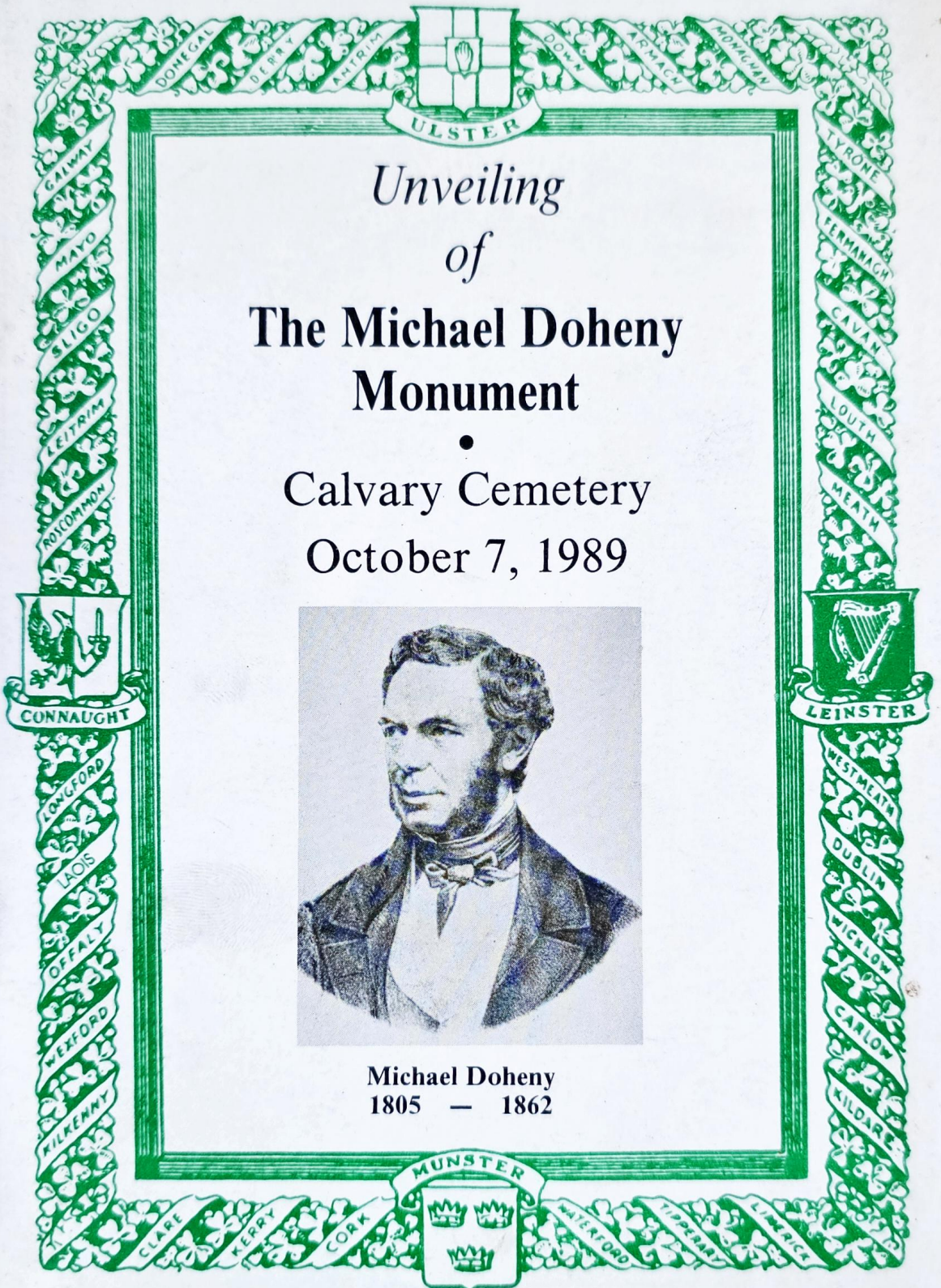


Unveiling
of
**The Michael Doheny
Monument**

•
Calvary Cemetery
October 7, 1989



Michael Doheny
1805 — 1862



Michael Doheny Memorial Committee

Michael Flannery

Patrick Doheny

James Grogan



Music

Tyrone Pipe Band

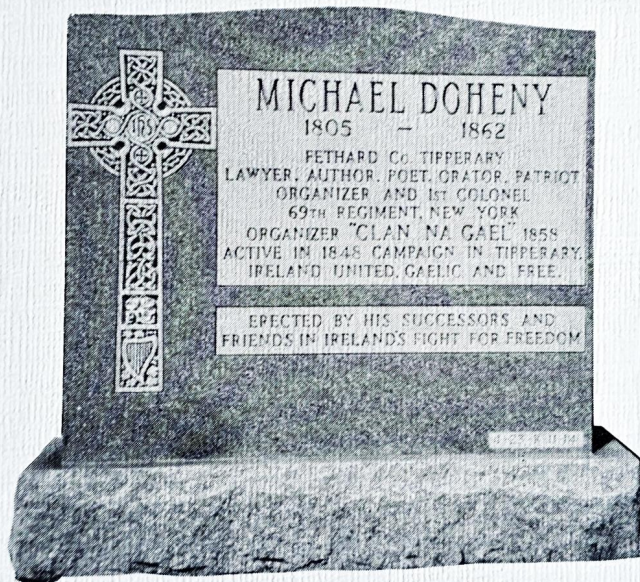


Blessing of Monument

Fr. Maurice Burke and

Fr. Pat Maloney

day, reports CLIONA
FOLEY.
Year-



MICHAEL DOHENY

1805 - 1862

PETHARD CO. TIPPERARY
LAWYER, AUTHOR, POET, ORATOR, PATRIOT
ORGANIZER AND 1ST COLONEL
69TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK
ORGANIZER "CLAN NA GAEL" 1855
ACTIVE IN 1848 CAMPAIGN IN TIPPERARY,
IRELAND UNITED, GAELIC AND FREE.

EXPECTED BY HIS SUCCESSORS AND
FRIENDS IN IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Flag Presented by Women of Tipperary to the 69th Regiment



THE GREEN FLAG

About 1869 the women of Tipperary made a beautiful green silk flag for the Sixty-ninth Regiment of New York. T.P. O'Connor of Laffana was sent out to present it. A committee was formed in New York and it organized a great demonstration at Bellevue Garden at which General George B. McClellan, former Commander of the Army of the Potomac, presented the flag to the Regiment.

"Little Mac" was the idol of the old soldiers and a great throng crowded the park to witness the presentation. Colonel James Cavanagh received it on behalf of the Sixty-ninth. The regiment carried a Green flag in addition to the Stars and Stripes in all its battles during the Civil War.

Before the departure of the 69th for Washington in November, 1861, each regiment of the Irish Brigade was presented with an American and an Irish Flag. Judge Daly presented these flags on behalf of the ladies of New York, the ceremony taking place in front of the patriot Archbishop Hughes' residence, Madison Avenue. The Gaelic motto was supplied by Colonel John O'Mahony, who adopted it from an Ossianic verse. It reads: "Riamh Nar dhruid O sbairn lann." (Never retreat from the clash of spears). This was the motto which inspired the Irish soldiers who charged so gloriously under the command of General T.F. Meagher at Antietam and Fredericksburg (1862).

Michael Doheny, Young Irelander and Fenian

by PATRICK O'FLAHERTY

MICHAEL DOHENY, with the exception of William Smith O'Brien, was the oldest of the Young Ireland Party. The others, Thomas Francis Meagher, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, John O'Mahony, Terence Bellew McManus, Devin Reilly, Patrick O'Donoghue, Kevin O'Doherty, and James Huston, were all under thirty. Michael Doheny, at the time of the rising in 1848, was a well-established lawyer in Cashel, Co. Tipperary. He did not join in a flush of youthful enthusiasm, but after years of experience and mature consideration. As the years passed, many of the original group died; changed their view; became absorbed in their own affairs; but Doheny, once convinced that only force would free Ireland, never changed his views or relaxed his zeal. His enthusiasm never grew old.¹

Michael Doheny was born at Brookhill, near Fethard, Co. Tipperary, Ireland, on 22 May 1805. His father was a poor farmer who was unable to send his son to school. Michael learned to read and write in the evenings beside his father's fire-side, under the direction of a poor scholar who visited the farm from time to time.² He received his only formal schooling at the age of twenty-one, when he studied for nine months under a teacher named Maher, who lived near Emly. Doheny paid five shillings a quarter to his schoolmaster. We know nothing of what he studied or the methods of teaching used, but they must have been good, since later he was able to study law in Dublin, and finally in The Temple in London.³

He established his practice in Cashel, where, due to his skill in sports and his understanding of the labourers and poor farmers, he secured and won a great many cases against the landowners. He acted as legal counsel for the borough of Cashel and recovered public lands which were being held illegally by wealthy landlords. He was most fortunate in his marriage to Miss Ellen O'Dwyer, who shared his views, his work and his life in good times, and in bad. His popularity was greatly increased during a cholera outbreak in Cashel, when even those assigned to carry the victims to the hospital ran away. Doheny not only worked in the hospitals, but even went into the streets and brought the sick to place of refuge.⁴

Doheny, for many years took no active part in politics, but followed with interest the activities of the Repeal Association founded by Daniel O'Connell in 1831. The Repeal Association prospered, but in 1834, O'Connell called on the country to try a six-year experiment, holding repeal in abeyance while a reform parliament, under Whig leadership, was given a chance to redress the wrongs of Ireland. Doheny seeing many of those who had been elected by the Repeal Party taking positions and receiving favors from the British government, began to regard all political associations as useless. When O'Connell in 1840 founded his second Repeal Association, Doheny did not join.⁵

1 *The Irish American*, 12 April 1862.

2 Michael Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrade, Colonel Michael Doheny' in *The Celtic Monthly*, December 1880, pp 441 ff.

3 Michael Doheny, *The felon's track* (Dublin, 1914, p. VII [preface by Arthur Griffith]).

4 *Ibid.*

5 *The Leader*, 8 February 1862.

The Association grew slowly until the new viceroy, Lord Ebrington, announced that he would not employ anyone connected with it. This roused the people and even Doheny, under the influence of Thomas Davis, editor of *The Nation*, joined the repeal movement. He became active in forming temperance bands in various towns and in setting up town meetings. He helped organize the great meeting at Cashel on 23 May 1843 to celebrate the rising of 1798.⁶ At the conclusion of O'Connell's speech, a quarter of a million men called for Counsellor Doheny and cheered lustily when he stepped forward and took a bow. During the following years, he worked on the repeal committee, and in 1845 he wrote *The history of the American Revolution* to inspire his countrymen with the ideals of republicanism.

When the Young Irelanders refused to pledge themselves to exclusively peaceful means towards repeal of the Union, and walked out of the Repeal Association, Doheny, who had always believed that nothing could be had from the English government's goodwill, joined them.⁷ When revolt was decided upon, Michael Doheny was assigned to occupy the western slope of Slievenamon to threaten Clonmel, so as to keep the garrison in the town. The rising miscarried, and Doheny found himself alone on the mountain side. John O'Mahony eventually reached Doheny's position and found him violently shaking his fist in the general direction of Clonmel. O'Mahony asked what in God's name he was doing. Doheny replied that he was just carrying out orders; he was threatening Clonmel.⁸

Most of the leaders were soon rounded up, but Doheny, who knew the country and the ways of the people, escaped to Cork. He soon secured a passage on a ship, but hearing that O'Mahony was still in the Comeragh Mountains, he postponed his escape, hoping to be able to join him. Doheny waited until his position became so dangerous that he was forced to take the regular Bristol steam packet *The Juverna*, disguised as a cattle drover. After a few narrow escapes he reached London by rail, where he found refuge in the home of a poor Irish woman until he could sail for Boulogne.⁹

Doheny soon made his way to New York where he found revolutionary societies under way. Michael Phelan, the famous billiard champion, had organized a number of military companies for the purpose of training Irishmen, who in the future, it was hoped, would return to fight for the freedom of Ireland.¹⁰ Doheny joined the movement and by January 1850 was in command of a company called the Jackson Rangers.¹¹ The Rangers and the other companies raised by the Irish Republican Union were accepted into the New York state militia on 29 May 1850 as the Ninth Regiment, the first regiment organized by the Irish for revolutionary purposes. Very little is known about how these companies were enrolled in the militia. The existing Ninth Regiment was dissolved by an order from the adjutant general's office on 27 May 1850, and three companies, B, E, and F, were transferred to the Eighth Regiment. How or why the state was persuaded to enrol these ready-made organizations, formed for the training of Irish rebels, has been a subject of much speculation, but no clear answer has ever been found.¹²

Doheny, however, did not remain in the Ninth Regiment. The Irish, encouraged by their success in forming the Ninth, began to set up a second military

6 *The Celtic Monthly*, November 1880, pp 445-6.

7 Abbé MacGeoghegan & John Mitchell, as revised by D.P. Conyngham, *The history of Ireland* (New York, 1887), p.586.

8 *The Celtic Monthly*, November 1880, pp 445-6.

9 Doheny, *Felon's track*, pp 269-72.

10 *The Irish American*, 6 January 1850.

11 *Ibid.*, 17, 24 February 1850; *The Celtic Monthly*, June 1882, p.477.

12 George A. Hussey & William Todd, *The history of the Ninth Regiment* (New York, 1889), pp 3-4; letter of Colonel Benjamin C. Ferris, Ninth Regiment N.Y.S.M. to Captain Kavanagh, Ninth Regiment, 15 May 1850 directing Kavanagh to ask for commissions for Captains Walsh, Doheny, etc. (Adjutant general's file, box 91, New York State Records Building, Albany, New York); *The United Service Journal*, 13 December 1851.

organization. The first report of this appeared in the press in January 1851, when Judge McGrath was appointed colonel during the organization of the unit. General Ewen, by special permission of the governor of New York, reviewed this organization at the Center Market in June 1851. The name of Michael Doheny appears as the commander of company 'E'. All officers were supposed to be American citizens, but Doheny had not been in the country long enough for citizenship. The Irish claimed that it was enough for a man to have declared his intention to become a citizen, and it would seem that the state of New York was willing to accept this practice.¹³

The regiment held an excursion to Biddles Grove in Staten Island in the late summer of 1851, at which Mrs. Doheny presented a flag to the troops in the name of the ladies of New York. She echoed the sentiments of her husband when she said that she was glad her husband and sons carried the arms of freedom, and hoped that one day somewhere they might have a chance of bearing England's rotten flag to the earth, and of giving light and liberty to those she had betrayed, misled and desolated.¹⁴ This second regiment, now designated the Sixty-ninth, was formally accepted by the state on 1 November 1851, and at an election of officers held on 28 November, Michael Doheny was elected lieutenant colonel.¹⁵

Doheny held this position in the Sixty-ninth until November 1853, when he resigned. The reason for his resignation is not clear. He may have decided that his services were needed in the organisation of a third Irish regiment.¹⁶ This new regiment was launched in September 1852 and the organisation went on throughout the fall. It was announced in late November 1852 that Thomas Francis Meagher, who had arrived in New York after his escape from Tasmania, would be colonel of the regiment. Meagher was seldom in New York and did little except appear at dinners and reviews. The real work of organisation was done by Lieutenant Colonel Michael Doheny, who, besides his activities in the city, was also busy organising military companies in small towns like Haverstraw and Scaghticoke. When the organisation was complete, Meagher stepped aside and Doheny became colonel of the regiment, now known as the Republican or Irish Republican Rifles.¹⁷

During the period from 1850 to 1855, there was a great deal of turmoil in the Irish revolutionary ranks. In the spring of 1850 when a group called the Irish Alliance, headed by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, John Boyle, Thomas Halpern and Gavan Duffy, which advocated political and educational action, attempted to hold a meeting while Doheny, Devil Reilly and the other military advocates were out of the city, it was broken up by the militiamen led by James Huston.¹⁸ Michael Phelan, who financed the formation of the Ninth Regiment, was eliminated from his position of power in it in the fall of 1852. At a farewell dinner given by his company, the Guyon Cadets, he attributed his troubles to eleventh hour allies. Doheny and his friends were absent from the testimonial and Phelan's remarks seem to have been directed at him. Phelan had recently returned from Ireland, and had reported that there was no possibility of a revolt in the near future; a view which may have angered Doheny and his friends, who seemed to believe there was.¹⁹

¹³ Rev. Msgr. Patrick D. O'Flaherty, 'James Huston, a forgotten Irish-American patriot' in *Ir. Sword*, xi (1973-4), p.39; *The Irish American*, 18 January, 3 February, 14 June 1851.

¹⁴ *The Irish American*, 30 August, 6 September 1851.

¹⁵ General Ewen to Adj. Gen. Smith, certifying the election of the field officers of the Sixty-ninth Irish regiment still in service, after distinguished service in three wars (Adj. gen's file, box 94); *The United Service Journal*, 13 December 1851, p.403.

¹⁶ *The Irish American*, 25 December 1852, 1, 29 January, 12, 19, 26 Feb., 5 March, 2 April 1853.

¹⁷ *The Irish American*, 23 July 1853.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7 April 1850.

¹⁹ *The Irish People* 2 June 1866; *The New York Daily Tribune*, 18 November 1853.

Doheny delayed the entrance of the Republican Rifles into the state militia, while attempts were made to contact and interest the Russians in transporting troops from New York to Ireland during the Crimean War. The Russians, however, pointed out that Britannia still ruled the waves, and when it became evident that no help could be expected from St. Petersburg, Doheny and his friends prepared to launch a new revolutionary society, which became known as the Emmet Monument Association. James Huston, who had headed the Silent Friends, which had presided over the formation of the Ninth and Sixty-ninth Regiments, challenged Michael Doheny's leadership at the very first meeting, and as a result was eventually forced out of the Sixty-ninth Regiment.²⁰

Doheny took vigorous action when a rival revolutionary group, based in Boston and known as the Massachusetts Irish Emigrant Society, proposed to hold a convention in New York in December 1855. Doheny attempted to gain admission to the convention with his friends, and when he was refused he made an angry speech attacking John McClenahan, editor of *The Citizen*, an Irish newspaper, as an English spy. The dissensions which resulted caused the convention to break up without anything being accomplished.²¹ Doheny and his supporters held a meeting on 11 January 1856 at the Taberacle to explain and justify his conduct at the Emigrant Society Convention. He reviewed the relationship between the Emmets and the Boston Group, and renewed his charge against McClenahan. John O'Mahony arose and gave his full support to Doheny, and stated that he would never amalgamate with men who intended to put down Irish filibustering. Huston, whom Doheny believed to have been responsible for the failure of the earlier Silent Friends, entered and demanded an accounting of the funds of the Silent Friends from Doheny's friend Maurice Walsh, who had been treasurer.²² Doheny answered in a speech charging that Huston had been responsible for the break-up of the earlier organisation and reaffirming his charges against McClenahan. The Emmet Monument Association ended with the close of the meeting and the Emigrant Aid Society did not survive the year.²³ It was because of these events that Doheny, with the aid of Colonel Ryan and Captain Michael Corcoran, hounded Huston out of the Sixty-ninth. Doheny, however, did not give up, and a committee was set up with the aid of O'Mahony and Corcoran to keep the records of the organisation, and to reactivate the revolutionary organization when the time was ripe.²⁴

While these inter-revolutionary squabbles and the organization of the Irish regiments was going on, Michael Doheny was active in several other fields. Shortly after his arrival in New York, he was invited by the legislature to speak on the national movement in Ireland. He gave several other talks on the Irish situation and was accused of making attacks on the Pope.²⁵ Archbishop Hughes made a reply to those statements by charging that the Young Irelanders botched up a noble concept in their handling of the rising. The archbishop also considered the plan to train an army in America as visionary and dangerous to the Irish because it aroused the fears of the protestants. Doheny, who had sense enough to realize that the New York Irish had a deep devotion to the catholic church and that the activities of the Irish militia would need the tolerance of the church authorities,²⁶

20 Rev. Msgr. Patrick D. O'Flaherty, *The history of the Sixty-ninth Regiment of the New York state militia, 1851-1861* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963), pp 77-84.

21 The Emmet Monument Association implied that before the monument could be set up Ireland must be free. The Emigrant Aid Society was to help Irishmen to emigrate from America to fight in Ireland.

22 *The Albion*, 19 January 1856.

23 *The Citizen*, 14 June 1856; *The Irish American*, 19 January 1856.

24 Joseph Denieffe, *A personal narrative of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood* (New York, 1906), pp ix, 17-8.

25 *Freeman's Journal*, 1-8 September 1849.

26 *The Celtic Monthly*, December 1880, pp 416 ff.

softened his approach. His speech at Tammany Hall on 10 January 1852 is a good example of his thinking. He spoke on education as the basis on which democracy must rest. One of the greatest assets of American freedom was that in the United States schools were accessible to all, and free. Catholics, he said, did not oppose the common school system, but only the teaching of protestanism in schools. Eliminate the protestant features and all would support the common school.²⁷ In the spring of 1853, he came to the defence of the church when it was attacked by Alessandro Gavazzi. Gavazzi was an Italian ex-priest who had fled to England, where his anti-catholic lectures attracted a great deal of attention. Invited to the United States, he claimed that he was on a mission to the Irish people, to free them from the Roman church, which was ever the enemy of liberty.²⁸ Doheny wrote to Gavazzi pointing out that he was Irish and had resisted tyranny in his homeland and had been denounced by priests and prelates. He continued that he desired the liberty of Italy as much as Gavazzi, but could not engage in a contest the avowed purpose of which was the overthrow of a spiritual papacy. Doheny affirmed that it was that outside the catholic church there could be no true christian, and that the Pope is the supreme head of the church.

Deny the authority of the catholic church and there is not one plank of Christianity on which, according to my convictions, human reason can stand . . . This is a deep and immutable feeling of the Irish catholic people. You may meet men who call themselves Irish who will cheer you on and offer you aid in the name of liberty. Trust me, their aim is not the extension of liberty but the overthrow of the catholic church.²⁹

Gavazzi used Doheny's letter in a lecture, saying that Doheny agreed with him on most points. The Irish leader, in a second letter, made it clear that he agreed with Gavazzi on nothing.

The following year he answered the assumptions made by *The Times* that the Know-Nothings had the right to go into catholic sections and attack the church.³⁰ Besides these political speeches and a great many talks at dinners, picnics and militia drills, he gave a number of talks on literature and literary figures. He spoke at Metropolitan Hall in December 1852 on Dean Swift, vindicating him as a great Irishman and a true patriot. The talk was given in answer to an earlier lecture which had been given by William Thackeray.³¹ During his lifetime, Doheny's writing style was critized as being uncultured, and his manner of public speaking as being rough. Today his style seems direct and vigorous.³²

Joseph Denieffe, a member of the Emmet Monument Association, who was about to make a trip to Ireland in June 1855, was surprised when Doheny, John O'Mahony, and James Roche, informed him that there was no revolutionary organization in Ireland. Denieffe was given *carte blanche* to set up the revolutionary movement in the old country. Denieffe, who had been part of all the plans which had been carried out over the past several years, asked when the Irish could expect the forces from America to arrive. Doheny replied that thirty thousand men were ready to move and all that was needed was money. Denieffe made some contacts in Ireland, but found no effective organization. Communications between America and Ireland were so bad that he learned what was going on in New York only through the newspapers.³³

²⁷ *The Irish American*, 29 January 1853.

²⁸ Ray Allen Billington, *The protestant crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), pp 300-4.

²⁹ *The Irish American*, 16 April 1853; *Albion*, 26 March 1853.

³⁰ Gustavus Myers, *History of bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1943), pp 190 ff.

³¹ *The Irish American*, 18 December 1852.

³² John O'Leary, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* (London, 1896), p. 106.

³³ Denieffe, *Personal narrative*, p. 12. The Irish leaders always exaggerated their numbers and chances of success, and were ever optimistic concerning conditions in Ireland. All the military organisations in the United States numbered scarcely 2,000 men. There was no plan for moving them to Ireland.

Denieffe finally reached James Stevens on Christmas 1857 in Dublin. Stevens had a letter from Michael Doheny and James O'Doherty asking if Ireland could be organized for revolution. Denieffe came back to New York with the answer that Ireland was never in better condition for such a project. Denieffe, when he reached New York, informed Doheny, O'Mahony, Michael Corcoran and some others, that all Stevens needed was one hundred pounds a month for three months. The committee in New York had no money, and it took four months to raise four hundred dollars, or eighty pounds. Denieffe returned to Ireland on St. Patrick's Day 1858 and gave the money to Stevens. That evening the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood was born.³⁴ O'Mahony became the nominal head of the organization in the United States in 1858, with Michael Corcoran, the future colonel of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, as second in command.³⁵

The end of the Crimean War saw a decline in interest in the organization of militia regiments in New York. Doheny's regiment, the Seventy-fifth, only endured a total of three and a half years. Adjutant general's office General Orders No. 19, June 1857, disbanded the Republican Rifles, and transferred four companies to the Ninth Regiment. The following year the Ninth was consolidated with the Sixty-ninth on 3 May 1858 by General Orders No. 41 of the adjutant general's office.³⁶ Doheny, once the Seventy-fifth was no more, directed his attention to the organization of the Fenian Brotherhood.³⁷ He did not give up his belief that a military force could be organized, but now he concentrated on forming a brigade outside the militia of the state of New York. It was easy to do this since the government encouraged the formation of independent military organizations, which enabled citizens to be prepared for military service.³⁸ This new force called the Phoenix Brigade, made its first appearance in the St. Patrick's Day parade in 1861. The history of this organization is not well known. At times it was called the Phoenix Brigade, and at others the Phoenix Regiment. It is not possible to learn how many were enrolled in this Fenian regiment, but it is known that several hundred joined Corcoran's Legion on 7 November 1862. The Phoenix Regiment became the Ninety-ninth Regiment of the New York State National Guard in August 1864, and did duty guarding prisoners at Elmira, New York, for three months. John O'Mahony, the chief of the Fenians, is listed as its colonel.³⁹

Doheny, having seen to the beginnings of the Fenian Brotherhood, now moved over into the field of propaganda. He founded, in July 1859, a newspaper called *The Phoenix*, for the purpose of furthering the ideals of Fenianism. Doheny himself became the editor, James Roche, sub-editor, and John O'Mahony, supervisor of publication. How long this venture was continued or what influence it had is not known.⁴⁰

Doheny was also active in opposing the national petition movement, which proposed to organize and present a petition to the English government asking that Home Rule be granted to Ireland. At a meeting called by Daniel O'Donovan, in January 1861, Doheny opposed any petition and advised the meeting that they should not beg. England will understand only the rifle's ring and the gleam of steel. On St. Patrick's Day, in a speech to the first regiment of the Phoenix Brigade, on

34 Ibid., p.25.

35 Leonard Keyes, *Lineage of the Ninth Regiment of the state of New York* (New York, 1953), pp 226, 267.

36 *The State Military Gazette*, 8 May 1858, Adjutant general's office, General Orders Book 1855-1858, pp 173-7. The General Orders Books are preserved in the library of the Department of Military Affairs, Albany, N. Y.

37 A prominent member of the Fenian Congress, *Fenianism or the Irish Republic* (New York, 1865), p.4.

38 State and federal laws required all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to turn out equipped for military service on muster day once every year.

39 *The Irish American*, 7 November 1863, 6 February 1864; Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865* (Albany, 1912), pp 717-9; *The New York Herald*, 1 February 1864.

40 *The Celtic Monthly*, December 1880, p.519.

the occasion of the presentation of a regimental flag, the Sunburst, at the Eagle Drill Rooms, Doheny said:⁴¹

When you make an Irishman a soldier you aid Ireland. We have now about 25,000 men ready to become soldiers. We are grateful to America, which has been kind to us, but we cannot forget our true mother, Ireland.

William Kennedy, the leader of Tammany Hall, called on Michael Doheny to help in the organization of the Forty-second, or Tammany Regiment. The officers elected Doheny lieutenant colonel, but he agreed to serve only while the regiment was being formed. His son joined the Forty-second and rose to the rank of captain, but Doheny only held the commission for a month. He withdrew to devote himself to the Irish cause, especially to the project of sending the body of Terence Bellew McManus back to Ireland.⁴²

Terence Bellew McManus had been sentenced to death for his part in the activities of 1848, but his sentence was commuted to exile for life. He escaped and landed in California. He attempted unsuccessfully to go into business and was active in newspaper work when he died suddenly in January 1861. There is no evidence as to who first conceived the idea of returning the body of McManus to Ireland for burial, but Doheny called the meeting which organized the New York committee and became the prime mover behind the plan. The intention was to use the funeral to focus public attention on the Fenian organisation and to show its numbers and power.⁴³

The funeral seems to have been intended for propaganda purposes, but stories were spread that it was to be the signal for revolution in Ireland. It was rumoured that the members of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood in Ireland had been alerted. It was believed by some that the return of the Irishmen who had served in the papal army had roused the country to a high pitch of military interest. Five hundred trained men were supposed to go from New York in small groups, ready to lead the rising. According to these reports, the body was to be carried from Cork to Dublin on the shoulders of volunteers. It was expected the procession would grow in numbers, as it moved slowly through the country. At some convenient point Thomas Francis Meagher would appear, accompanied by an armed escort from America, and in a rousing speech call the nation to revolt.⁴⁴

That Doheny ever considered this wild plan is doubtful, but, if it ever was considered, it was abandoned when John O'Mahony returned from Ireland in May 1861 and informed Doheny that Ireland was not prepared for action. James Stevens, head centre of the Fenians in Ireland, was also reported to be against any rebellion at the time. The minds of the Irish in the United States were distracted from Irish affairs and unlikely to support any such action. The Sixty-ninth, under Colonel Michael Corcoran, who at the time was acting leader of the Fenians, was already on war service in Virginia. O'Mahony, who was a private in the regiment, wrote to Corcoran offering to join the regiment. Corcoran advised him that he should stay in New York and devote his time and his energies to organising Fenian circles.⁴⁵

41 Ibid., p.521; *The Irish American*, 26 March 1864. A second flag was presented by the wife of Colonel Doheny when the Phoenix Regiment entered the National Guard.

42 *The Devere Scrapbooks*, No. 24 (New York Historical Society), p.51; *The Pilot*, 21 December 1861; 1.

43 *The Irish American*, 9 February, 13 April 1861; E. R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the age of rebellion 1859-1873* (London, 1965) p.56.

44 *The Celtic Monthly*, January 1881, p.59 ff. Michael Cavanagh, who accompanied the body to Ireland and later wrote the life of Doheny, outlines this plan in his article, but it is not clear whether he believed that it was ever considered as possible of accomplishment.

45 Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Thomas Francis Meagher* (Worcester, Mass., 1892), pp 359-60; William Lyons, *Brigadier General Thomas Francis Meagher* (London, N.D.), p.48.

The California Committee, on 19 August 1861, disinterred the body of McManus, enclosed it in a metal coffin and placed that in a rosewood box. Mass was celebrated in San Francisco on 20 August and the body was accompanied to the steamer by local military and Irish patriotic societies.⁴⁶ Doheny sparked the committee in New York and at a meeting in the Astor House, held to make preparation for the services, struck the note that was to mark the theme of the funeral: that McManus would go to Ireland to be sown as a seed, which would spring up and develop the tree of liberty.⁴⁷

The McManus remains arrived in New York on 13 September 1861 on the steamer *Champion*. Mass was said by Fr. Starrs, vicar general, in St. Patrick's Cathedral on Mott Street on Monday 16 September 1861. Archbishop Hughes presided and delivered the address. The archbishop said that in certain cases it is permissible to overthrow tyrannical government. The revolt must have the support of the majority of the people and have a reasonable chance of success. McManus sacrificed for his beliefs and was a devout catholic. Let all join in a prayer for the repose of his soul. Doheny acted as one of the pallbearers and sailed with the body to Ireland on 18 October 1861.⁴⁸

The bishop of Cloyne held mass in the cathedral at Cobh, but Bishop Delaney of Cork refused to allow a mass to be celebrated. The coffin was accompanied to the station in Cork by a great procession made up of people from all walks of life. There were several priests in the line despite the prohibition of the bishop, and more remarkable still, the red uniforms of a number of soldiers of the queen, who marched to honour the remains of the dead patriot and rebel against the same queen.⁴⁹

As the train bearing his body moved through the countryside, people gathered just to see the train go by, and at every crossing and station, it was greeted by crowds of men and women kneeling in silence. The people at Tipperary Junction called for Colonel Doheny but he did not show himself. The train reached Kingsbridge Station, Dublin, at three in the morning, after a twelve-hour trip from Cork. Thousands with torches met the train and escorted the body to the Mechanics Institute. Cardinal Cullen of Dublin refused to allow the body inside a church, on the grounds that it was not the custom of the church to grant such honours except to persons distinguished for sanctity or who had performed outstanding services to the community, and he had yet to learn that the party in question was within one category or the other.⁵⁰

A gigantic procession accompanied the remains to Glasnevin Cemetery. The whole event was well organised; every spot that could call up a vengeful memory was included. No turning was neglected from which silent bravado could be flung at the government. The parade moved through Thomas Street, where Lord Edward Fitzgerald had met his death. A pause was made where the remains of Wolfe Tone reposed before their removal to Bodenstown. Passing the place where Emmet was excuted, the multitude removed their hats in quiet tribute.⁵¹ The Castle was passed at an especially slow pace, in silent but stern defiance. Then it passed the Exchange, went on through College Green to the old House of Parliament. After passing through Westmoreland Street, it crossed the Liffey at Carlisle

46 *The San Francisco Monitor*, 21 August 1861; *The Nation* (Dublin), 28 September 1861.

47 *The Celtic Monthly*, February 1881, p. 143.

48 Cavanagh, in *The Celtic Monthly*, maintained that Doheny was the leader and spokesman of the delegation.

49 *The Celtic Monthly*, May 1881; *Irish American*, 23 November, 1861.

50 Justin McCarthy, *Ireland since the Union* (London, 1887), pp 179-80.

51 The people had been well trained for the event and the Fenians acted as supervisors of the procession, making sure that no unauthorised persons got into the line of march and making sure that no drink or anyone having the sign of drink was allowed to appear.

Bridge and so through Sackville Street, now O'Connell Street, through the north side to Glasnevin. The splendid organisation, its military precision, its good order and its silence, had a favourable effect on the population and was a cause of worry to the authorities. No arms were in evidence, but it was clear that the bulk of the marchers had been well trained in marching and military movements.

The chaplain of Glasnevin, directed by Cardinal Cullen, did not appear, so the *De Profundis* was said by Fr. Patrick Lavelle, who since he was a subject of Archbishop MacHale of Tuam, who had always shown sympathy to the patriots, refused to obey Cardinal Cullen.⁵² Father Lavelle also gave a short address at the conclusion of the service in which he expressed the central idea behind the ceremony when he said: 'yesterday that sarcophagus was the symbol of Erin's grave, tomorrow it will be the symbol of her resurrection'.⁵³

Doheny remained in Ireland for some time after the funeral, and visited Wolfe Tone's grave at Bodenstown. He gave several talks on a variety of subjects; Thomas Davis, the poetry of Ireland, the Civil War in America, and the present aspect of American affairs. His sentiments were pro-Union, but with sympathetic understanding of the South.⁵⁴ He was in considerable danger, since he was still a wanted man, with a price on his head for his actions in 1848. Also anti-American feeling was running high among the pro-British party in Ireland due to the Mason-Diadel affair, which at that time threatened to involve England and America in a war. The government for some reason took no action and Doheny returned to his home in Brooklyn in January. He lived quietly for the next two months, but towards the end of March became ill and on 1 April 1862 died at his home on 18th Street and Ninth Avenue. A requiem mass was said at St. John's Church on Friday. He was buried in Calvary Cemetery.⁵⁵

Doheny was the most determined of the leaders of the revolt in 1848. He was a practical man and his burial of McManus was the inspiration for Patrick Pearse, when he held a like ceremony at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa. His greatest weakness was a tendency to overestimate the numbers of the Irish in America who were willing to return to Ireland to fight for freedom.⁵⁶ He was also a headstrong man who failed to consider the feelings of others. He was, however, a loyal Irish patriot, an admirer of the American system of government and, had he lived to guide the Fenians instead of the impractical and visionary John O'Mahony, the history of the rising of 1867 might not have been the debacle it proved to be.

Rutherford, who had no use for Fenians or Fenianism says of him:⁵⁷

Doheny was a man of peasant race with good ability and great strength of character, who had educated himself and won a reputation as a lecturer. Of enthusiastic temperament he was a thorough patriot, as the word was understood by the Irish leaders of '48. He was unselfish and honest, and was unbiased by his enthusiastic highminded patriotism.

⁵² *The Irish American*, 30 November 1861.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *The Celtic Monthly*, June 1881, pp 531-4; *The Pilot*, 21 December 1861.

⁵⁵ James Harper, undertaker, invitations to the funeral of Colonel Doheny, 3 April 1861 (The Daly letters, MS Room, New York Public Library); John Savage, *Fenian heroes and martyrs* (Boston, 1868), p.293. Doheny is buried in Calvary Cemetery, section 4, range 23, grave 13.

⁵⁶ O'Flaherty, *Sixty-ninth Regiment*, p.99.

⁵⁷ John Rutherford, *The secret history of the Fenian conspiracy* (London, 1877), p.32.



*Mrs. Maura Healy unveiling plaque
at the birthplace of
Michael Doheny
Brookhill, Fethard
County Tipperary*



*Alla Aileen: House in which Michael Doheny
lived while in Cashel
County Tipperary*



*Michael Doheny Memorial Library
Cashel, County Tipperary
Dedicated April 1988*



*Celtic Cross with Irish wolfhound
in memory of the Irish Brigade
which fought at Gettysburg
63rd NY (2 cos.) - 69th NY (2 cos.) - 88th NY (2 cos.)*

The Michael Doheny Memorial Committee wishes to thank the following benefactors for making the erection of this Monument possible:

The late Rev. Monsignor Patrick D. O'Flaherty, R.I.P., who supplied the short history of Michael Doheny, written by him and first published in *The Irish Sword* now reprinted in this Journal, in his memory.

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The long, long-wished for hour had come,
Yet came, mo stor, in vain,
And left thee but the wailing hum
Of sorrow and of pain.
My light of life, my lonely love,
Thy portion sure must be,
Man's scorn below, God's wrath above
A Chuisle geal mo chroidhe.

'Twas told of thee, the world around,
'Twas hoped from thee by all,
That, with one gallant sunward bound,
Thou'dst burst long ages thrall.
Thy faith was tried, alas! and those
Who perilled all for thee,
Were cursed, and branded as thy foes;
A Chuisle geal mo chroidhe.

What fate is thine, unhappy isle,
That even the trusted few
Should pay thee back with hate and guile,
When most they should be true?
'Twas not *thy* strength or spirit failed;
And those that bleed for thee,
And love thee truly, have no quailed;
A Chuisle geal mo chroidhe.

I've given thee manhood's early prime,
And manhood's waning years;
I've blest thee in thy suniest time,
And shed with thee my tears;
And mother, though thou'st cast away
The child who'd die for thee,
My latest accents still shall pray
For Chuisle geal mo chroidhe.

I've tracked for thee the mountain sides,
And slept within the brake,
More lonely than the swan that glides
O'er Lua's fairy lake.
The rich have spurned me from their door,
Because I'd set thee free;
Yet do I live thee more and more,
A Chuisle geal mo chroidhe.

I've run the outlaw's brief career,
And borne his load of ill,
His troubled rest, his ceaseless fear,
With fixed sustaining will;
And should his last dark chance befall,
E'en that shall welcome be,
In death, I'll love thee, most of all,
A Chuisle geal mo chroidhe.

