ Fall Assizes for the United Counties of York and Peel, “Report of the Trials of the Fenian Prisoners at Toronto,” Trial of Robert Blossie Lynch, October 24, 1866, 26-28, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).

⁶ For example, a branch of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick was set up in Buffalo in 1845 just before the famine in Ireland began, as Irish labourers had worked on the Erie Canal and at the Port of Buffalo since the canal’s completion. *The Constitution and By-Laws of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick Society of the City of Buffalo* (Buffalo, NY: Charles E. Peck, 1852), 1.

⁷ United States Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Statistical Review of Immigration 1820 – 1910* (Washington D.C., Washington Government Printing Office, 1911), 17 – 25. William, Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montreal: Queens University Press, 2013), 22. While immigration from Ireland to North America had been ongoing, the onset of the famine caused a rapid and exponential increase.

⁸ David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 52. Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York City: Longman, 2000), 86, 87. While some pushed for total independence, opinions varied and included remaining nominally connected to Great Britain, as well as reform to make Ireland a more equal member of the United Kingdom.

⁹ Ann Andrews, *Newspapers and Newsmakers: The Dublin Nationalist Press in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 15.

¹⁰ Ann Andrews, *Newspapers and Newsmakers: The Dublin Nationalist Press in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 232. Other efforts to rescind legal limitations on the rights of Irish Catholics were more successful.

¹¹ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York City: Longman, 2000), 91. Corn, wheat, and other cereal grains grown in Ireland were earmarked by the

British government almost exclusively for export.

¹² Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York City: Longman, 2000), 91.

¹³ Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 127. Thomas E. Hachey and Lawrence J. McCaffery, *The Irish Experience Since 1800: A Concise History* (New York, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2010), 66. *An Gorta Mór* continued until 1852, and another, smaller famine in the 1870s. By then the island's population had reduced by half, from about eight million to four million. The population of Ireland has yet to recover. O'Connell's death fractured the movement for Irish independence.

¹⁴ According to Ian Miller in *Reforming Food in Post-Famine Ireland*, the British government was most concerned with reforming agricultural practices, leaving the humanitarian crisis largely to private charities and limited aid. In some cases, anti-Catholic prejudice led British officials to conclude that the Irish were exaggerating *An Gorta Mór*, or that the Irish themselves were at fault for the disaster.

¹⁵ James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2012), 1.

¹⁶ Margaret Lynch-Brennan, "Ubiquitous Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America 1840 – 1930," 334.

¹⁷ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York City: Longman, 2000), 105. Other immigrants of the nineteenth century, such as Germans and Scandinavians, had the means to travel as family units and purchase farmland, which enabled them to settle in the farming towns of the Midwest.

¹⁸ David Gerber, *The Making of An American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-1860* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 3-5. The many eighteenth-century forts which surround the city, including Fort Erie, Fort George, and Fort Niagara are a testament to this contested past.

¹⁹ Gerber, *The Making of An American Pluralism*, 4-5.

²⁰ Gerber, *The Making of An American Pluralism*, 5-8.

²¹ David Gerber, *The Making of An American Pluralism*, 113-115.

²² Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York City: Longman, 2000), 61-63.

²³ John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 5-7. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), 4, 9.

²⁴ Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 105.

²⁵ David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2, 3.

²⁶ Gerber, *The Making of An American Pluralism*, xv. Gerber, *The Making of An American Pluralism*), xv.

²⁷ See *Ireland and Irish America* by Kerby Miller and *The American Irish* by Kevin Kenny.

²⁸ William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montreal, CA: McGill-Queens' University Press, 2013), 6.

²⁹ Works, such as *Under the Starry Flag* by Lucy Salyer, address related events, such as an attempt by American Fenians to sail to Ireland to aid in the revolution, but only reference the raids in Buffalo briefly. This work and examines diplomatic tensions between the United States and the United Kingdom over the extradition of Americans captured in Ireland, but do not directly study the American branch of the Fenian movement.

³⁰ David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 88, 89. *The Constitution and By-Laws of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick Society of the City of Buffalo* (Buffalo, NY: Charles E. Peck, 1852), 1, 2.

³¹ Patrick Steward and Bryan McGovern, *The Fenians: Irish Rebellion in the North Atlantic World, 1858-1876* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2013), 8, 9.

³² Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America*, 88 – 90.

³³ Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America* 110.

³⁴ Patrick Steward and Bryan McGovern, *The Fenians: Irish Rebellion in the North Atlantic World, 1858-1876* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2013), xviii.

³⁵ "Sympathy with Ireland," *Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), June 23, 1848.

³⁶ Christine Kinealy, *Charity, and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 127.

³⁷ "Sympathy with Ireland," *Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), June 23, 1848.

³⁸ "Sympathy with Ireland," June 23, 1848."

³⁹ "Sympathy with Ireland," June 23, 1848; "Meeting of the Friends of Ireland" and "Appeal to the Friends of Ireland in the United States," *Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Aug. 12, 1848. *Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), March 20, 1849. "Good News for Emigrants," *Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Dec. 16, 1851.

⁴⁰ "Good News for Emigrants," *The Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), March 17, 1852.

⁴¹ "Fifth Annual Ball," *Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Jan. 7, 1852. "Balls this Evening," *Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), Nov. 5, 1855.

⁴² Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish* (New York, NY: Pearson Education, 2000), 128.

⁴³ Kenny, *The American Irish*), 128, 129.

⁴⁴ Kenny, *The American Irish*), 127, 128. In addition to his support of Irish nationalism, Mitchel was a staunch advocate for slavery, and an opponent of both Abraham Lincoln and abolition in general. His rhetoric speaks to the complex

relationship between Irish Americans and race throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

⁴⁵ “The Irish Exile,” *The Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Jan. 31 and Feb. 1, 1856.

⁴⁶ “The Irish Exile,” Jan. 31 and Feb. 1, 1856.

⁴⁷ For example, the *Buffalo Daily Republic* reported in January of 1852 that a group of Irish republicans had arrived in Pittsburg with the hope of stirring up support for the release of Irish political prisoners.

⁴⁸ “The Irish Exile,” Jan. 31 and Feb. 1, 1856.

⁴⁹ “Irish-Americanism,” *The Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), January 21, 1856.

⁵⁰ “Irish-Americanism,” *The Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), January 21, 1856.

⁵¹ Patrick Steward and Bryan McGovern, *The Fenians: Irish Rebellion in the North Atlantic World, 1858-1876* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2013), 1. Kerby A. Miller, *Ireland and Irish America* (Dublin: Field Day Press, 2008), 66, 67.

⁵² Kerby A. Miller, *Ireland and Irish America* (Dublin: Field Day Press, 2008), 67.

⁵³ Kenny, *The American Irish*, 173.

⁵⁴ Kenny, *The American Irish*, 122-126.

⁵⁵ A great deal of scholarship, such as James McPherson’s *Why They Fought*, has been completed regarding the motivations of Civil War troops on both side of the fighting and from a variety of backgrounds. On the whole, Union troops enlisted primarily to preserve the Union and for monetary gain, with the freeing of the slaves a secondary concern for many until later in the war. As stated above, immigrant soldiers carried the added motivation to craft a positive image of themselves and their fellow immigrants to counter the anti-immigrant sentiments of the time.

⁵⁶ The Know-Nothing political party of the 1850s strongly opposed immigration of non-white and non-Protestant immigrants and took aim at what they perceived to be the inferior qualities of Irish immigrants, such as their relative poverty, Catholic faith, poor education, and stereotypical tendencies to drunkenness and violence.

⁵⁷ “A Negro better than a Foreigner,” *The Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), October 26, 1860.

⁵⁸ “A Negro better than a Foreigner,” *The Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, NY), October 26, 1860. The “Dutch” in this case refers to German Catholics.

⁵⁹ “Buffalo Irish Regiment,” in *The Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY) September, October, and November, 1862.

⁶⁰ “Buffalo Irish Regiment,” September, October, and November, 1862.

⁶¹ “Buffalo Irish Regiment,” September, October, and November, 1862.

⁶² Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Company), 1912

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- ⁶³ "Tribute to the Memory of Col. J. E. McMahon," *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), March 23, 1863.
- ⁶⁴ Fall Assizes for the United Counties of York and Peel, "Report of the Trials of the Fenian Prisoners at Toronto." Witnesses of the Fenian Raids reported that many of the men of the Fenian Army wore Union uniforms with green sashes tied around their arms or waists.
- ⁶⁵ "Third Oration at St. James Hall," *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY) March 23, 1863.
- ⁶⁶ "Third Oration at St. James Hall," March 23, 1863.
- ⁶⁷ "Third Oration at St. James Hall," March 23, 1863.
- ⁶⁸ Mr. Gray, "Mr. Gray's Letters from Europe," *The Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY) November 11, 1862.
- ⁶⁹ William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montreal, CA: McGill-Queens' University Press, 2013), 148.
- ⁷⁰ Mr. Gray, "Mr. Gray's Letters from Europe," *The Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY) November 11, 1862.
- ⁷¹ Mr. Gray, "Mr. Gray's Letters from Europe, November 11, 1862.
- ⁷² "The Fenians and their Assailants," *The Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), June 27, 1864.
- ⁷³ "The Fenians and their Assailants," June 27, 1864.
- ⁷⁴ "The Fenians and their Assailants," June 27, 1864.
- ⁷⁵ "The Fenians and their Assailants," June 27, 1864.
- ⁷⁶ "The Fenians and their Assailants," June 27, 1864.
- ⁷⁷ Bishop John Timon, Buffalo, NY to Bishop Peter Lefevre, Detroit, MI, February 20, 1866, (Calendar of the University of Notre Dame Archives, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN).
- ⁷⁸ Bishop John Timon, Buffalo, NY to Bishop Peter Lefevre, Detroit, MI, February 20, 1866, (Calendar of the University of Notre Dame Archives, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN).
- ⁷⁹ "The Fenians and their Assailants," *The Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, NY), June 27, 1864.
- ⁸⁰ "Ladies Fair," *The Buffalo Daily Republic*, (Buffalo, NY) Sept. 1, 1860. "Grand St. Patrick's Festival," *The Buffalo Daily Republic*, (Buffalo, NY) March 16, 1861.
- ⁸¹ "Banquet to the Irish Brigade – Speech of Gen. Meagher," *The Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), July 7, 1865.
- ⁸² "Banquet to the Irish Brigade – Speech of Gen. Meagher," *The Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), July 7, 1865.
- ⁸³ "Banquet to the Irish Brigade – Speech of Gen. Meagher," *The Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), July 7, 1865.
- ⁸⁴ "Fenian Picnic," *Buffalo Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Sept. 9, 1865.
- ⁸⁵ "Fenian Brotherhood," *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Oct. 11, 1865.
- ⁸⁶ "The Ball of the Fenian Sisterhood," *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY),

Nov. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1865.

⁸⁷ “The Ball of the Fenian Sisterhood,” Nov. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1865.

⁸⁸ “The Fenians in Union Town,” *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Nov. 20, 1865. ⁸⁹ “There was some excitement...” *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Dec. 6, 1865. Rumors also circulated at this time of Fenian activity in Toronto, CA.

⁹⁰ “Opera House, Positively One Night Only,” *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Jan. 9, 1866.

⁹¹ “Removal,” *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Jan. 27, 1866.

⁹² “Appeal to Fenians,” *Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, NY), Jan. 3, 1866.

⁹³ Dispatch from Governor-General the Right Honorable Viscount Monck to the Right Honorable Edward Cardwell, June 1 and 2, 1866, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).

⁹⁴ Dispatch from H.W. Hemans to the Right Honorable Viscount Monck, June 3, 1866, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).

⁹⁵ Dispatch from Governor-General the Right Honorable Viscount Monck to the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, June 8, 1866, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY). Canada became a dominion in 1867, but all records of the raids and the following trials refer to Canada as a colony, meaning the transition to dominion status had yet to take place.

⁹⁶ Dispatch from Governor-General the Right Honorable Viscount Monck to the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, June 8, 1866, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).

⁹⁷ Dispatch from Lieutenant –General Sir J. Michel to the Secretary of State for War, June 11, 1866, Buffalo Historical Society Archives, (Buffalo, NY).