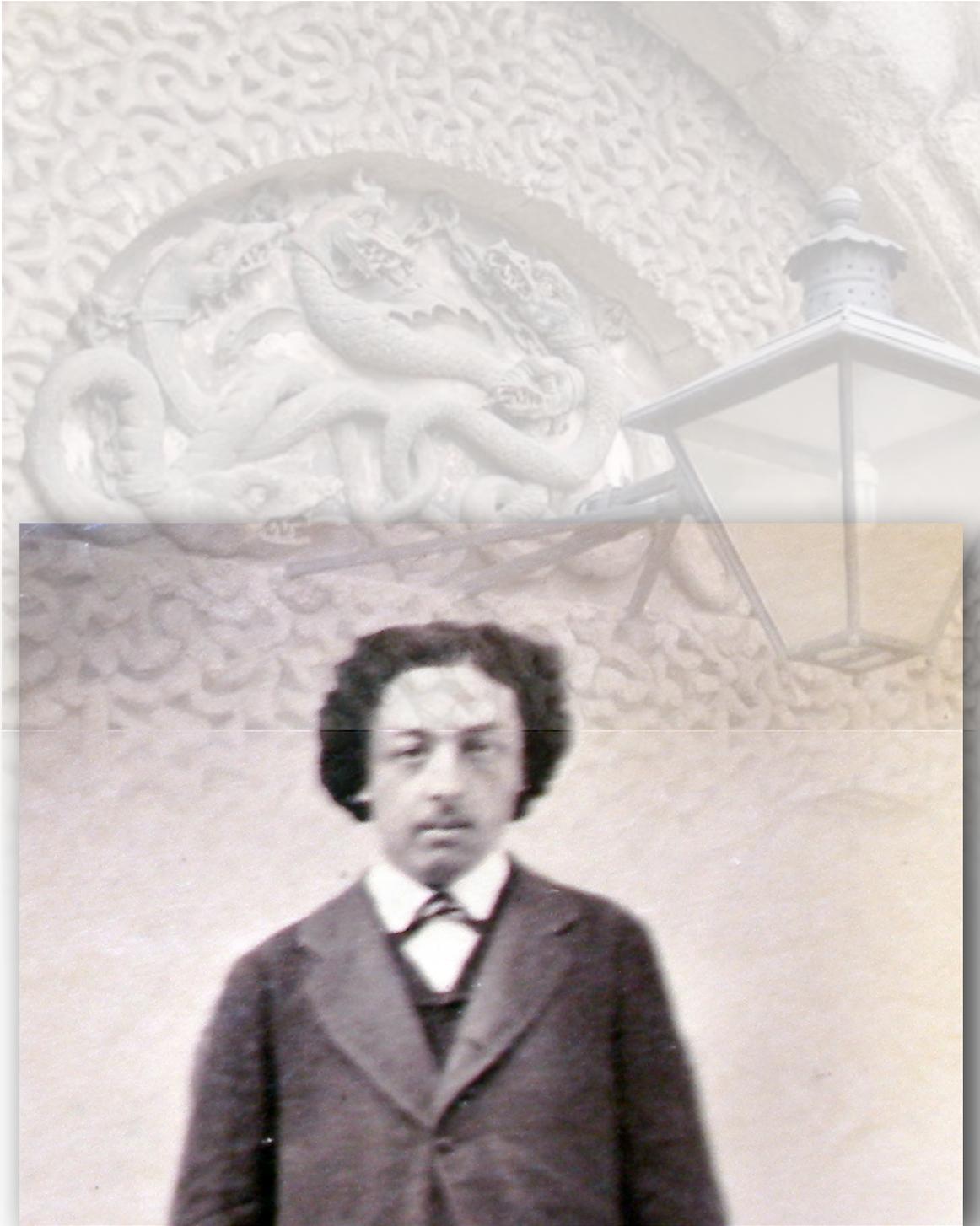


Fariola the Fenian



(Photograph from the Larcom Papers, courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

Introduction

The prisoners who came through the doors of Kilmainham Jail on the 15th July 1867 don't seem all that noteworthy at first glance, apart perhaps from their youth. Martha Kearns, from Howth, aged 10, was booked for larceny. Henry Cooper, of Mount Anville, 15, had stolen a shirt and Michael Byrne, Rathfarnham, 14, was booked for a similar offense. Among them was Octave Fariola, 29, alias Eugene Libert, otherwise General O'Fariola, born Louisiana, occupation planter, detained on charges of treason.¹ It prompted the question - who was this unlikely prisoner with the unusual origins and how did he come to wind up in this iconic Irish jail? Could his strange particulars in the register really be true?

Further reading revealed that Fariola was taken into custody in the wake of the doomed Fenian Rising of March, 1867. Perhaps modern genealogical resources would reveal more of the true background and motivation of this character, whom Robert Kee describes as one of the “shadowy figures whose lives flicker momentarily across the brief scene of the Fenian Rising”².

“A Man who had a Love of Gun Powder”³

Springing from the United Irish movement of the 1840s, the Fenian Brotherhood sought to exploit the military skills of Irish Americans in the wake of the American Civil War to ignite armed rebellion in Ireland. They found a willing recruit in Octave Fariola - one of three French-speaking soldiers of fortune based in America. The others were Gustav Cluseret and Victor Vifquain, the latter best known for his role in an unsuccessful plot to kidnap Confederate President, Jefferson Davis, in 1862. After months of preparation from his base in Paris, Fariola travelled to Ireland in March 1867 to co-ordinate what he envisaged to be a guerilla-type military assault. A combination of informers, the worst weather in living memory and tactical disagreements forced plans to be abandoned. Fariola fled to London but Scotland Yard arrested him on Oxford Street four months later and he was conveyed to Kilmainham Jail.

¹ National Archives of Ireland. Kilmainham Prison Register. MFGS 51/044. Page 653.

² Robert Kee. *The Green Flag. A History of Irish Nationalism*. Penguin .2000. Pg 329

³ National Library of Ireland, Larcom Letters. MS.7696. Series 127. Reference to Fariola in “My Connection with Fenianism” from *Fraser's Magazine*, July 1872. Page 32.

The newspapers gave a dramatic account of his arrest, describing his appearance as “sinister” and hinting at his strong links to Italian revolutionaries Mazzini and Garibaldi ⁴. Fariola pretended to have little English and interestingly he gave the Germanic version of his alias, Liebehrt, when he was arraigned. According to the prisoner, the *O’Fariola* title given to him in prison came about when a learned QC assumed his name to be an Italian version of *O’Farrell*.⁵

The handling of Fariola is dealt with in the papers of Richard Bourke, 6th Lord Mayo, Chief Secretary for Ireland during the period. They reveal that he was arrested on the word of an informer for £100, and there is an intriguing statement in a letter sent by the spy which says: “No doubt you know of his antecedents”. ⁶ Whether the writer was referring to Fariola’s ancestry or to past political or military connections isn’t clear. A letter from the Head of Secret Police, William Fielding, stressed the need to treat this prisoner with extreme caution, saying that he must be “led very gently”. He assessed Fariola as someone who would be very likely to turn informer because the Fenians had made a fool of him. Yet he also thought that Fariola was a *Carbonaro*, a member of a radical secret club originating in 1820s Italy in reaction to Austrian rule ⁷. As such his life would be in mortal danger if he cooperated with authorities. This statement, if true, would place Fariola within the wider European revolutionary movement with links to Italian unification or *Risorgimento*. But do the facts bear this out? The British were plainly worried that Guiseppi Garibaldi(1807-1882) for whom they had more than a sneaking regard, would give his support to an Irish uprising. Perhaps their approach to Fariola reflected this nervousness.

La Via Dolorosa

Fariola wrote a vivid account of his Fenian campaign and his six-month spell in Kilmainham Jail for *La Liberte* newspaper, (subsequently translated for Richard Pigott’s *The Irishman*). Referring to his time there as his “Via Dolorosa”, among the torments he singled out for special mention were the arrival of books in his cell that were not in keeping with his taste in literature. And there were frequent, unwelcome visits from a pious prison chaplain determined to show him the error of his

⁴ *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*. Jul 17, 1867 , page 2.

⁵ National Library of Ireland . Larcom Papers. Col. 127. MS. 7696. Paper cutting from *The Irishman*. Aug. 1st 1868, page. 75.

⁶ *Ibid*, Papers of Richard Southwell Bourke . Col. 126. MS.11,188/20.

⁷ R.R. Sellman, *Garibaldi and the Unification of Italy*. Methuen Educational Ltd. 1973. Page 12.

ways. He was scathing of the prison governor, Henry Price, whom he accused of parading prominent prisoners around for the amusement of his visitors. For all his supposed radical, revolutionary leanings, Fariola had a huge awareness of his social superiority. His blistering attack on a prison guard who shouted at him in the prison yard one day was characteristic:

...It was a pain to be dragooned by a miscreant who most likely had been some low-born bastard, reared by public charity in an alms house. ⁸ -

This was particularly galling, he added, for one whose “fathers had borne the title of count”. Numerous allusions of this sort occur throughout his life, inviting further scrutiny. In the same account he volunteers more fascinating background information. Insisting on being Swiss, and therefore a citizen of a nation state, he says:

If I have a tinge of Celtic blood in me it comes only from my mother’s side, she being of a Celto-Belgic family (partly settled in Texas) by whom I was brought up in Belgium after the death of my parents.⁹

Then later Further in his account, Fariola asserted that his uncle had been a bishop and a close confidante of Pope Gregory XVI. (1765-1846).

Fariola’s “torture” came to an end with the suspension of his sentence and his release on December 20th 1867, as indicated by the prison register. He was adamant that he had pleaded guilty to the charges against him and had been sentenced to transportation to Australia . But the Bourke papers provide a different slant, implying that Fariola suggested the idea of going to the colony as part of a deal for turning Queen’s Evidence. The Home Secretary disapproved, calling the request “improper”. ¹⁰ Nevertheless, a deal must have been done. A note is lodged in Fariola’s hand acknowledging receipt of £35 from Lord Mayo, presumably for the cost of his passage.



Artist's impression of the Battle of Mobile Bay, August 1864, with Confederate-held Fort Morgan on the left of the picture.

⁸ National Library of Ireland. Larcom Papers. Col. No. 127. MS 7696. Extract from *The Irishman Newspaper*. 24th Oct. 1868. “Amongst the Fenians” by Octave Fariola. Chapter xii.

⁹ Ibid, Larcom Papers. Coll. No 127. Ms 7696.

¹⁰ Ibid, Gathorne Hardy to Lord Mayo. Papers of Richard Southwell Bourke. Col. No 126. MS 11,188/20.

Frog Eater

What is not in doubt is Fariola's involvement in the American Civil War a few short years before he landed in Kilmainham Jail. The website of the National Parks of the United States provides summaries of his record in the Union army where his promotion was swift and impressive. Following a general order in May 1863 to organise regiments of coloured troops for the Union army, he was mustered in as Captain of the 2nd Engineers Corps D'Afrique, New Orleans. Still only in his twenties, he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel when the corps reformed as the 96th Engineers in 1864.¹¹ It was one of a hundred and seventy-five Negro regiments in the Union army.

Primarily an engineering outfit - commissioned to build pontoon bridges, corduroy roads, field fortifications, repairing piers and levees - the 96th had a comparatively light casualty rate, although many of its men were badly affected by malaria. The 96th also played a direct part in the five-day long siege of Forts Gaines and Morgan, Alabama, in August 1864, which secured the strategically important Mobile Bay for the Union navy.

Fariola is mentioned in several war diaries of the period. Not entirely loved by his troops, his continental eating habits earned him the nickname "frog eater".¹² In spite of his lofty ways, he was no advocate of the widespread practice of shooting deserters, believing it to be a waste of human life. There is evidence that he advocated for clemency in several cases.¹³ There is evidence too that he was passing himself off as a European aristocrat. The governor of New Orleans makes reference in his diary to an encounter with the "magnificent Count Fariola" in 1863.¹⁴

Of further genealogical interest is Fariola's claim in his Fenian account that his real reason for traveling to America in 1863 was to settle on an inheritance and not to join the war effort at all.¹⁵

¹¹ National Parks Service of the U.S. Dept. Of the Interior. <http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/> Accessed 10th March 2009.

¹² F.N. Boney, Ed. *A Union Soldier in the Land of the Vanquished - the Diary of Sgt. Mathew Woodruff*. Univ. Of Alabama. 1969. Page 21.

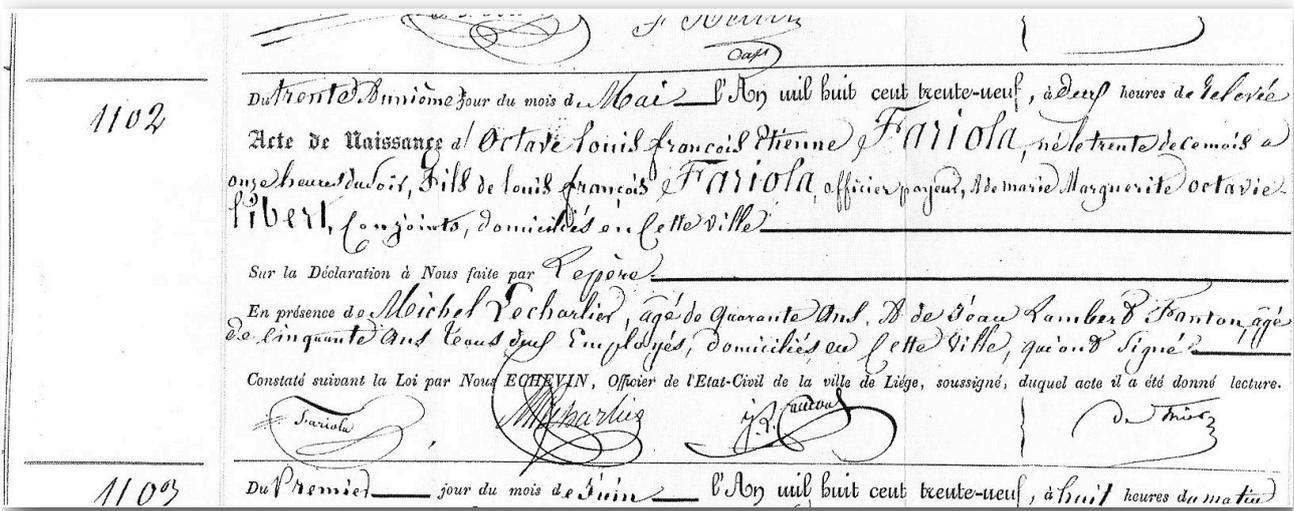
¹³ Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American Under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship During the Civil War Era*, page 186-7. Cornell University Press 2009.

¹⁴ Henry Clay Warmoth. Paul H. Hass, *The Diary of Henry Clay Warmoth, 1861-1867*. Univ. of Wisconsin--Madison, 1961. Page 105.

¹⁵ National Library of Ireland. Larcom Papers. Coll. No. 127. Ms 7696. Cuttings of *The Irishman Newspaper*. August 1st, 1868. Page 75.

The passenger list for the SS *City of New York*, 27th July 1863, captures his arrival in New York and reveals his wife to be called Jeanne. This scotches the notion once and for all that he was born in Louisiana. In fact, census records for the state, readily available on *Ancestry* website, failed to find any trace of a Eugene Libert or an Octave Fariola. The couple travelled in steerage and gave their place of origin as Great Britain. Oddly, Fariola described himself as a musician. ¹⁶

Fariola's application for American citizenship after the war provided the valuable detail that he was born in Liege, in 1839. The sphere of research switched now to Belgium. Censuses began there in 1846 but are closed to the public except where common descent can be proved. This is remedied by the situation with civil records which were organised as far back as 1796 after Belgium was annexed by Napoleonic France. It is an easy matter to locate an individual's birth/baptismal record by knowing the date and the region involved.



Fariola's birth record at the State Archive of Liege confirms the information he supplied on his American passport application. The Belgian record specified the hour of birth and, curiously, gave the ages of the two witnesses. All four participants were literate and the extravagance of the signatures is noticeable. The record establishes that Fariola's mother, Marie Marguerite Octavie Libert, was a native of Liege. "Libert" was therefore not a *nom de guerre*, but Fariola's maternal name. *Familysearch* IGI records indicate that it is a common surname in Liege. With his mother's name now known, it was possible to test Fariola's statement regarding his maternal relations settling in Texas. ¹⁷ Preliminary searches found no match here, though it may yet prove a useful avenue with more exact information. It was learned, however, that Texas approached Belgium in the 1830s

¹⁶ Ancestry.co.uk, <http://ancestry.co.uk>. Passenger List for New York, 1863. Accessed 1st Feb. 2009.

¹⁷ "Belgians in America" http://home.scarlet.be/gallez.nic/general_settlements.htm. Accessed 30th March 2009.

with a proposal to offer settlement land in return for money. An official was dispatched by King Leopold to examine the feasibility of the scheme but he warned against the plan because of Mexico's claim to the territory. The proposal was rejected and so few Belgians settled in Texas, apart from the very few who accompanied French expeditions.¹⁸

Fariola's birth record revealed his father, Louis Francois, to be an officier payeur - or paymaster in the army. This made it likely that he would have military records, and these were duly located at the Musee Royal de L'Armee Militaire, Brussels. They showed that Louis Francois came up through the ranks in a long career that began in 1816 in the Army of the Netherlands and ended in 1846 with a sub-lieutenancy in the Belgian army. For most of his career he had served as a sergeant with the Battalion of Sappers Miners and died in Brussels in 1852 when Octave was 13.

Important details emerged from this source, including Fariola Senior's date and place of birth (Locarno, Switzerland), name of parents, and age of wife. Locarno is in Tessin or Ticino, an Italian speaking canton which declared itself a republic in 1803 with Napoleonic support. Although his mother was plainly Italian, it is notable that Fariola senior's father was referred to as Etienne Marie, Jean Jacques, and nothing at all in three separate documents. One unexpected feature was the level of material concerning the couple's marriage, running to eight pages. Marie Libert is described in one document as a *rentiere*, someone deriving income from property. She also enjoyed a "bonne reputation". Louis Francois was also an active freemason in Liege, as many military men at the time were. ¹⁹

Fariola senior's name was also found in a series of naturalisation bills brought before the new Belgian House of Representatives in 1840. These lists consisted of individuals, mostly French or Dutch soldiers, who were seeking votes to become Belgian citizens.²⁰

The military had also been a way of life for Octave from an early age, as his own records at the Musee Royal de L'Armee Militaire show. He received his education at the elite Royal Military Academy of Brussels. Always an excellent student, Fariola graduated first in his class in 1857. ²¹ Prior to his admission, he belonged to the school of *Enfants de Troupe*, the usual route into military

¹⁸ Ibid. Accessed 30th March 2009.

¹⁹ Els Witte. *Documents relatifs a la Franc-maconnerie Belge du XIX Siecle, 1830-1885*. Page 70.

²⁰ Chambre de Representants de Belgique. Mai st Decembre, 1840 .www.unionisme.be/ .Accessed 16th March, 2012.

²¹ Conversation with Marc Beyaert, archivist at the Royal Military Academy, Brussels. Feb 8th 2009.

school for children of non-commissioned officers. After graduation he joined the Carabinieri, one of the heavy cavalry regiments, with the rank of Lieutenant. He remained there until his resignation in October 1862. Unlike his father's record, his dossier revealed little personal information.

Fariola often spoke of his time spent as a volunteer by the side of Guiseppe Garibaldi, a specialist at pitting small, passionately-motivated forces against superior numbers and a strong advocate of guerilla tactics. Historical sources on the Fenians emphasize this point, claiming that Fariola was one of the "red-shirted heroic thousand of Marsala" who prevailed over the Neapolitan army in Sicily, 1860.²² Undoubtedly the sympathies of this would-be revolutionary lay in this direction. Yet his military file at the Royal Academy of Brussels shows no reference to any leave of absence taken from the Belgian army during this key time. Since British intelligence were certain of his involvement with Garibaldi at the time of the Fenian rising, his military records may be incomplete about the true extent of his movements in 1860. Fariola's lengthy extradition papers are available at the National Archives, Kew.²³ They may provide further evidence of his links to Garibaldi.

From Sword to Sickle

Not surprisingly, Fariola didn't disappear into obscurity after exile. His name soon cropped up in the Australian papers, though he was preferring now to be known as De Libert, perhaps in a bid to distance himself from recent activities. Thousands of acres of rich alluvial soil were available in the Wide Bay area of Queensland. And this was where the ex-Fenian made a new life, working the 3,000 acre Magnolia Plantation near Maryborough in partnership with the Hon. William Fielding, who was no relation to the Head of Secret Police in London. According to the Brisbane Courier of October 1869 he was a member of the Acclimatization Society (the local version of the Royal Dublin Society) and was experimenting with sugar cane by crushing the crop in winter - something that hadn't been done before. He was also the first to cultivate olive trees that bore fruit in the province.²⁴ After ten years, Magnolia Plantation boasted 250 acres of cane, the best in the province,

²² Niall Whelehan. "Hyphenated Revolutionaries: European Exiles and New York, 1870-1900." Budapest, May 18 2007. http://www.hist.ceu.hu/conferences/graceh/abstracts/whehelan_niall.pdf. Accessed 27th Jan 2009.

²³ National Archives of Great Britain, Kew, Criminal- List of Criminal Cases, including Extradition Cases: Fariola, (HO 45/9329/19461)

²⁴ *Brisbane Courier*: 30th Dec. 1875. Page 2.

a front garden of lemon, orange and peach trees with passion fruit stretching for half a mile.²⁵ It had its own mill and a work force of seventy. The impression given is of a grandiose but completely unprofitable enterprise.

But the main reason for Fariola's appearance in the newspapers had to do with a sensational divorce case initiated by his wife, Jeanne Neukind, in 1874, on the grounds of adultery and cruelty. The *De Libert v. De Libert* case was presided over by three of Queensland's top judges, including chief justice for the province, Sir James Cockle (1819-1895).²⁶ Characteristically, Fariola represented himself in court. A copy of the divorce writ, obtained from the Queensland State Archives, threw up the useful detail that the couple's marriage took place on the 15th of October, 1861, at the church of St. Mary, Scharbeek, Brussels. As the bride was just sixteen, the ceremony was deemed to be illegal. A second marriage was reported to have followed after a child, Octavia, was born in late 1862.²⁷ Poignantly this child was called to give evidence at the divorce trial on behalf of her mother. But she turned out to be a hostile witness, insisting that her father was always kind and doting.

The case was dropped abruptly at the end of 1874. Fariola countersued the following year, claiming his wife was in an adulterous relationship with a man from whom he was now seeking £2000 in damages. He had made further additions to his title now, calling himself Don Octavius Louis Francis Stephen Fariola dei Rozzoli de Libert. This was his first recorded use of the name *Rozzoli*, but he used it forever after. It is a mystery why he chose to make this addition to an already lengthy name, but perhaps it points to some other branch of his family in Italy.

The petition was struck out when the judge ruled that Fariola was colluding with his wife to obtain a divorce (and ultimately money) contrary to the justice of the case. It was further noted that Fariola had himself been a serial adulterer during the period in question.²⁸

Beset by financial difficulties and with his marriage in tatters, Fariola appears to have left farming for good by 1877. The move may have coincided with the arrival of a destructive fungus in the sugar crop at Wide Bay during this time. Trading as Frank S. Fariola de Rozzoli, of Sydney, he

²⁵ *Brisbane Courier* Jan. 6th 1877. Page 2-6.

²⁶ Conversation with Jocelyn Cuff, supervisor of public access of the Queensland State Archives. Feb. 24th 2009.

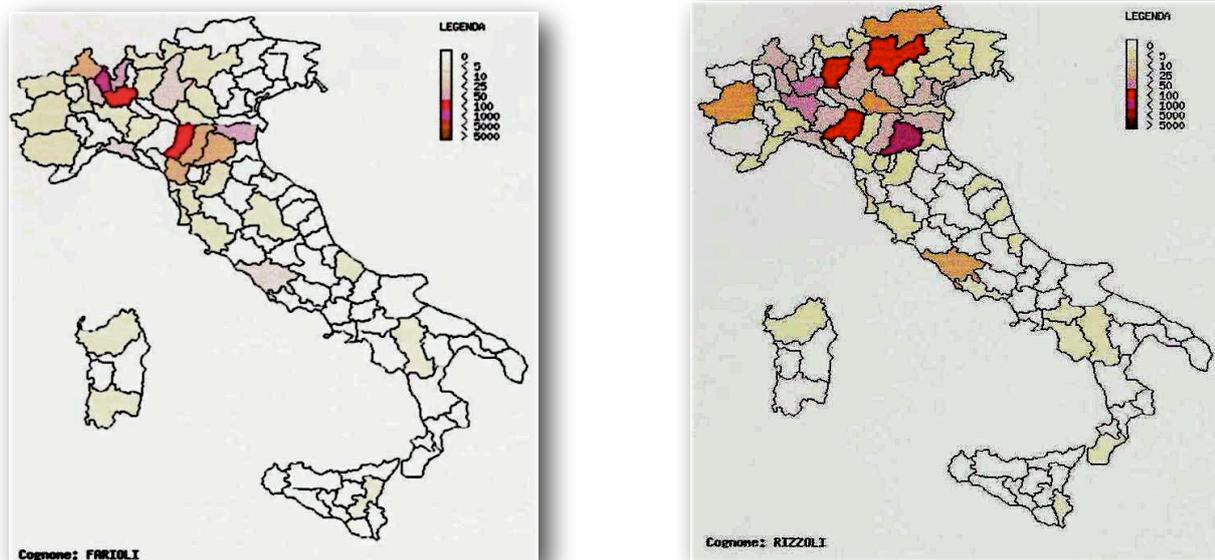
²⁷ *The Brisbane Courier*. November 24th .1874. Page 5.

²⁸ Queensland State Archives. Divorce Petition. Item ID879608 No. 39/1875.

took out a license as a surveyor under the provisions of the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1876. Like many Fenian figures, Fariola had literary leanings and produced a written account of his role in the rebellion. His book appeared in 1879 in the small ads of the *Freeman's Journal*. All attempts to find a copy of have been unsuccessful.

In the 1880s he was named as the father of two children by a Susan Elizabeth Frazer.²⁹ A marriage license between the two was recorded in the New South Wales civil indexes for 1888.

Surname Analysis



Distribution of surname Farioli (right) and Rizzoli (left), Italy 2000. (Courtesy of <http://gens.labo.net> Accessed 3rd Feb 2009.)The surnames are still to be found mostly in the northern provinces

Given Fariola's many and varied use of surnames, it seemed that some surname analysis might be a worthwhile. As might be expected Fariola and Rozzoli are not Belgian. Italy is almost certainly the country of origin. This is borne out by immigration data at Ellis Island. Unlike Irish patterns, most Italian surnames have evolved from place name, nickname, physical characteristic or a father's first name.³⁰ Rozzoli (more usually Rizzoli) is a village just inside the Italian border with Switzerland. It

²⁹ Familysearch, <http://familysearch.org>. Accessed 20th Feb. 2009.

³⁰ Italy research outline. <http://www.familysearch.org>. Accessed 10th March 2009.

also belongs to a large family of names denoting someone with curly hair. (Riccio).³¹Fariola, too, is almost certainly a toponymic, in all likelihood after a village of the same name near Lake Maggiore, which borders Tessin. There is no mention of either Fariola or Rozzoli in the *Titled Nobility of Europe*, the European equivalent of *Burke's Peerage*? This would tend to refute Fariola's claim that his forefathers were titled. But neither name gets a mention in the more prosaic *Hanks and Hodges Dictionary of Surnames* either.

Later Life.

In spite of his marriage to Susan Frazer, Fariola embarked on a new career in Siam in the 1890s. His arrival there coincided with the reign of the reforming King Rama V of *King and I* fame, who favoured European engineers in his drive to modernise Bangkok. Fariola was put in charge of the sewage and water system of the city.³² According to an American Civil War round table forum, he married Arudeng Aun under Siamese law in October 1894. A son and a daughter were born in Bangkok : Louis in 1897 and Margarete in 1901.³³ Shipping records available at *Ancestry* confirm the particulars for Margarete as she made a trip to New York in 1922, using her father's citizenship to gain entry.

Surprisingly, Fariola returned to the United States in September 1904.³⁴ He appeared in the US census for 1910 for the first time - a boarder in the rooms of an Italian woman at a home for widows, District of Columbia, Washington.³⁵ Describing himself as a widower, he claimed his second marriage to have been of fifteen years duration. He gave his occupation as civil engineer, government employ.

Of all the countries associated with Fariola, - Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Ireland, Australia, Siam - the United States proved kindest to him at the end of his life. He was able to draw on a

³¹ Italy World Club. <http://www.italyworldclub.com/genealogy/surnames/> Accessed 20th Feb. 2009.

³² Noobanjong Koompong .*Power, identity and the rise of Modern Architecture from Siam to Thailand. Dissertations.com.* 2003. Page 351.

³³ <http://home.scarlet.be/gallez.nic/US%20Army/Colored/OctaveFariola>. Accessed Feb 4th- 17th Mar. 2009.

³⁴ Ellis Island, <http://www.ellisIsland.org> Ships manifest for SS Philadelphia, Southampton to New York, sept 24th 1904.

³⁵ Ancestry.com, <http://ancestry.com>. 1910 Census of the United States. District of Columbia. Accessed 20th March 2009.

military pension and Congress voted in 1907 to increase it from \$12 to \$30 a month. His last years were no less restless, however. In July 1913, aged 74, he applied for a passport, intending to go abroad for “two or three years”.³⁶ His appearance is described in the document - white hair now and a complexion of “bilious sanguine”. Evidence would indicate that he was bound for Italy, as his supposed return to the United States on the *Re D'Italia* a little over a year later gave Palermo as his port of departure. It is possible he was revisiting the places associated with the red-shirted thousand. However there is a heavy line drawn through his name in the ship's manifest, suggesting he never made the crossing or died on the way. Civil War forums state that 1914 was the year of his death, and that the charitable Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS) paid for his burial at Arlington National Cemetery³⁷.

Conclusion.

Military, shipping, emigration and liberal American census records helped to piece together the adventurous life of one of the most unusual characters to touch Irish Nineteenth Century affairs. Fariola paid a high price for his brief fling with Fenianism. Far from bringing him the fame and fortune that he hoped for, it undoubtedly finished his military career and altered the course of his life for the worse. It was challenging to piece together an accurate lineage for someone whose life, to a large extent, hinged on intrigue and exaggeration. But no evidence of an aristocratic heritage emerged. On the contrary, Fariola's origins were solidly bourgeois. The blue blood that he claimed to possess was possibly fabricated to gain advancement in places where ability alone was insufficient. At Kilmainham Jail, Fariola most likely stuck to the myth of an American birthplace to secure clemency. Reflecting popular unease in the United States, the US Congress had held several debates on the issue of the violation of its citizens' rights in the clampdown on Fenianism by Great Britain, which had been a recent supporter of the Confederate States.³⁸

Volatile, versatile and impulsive, Octave Fariola's records show that he was a true citizen of the world who somehow never found a home anywhere. Appropriately at least one of his descendants has played a prominent and distinguished role in the public life of New South Wales.

³⁶ *Ancestry.co.uk*, <http://ancestry.co.uk>. Passport Applications 2nd Jan 1906- Mar. 31st 1925. Accessed 20th Mar 2009.

³⁷ <http://home.scarlet.be/gallez.nic/US%20Army/Colored/OctaveFariola>. Accessed Feb. 4th- 17th Mar. 2009.

³⁸ NLI, Report No 44. 40th Congress. 3rd Session. House of Representatives 1868.

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Family Tree of Octave Louis Fariola

Etienne? Marie? Fariola = Josephine Babazottini



Louis Francois Fariola = Marie Libert
 b Lacarno Switz, 8.3.1791 b Liege Belgium 1807
 d Ixelles, Brussels 21.11.1852 d Brussels?



1861
 Octave Louis Fariola = Jeanne Neukind = Susan Foster = Arundeng Aun
 b Liege 31.5.1839 b Brussels 1845 b Liege Belgium 1807 b Bangkok 1894
 d 1914 d Marseille 1890 d Brussels?



Octavia Frances
 Louisa Leopold
 b Paris 1862

Emilia Jane
 Margaret Laura
 b Queensland 1873
 d 1874

Laura Emilia
 Margarette
 b New South Wales 1882
 m 1904

Octave Louis
 b NSW 1884
 m 1907
 d NSW 1936

Louis
 b Bangkok
 1894

Margaret
 b Bangkok
 1900